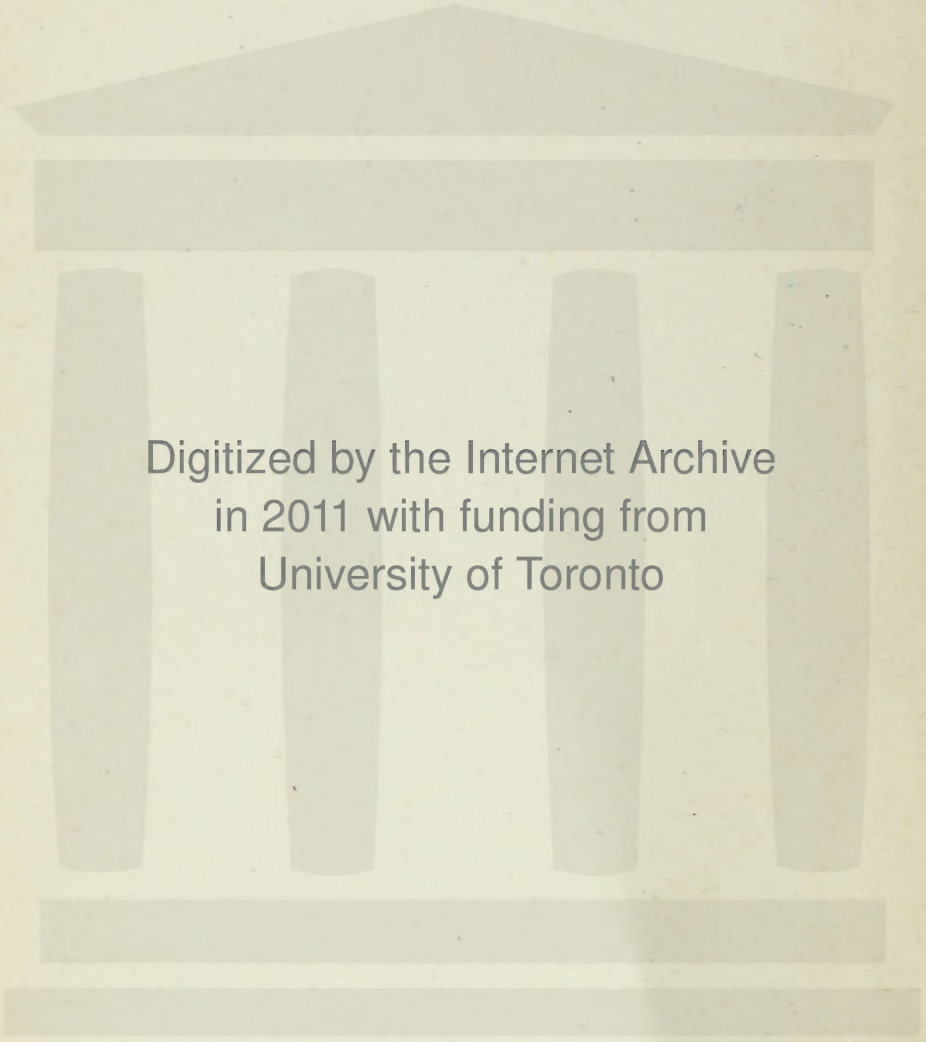

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VOL. VI.

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HISTORY OF THE POPES,

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DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. LUDWIG PASTOR,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS

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BOOK I.

ALEXANDER VI. 1492–1503.

CHAPTER I.

Savonarola and Alexander VI.

As it became more and more evident that nothing in the way of reform was to be hoped for from Alexander VI., the eyes of many in Italy began to turn towards the eloquent Dominican, who seemed to concentrate in himself all the elements of resistance to the anti-Christian Renaissance and the secularisation of the Church, personified in the Pope, which the country contained.*

In Florence, corrupted as it had been by the Medici, and made into a nest of "heathen philosophers, voluptuaries, dilettanti, money-lenders and traders, intriguing politicians and sharp-witted critics,"† Savonarola had, at least for the moment, succeeded in bringing about an amazing moral revolution. There seemed reason to hope that the reform of Rome might be achieved by the same hand, especially as in his preaching he dwelt so much on the vocation of Florence as "the heart of Italy" to diffuse the renovating lights throughout the whole world.‡ In his sermons he incessantly insisted, with ever-growing vehemence, on the absolute necessity of a complete reformation of Rome, the Pope, and the Court. At that time this sort of plain

(Chapter I. of this volume is, in the original edition, Chap. VI. of Book II.—F. I. A.)

* Frantz, Sixtus IV., 56. See Vol. V. of this work, pp. 170, 181.

† Gregorovius, VII., 404, ed. 3 (410, ed. 4).

‡ Guicciardini, Stor. Fiorent., 138.

speaking gave little or no offence there. Alexander was extremely indifferent to strictures of that kind ; no doctrine of the Church was assailed, and he had no desire to curtail the orator's liberty of speech. Had Savonarola confined himself to the subjects proper to his vocation as a preacher and a religious, he would probably never have come into serious collision with the Pontiff; but as, on the contrary, his passionate zeal drove him in his discourses to trench more and more on political ground, they soon provided his enemies with a good excuse for calling on the Pope to intervene.*

Savonarola's growing influence threatened to make him the virtual " King of Florence," and his enemies were both numerous and powerful. Foremost amongst them was Piero de' Medici with his adherents, and next to them came those who disliked and resented the democratic and theocratic ideals and the stern moral discipline which he wished to introduce into the constitution of the State. This party was known as the Arrabiati, while the followers of the Friar were called Frateschi or Piagnoni (mourners over the corruption of the times). Finally, there were the anti-Gallican Italian States. Florence was the only Italian power which withstood the Pope on this point, and Savonarola was the indefatigable and passionate advocate of the French alliance. The Divine commission, which he persistently claimed for himself, emphatically included this advocacy. From first to last he believed the frivolous, dissolute King of France to be God's chosen instrument for the reformation of the Church. He predicted that Charles would be always victorious, and that Florence, if she remained faithful to him, would regain all her lost possessions. In almost every one of his sermons he insisted on the necessity of joining

* *Cf.* Cosci, Savonarola, 437, and especially Pellegrini, in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 710.

France.* He reiterated again and again that "Charles VIII. would certainly reform the Church."†

When we call to mind that the King of France had repeatedly threatened the Pope with a so-called Reformation Council,—in other words, a Council to depose him,—it cannot seem strange that Savonarola should gradually come to be regarded with more and more suspicion in Rome; and all the more so as it was notorious that the one thing that the Pope had most at heart, namely, that Florence should join the League, had no more determined opponent than the Friar. Savonarola felt himself perfectly secure in the favour of the people; all accounts agree in describing his influence as unbounded. "He is invoked as a Saint and revered as a prophet," writes the Ferrarese Envoy;‡ the Florentine chronicler Landucci says that "many were so infatuated with the new prophet that they would have had no hesitation in going to the stake for him." Encouraged by the enthusiastic support of his followers, the hot-blooded Dominican embarked in a general war of extermination against his opponents. In one of his sermons he went so far as to demand, crucifix in hand, that all who attempted to bring the tyrants back to Florence should be punished with death.§ At last Alexander VI. felt it necessary to take some steps; but he proceeded with the greatest moderation.‖ On the 25th of July, 1495, a Brief couched in very friendly terms, summoned Savonarola, "in the name of holy obedience," to come at once to Rome to give an account of

* MEIER, 93, and RANKE, Studien, 258.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 52.

‡ *Ibid.*, 41, 51, 52, 56, 63.

§ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 209.

‖ RANKE, in his Studien, 246, acknowledges this; but VILLARI, even in his last edition, I., 392, ed. 2, speaks of the wrath of the Pope as bursting at once into flame.

the prophecies for which he claimed Divine inspiration. On the 30th the Friar sent his reply; while acknowledging the duty of obedience, especially in a religious, he excused himself from coming, on the ground of the state of his health, and his conviction that his enemies would throw the whole city into confusion if he left Florence at this moment.*

Upon this a second Brief was sent in September addressed to the friars of S^ta^ Croce, who were on bad terms with those of S. Marco In this Brief, Savonarola was described as "a certain Fra Girolamo" who gave himself out to be a prophet without being able to prove his claim either by miracles or direct evidence from Holy Scripture. The patience of the Pope, it continued, was now exhausted. Savonarola must abstain from preaching of any kind, and the Convent of S. Marco was henceforth to be reunited to the Lombard congregation, to whose Superior the Friar must now render obedience. All recalcitrants were declared, *ipso facto*, under the ban of the Church.†

This command of the Pope marked the turning point in Savonarola's life. As a priest and Friar he had sworn obedience to the Head of the Church. Alexander's personal character and the political motives by which he was actuated in no way affected this obligation. In issuing the ordinance contained in the Brief of September 8, the Pope was clearly acting within his canonical rights. Savonarola did not deny this. Writing to a brother of his Order in Rome on 15th September, he says: "I know the root of all these plots, and know them to be the work of evil-minded citizens who would fain re-establish tyranny in Florence. . . . Nevertheless, if there be no other way of saving my conscience

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 24 *seq.*, 29 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† See GHERARDI, 388.

I am resolved to make submission, so as to avoid even a venial sin."* His answer to Alexander, sent on 29th September, was not quite so clear or decided. In it he lamented that his enemies should have succeeded in deceiving the Holy Father. . . . "As to my doctrines," he continued, "I have always been submissive to the Church; as regards prophecy, I have never absolutely declared myself a prophet, although this would be no heresy; but I have undoubtedly foretold various things, of which some have been already fulfilled; and others, that will be verified at some future time. Moreover, it is known to all Italy that the chastisement hath already begun, and how solely, by means of my words, there hath been peace in Florence, the which failing, all would have suffered greater woes." . . . "As to leaving our case to the decision of the Lombard Vicar, this implies making our adversary our judge, since the quarrels between the two congregations are publicly known." In separating themselves from this congregation they had only passed from a laxer to a stricter rule, which all authorities agree may lawfully be done. "Our reunion with the Lombard Friars at this moment would only deepen the rancour already, unhappily, existing between the two congregations, and give rise to fresh disputes and fresh scandals. And finally, inasmuch as your Holiness declares that you desire this union in order to prevent others from lapsing into my errors, and inasmuch as it is now most plain that I have not lapsed into error, the cause being non-existent, neither should its effect remain. Having therefore proved the falsity of all the charges brought against me, I pray your Holiness to vouchsafe a reply to my defence and to grant me absolution. I preach the doctrine of the Holy Fathers and am

* Published by PERRENS, 534-538. *Cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, II. 34, 35 (Engl. trans.).

ready if I should be in error to avow it publicly, and make amends before the whole people. And now again I repeat that which I have always said, namely, that I submit myself and all my writings to the correction of the Holy Roman Church." *

In his next Brief, despatched on the 16th of October, Alexander displayed admirable moderation and prudence. With "great consideration" it yielded the most important point, that of the reunion of the Convent of S. Marco to the Lombard Province, only insisting that Savonarola should absolutely abstain from preaching. In fact, for the Friar of S. Marco, politics and preaching were almost synonymous. The Brief began with a review of the action of Rome up to the present moment. In the beginning the Pope had expressed his disapproval of the disturbances in Florence, which had been in a great measure caused by Savonarola's preaching, because, instead of directing his sermons against the vices of the Florentines, he had filled them with predictions of future events, which, he said, had been revealed to him by the Holy Ghost. Such preaching was full of danger for many souls and could not fail to engender strife. Therefore, after mature deliberation, he had decided to summon Savonarola to Rome, there to give an account of his doings. Now, however, to his great joy, he gathered from the letter which he had lately received, and from what he had been told by others, that the Friar was ready, as a good Christian, to submit to the Church in all things. Hence he would willingly believe that Savonarola had erred rather through excess of zeal than with any evil intent. The matter, however, was too important to be passed over lightly, and therefore he determined to write to him again, commanding him in the name of holy

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 35, 36 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* PERRENS, 326–329.

obedience to abstain from all preaching, either in public or privately, until he was able, conveniently and safely, to appear himself in Rome, or until a commission had been sent to Florence. If he obeyed this command, the former Briefs would be rescinded.*

Meanwhile, on the 11th of October, Savonarola, seeing Florence in imminent danger from Piero de' Medici, had thrown all other considerations to the winds and re-ascended the pulpit, in order to rouse his fellow-citizens to a strenuous resistance. Again he called for the death of all who attempted to bring back the Medici. "They must be treated," he cried, "as the Romans treated those who wished to bring Tarquinius back. You would rather let Christ be struck than strike a fellow-citizen. Let justice take its course. Off with the head of the traitor, were he even the chief of the first family in the city. Off, I say, with his head."† Similar expressions recur in the sermons of 16th and 26th October. For some hitherto unexplained cause, the Bull of 16th October did not arrive till after this latter date. Savonarola had by this time succeeded in baffling Piero de' Medici's attempt; but he must have been forced to own to himself that he had violated his pledge of the 16th September, and acted in direct opposition to his Superiors, from whom alone his mission as a preacher was derived. The Brief must have caused him the greatest embarrassment. One fact, which is certainly not to his credit, shews that, in his excitement, he did not at all expect such lenient treatment. Through the Florentine Envoy of the Duke of Ferrara, he had secretly entered into relations with that Prince, and asked for his assistance in case the Pope should not accept his excuse and proceed

* MEIER, 115, 359-360, with a wrong date; GHERARDI, 390-391, has the correct one.

† See Vol. V. of this work, p. 209.

further against him.* Now that Alexander had shewn himself so placable and ready to make concessions, and since also the chief object of his sermons, the frustration of Piero de' Medici's enterprise, had been achieved, to abstain from preaching during Advent entailed no very great sacrifice on Savonarola. And in addition to this, his party were gaining more and more the upper hand in the city.† A loyal and lasting submission was never contemplated by him; on the contrary, he brought every influence that he could control to bear upon the Pope to induce him to withdraw the prohibition. The Government of Florence interested itself strongly in this direction, and addressed itself especially to Cardinal Caraffa, the Protector of the Dominicans in Rome. Florentine reports from Rome went so far as to assert that the Cardinal had, in a conversation with Alexander, persuaded the latter to permit Savonarola to preach again, provided he confined his sermons to matters of religion. The Friar himself, however, never ventured to maintain that any such permission had been granted. The attitude of the Signoria in Florence also shews clearly that nothing was even said by the Pope that could be so construed;‡ of course, no Brief to that effect was forthcoming. They decided, on 11th February, 1496, to command Savonarola, under pain of their indignation, to resume his sermons

* Despatch of 26th Oct. in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 69. It is plain from this document that the Brief of 16th Oct. had not reached Florence at this date.

† RANKE, Studien, 252.

‡ See COSCI, 431–432; CIPOLLA, 735. Savonarola's letter to Antonio de Olanda of 2nd Feb., 1496 (*cf.* VILLARI, II., cxiv., ed. 2), is significant in this connection. In it he says:—"Si impetrabitur licentia praedicandi pro me a Summo Pontifice, dabo vobis in praedicatorem Fr. Dominicum de Piscia. Excitate ergo fratres et alios devotos ad orandum pro hac causa, quia res habet difficultatem."

in the Cathedral.* The Friar, who had found so many excuses for evading the commands of his spiritual superiors, lost no time in obeying the order of the secular power.

On 17th February Savonarola again ascended the pulpit, and preached regularly throughout the whole of Lent. His first sermon shewed that he had already entered on the devious paths which henceforth he was to follow. Like Huss in earlier times, he saw nothing incongruous or unbecoming in making his own subjective convictions the standard of the duty of ecclesiastical obedience. "The Pope," he said, "cannot command me to do anything which is in contradiction to Christian charity or the Gospel. I am convinced that he never will; but were he to do so, I should reply: 'At this moment you are in error and no longer the chief pastor or the voice of the Church.' If there can be no doubt that the command of a superior contradicts the Divine precepts, and especially the law of Christian charity, no one ought to obey it. If, however, the matter is not perfectly evident, so that no doubt is possible, we ought to submit." † He declared that he had

* GHERARDI, Documenti, 129 *seq.* From the documents given here, p. 136 *seq.*, we gather that even then the citizens were not unanimous in their approval of this step.

† This important declaration is to be found in the Prediche di frate Hieronymo da Ferrara. Firenze, 1496 (st. fl.). Against VILLARI, II., 55 (Engl. trans.), who says that this Hussite doctrine of Savonarola's was "entirely Catholic, and differing in no respect from that laid down by S. Thomas Aquinas and many doctors and fathers of the Church;" *cf.* SCHWAB, in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 904, and specially FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 79 *seq.*; *cf.* 182. The latter remarks that Bayle had already pointed out that if Savonarola rested his conduct on the principle that we ought to obey God rather than man, he was acting inconsistently when he gave up preaching at the command of the Government. Frantz also shews, *loc. cit.*, 80, that the case supposed by S. Thomas, "in which

earnestly examined all his ways and found them pure; for he had always submitted his teaching to the doctrines of Holy Church. Though convinced that the Briefs sent from Rome were invalid, inasmuch as they were solely inspired by lying reports, he had yet resolved to be prudent. Thus he had so far kept silence, but when he saw many of the good growing lukewarm, and the wicked more and more bold, he felt himself constrained to return to his post. "First of all, however, I sought the Lord, saying: I was rejoicing in my peace and tranquillity, and Thou drewest me forth by showing me Thy light. . . . I would fain repose, but find no resting-place—would fain remain still and silent, but may not, for the word of God is as a fire in my heart, and unless I give it vent, it will consume the marrow of my bones. Come then, O Lord, since Thou would'st have me steer through these deep waters, let Thy will be done." * He seemed to have already forgotten that it was the secular power which had commanded him to preach, and launched him forth again on these "deep waters."

Savonarola's second sermon was directed mainly against the vices of Rome. He began with a curious application of the passage in Amos, iv. 1. "Hear this word, ye fat kine, that are in the mountains of Samaria." "For me," he said, "these fat kine signify the harlots of Italy and Rome. . . . Are there none in Italy and Rome? One thousand, ten thousand, fourteen thousand are few for Rome; for there both men and women are made harlots." And pursuing this strain, he describes the vices of Rome in terms scarcely to

the flock was abandoned and left entirely without preaching or administration of the Sacraments," was quite different to that of Savonarola, as at S. Marco there were many other good preachers, and the spiritual needs of the people were amply supplied.

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 55 (Engl. trans.).

be repeated at the present day.* The preacher seemed utterly regardless of the fact that his audience included hundreds of innocent children, for whom a special gallery round the walls of the Church had been provided.

This discourse, on the second Sunday in Lent, was by no means an isolated outburst of passion ; the whole course of sermons teemed with these extravagant diatribes against the sins of Rome. Politics were frequently touched upon, but every topic led back in the end to declamation against the Curia. "Flee from Rome," he cried out, "for Babylon signifies confusion, and Rome hath confused all the Scriptures, confused all vices together, confused everything." In his last Lenten sermon in 1496, Savonarola emphatically repeated his new theory of what constituted obedience to the Church, which, had it prevailed, must have overthrown all order and discipline. "We are not compelled," he said, "to obey all commands. When given in consequence of lying report they are invalid ; when in evident contradiction with the law of charity, laid down by the Gospel, it is our duty to resist them."†

Even in the face of all this provocation, Alexander VI. still maintained an attitude of great moderation and patience.‡ He allowed more than six months to elapse before taking any action, so that Savonarola had ample time for consideration. Meanwhile, however, in Rome, the conviction that further steps must be taken continued to strengthen. On the one hand, from the ecclesiastical point of view, it was impossible permanently to tolerate his open

* VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, 58. This is the judgment of an enthusiastic admirer of Savonarola.

† *Ibid.*, 68, justly remarks that these ideas were equivalent to a declaration of war.

‡ PELLEGRINI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 713. See also CREIGHTON, III.,

defiance of the Brief forbidding him to preach, the abusive tone of his sermons, and finally, his unauthorised assumption of the office of a prophet.* On the political side, his efficacious advocacy of the French alliance in Florence, threatened the Pope with a repetition of the French King's invasion of Italy, involving possibly his deposition and a schism.

As time went on, the excitement of the contending parties in Florence continued to increase, and Savonarola's preaching added fresh fuel to the flames.† The accounts from Florence declared that he railed at the Pope as worse than a Turk, and the Italian powers as worse than heretics. His fulminations soon found their way abroad; and he often said that he had received letters of sympathy even from Germany. It was reported that the Sultan had caused his sermons to be translated into the Turkish language.‡ There was certainly quite enough in all this to cause Alexander to bestir himself, without needing any further stimulus from the League or from Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The terrorism exercised by Savonarola and his adherents grew daily more and more intolerable. The prophet declared that no one could be a good Christian who did not believe in him. His most zealous disciple, Fra Domenico da Pescia,

* GHERARDI, 141.

† PERRENS, 261, points out that if Savonarola had really possessed that humility which is one of the first virtues that ought to characterise a religious, and which he so ostentatiously professed, he would have left Florence, or at any rate abstained from preaching. However convinced he might be of the truth of his views, a priest should have shrunk from securing their success at the cost of bloodshed, and from being a cause of embittered divisions amongst his fellow-citizens. But to his excitable temperament the stir of battle was a necessity of life. "I cannot live," he said, "unless I preach."

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 87 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 255, and PERRENS, 236.

went so far as to say that earth and sea and heaven would pass away, the Cherubim and Seraphim, our Lady and even Christ Himself, sooner than any of Savonarola's teaching.*

On the 7th November, 1496, the Pope despatched a new Brief with the object of putting an end to these scandals and removing Savonarola, who was the soul of the French party, from Florence, while sparing him as much as possible. The plan of uniting S. Marco with the unfriendly congregation of Lombardy was entirely dropped. Instead of this the Pope proposed to form a new congregation out of the Dominican Convents in the provinces of Rome and Tuscany, with a separate Vicar to be elected in conformity with the statutes of the Order by the several Priors of the monasteries every two years. For the first two years Cardinal Caraffa, who had always been friendly to Savonarola, was appointed vicar.†

This time the prophet's answer to his Superiors was an unconditional refusal. The reasons which he gave in justification of this were peculiar. In his "Apology for the Congregation of S. Marco," he says: "The union with the new congregation does not depend on my decision alone, but needs the consent of 250 other monks, who have all written to the Pope protesting against it; and I am neither able nor willing to oppose their wishes on this point, since I hold them to be honest and just." After explaining the reasons against it, he continues: "This union is therefore impossible, unreasonable, and hurtful; nor can the brethren of S. Marco be bound to agree to it, inasmuch as Superiors may not issue commands contrary to the rules of the Order, nor contrary to the law of charity and the welfare of our souls.

* See Parenti in RANKE, Studien, 265.

† This Brief from Cod. 2053 in the Riccardi Library, is in VILLARI, I., ed. 2, CXLII.-CXLIV. (Italian); also in the Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 124–125.

We must therefore take it for granted that our Superiors have been misled by false information, and resist meanwhile a command that is contrary to charity. Neither must we allow ourselves to be cowed by threats nor excommunications, but be ready to face death rather than submit to that which would be poison and perdition to our souls." At the same time, Savonarola preached frequently, descanting much on his prophetical gifts, and still more on politics.

All this, retailed with exaggeration by his enemies in Rome, was naturally extremely irritating to Alexander VI. Nevertheless, with that practical statecraft which his contemporaries so highly praise in him, the Pope still held back from plunging into a direct conflict with the Friar. He resolved first to try another expedient. In order to detach the Florentines from the French alliance he promised to give them Pisa, and requested them to send an Envoy to negotiate on this subject. Accordingly, on the 4th March, 1497, Alessandro Bracci was despatched for this purpose by the Signoria to Rome. On the 13th he had an audience from the Pope. Alluding to Lodovico Moro, Alexander said:—"May God forgive him who invited the French into Italy; for all our troubles have arisen from that." He then endeavoured to persuade the Florentine Ambassador to renounce the alliance with France. "Keep to us," he exclaimed; "be loyal Italians, and leave the French in France! I must have no more fine words, but some binding security that you will do this." It was in vain for the Ambassador to point out the reasons which determined his Government to hold still with France; the Pope held to his point, and insisted that Florence must change her policy. He knew very well, he said, that this conduct, so unworthy of an Italian power, was prompted by the belief of the Florentines in the predictions of a fanatic. He was deeply wounded at the way in which the Government of Florence

permitted this Friar to attack and threaten him and hold him up to scorn *

There was ample justification for these complaints on the part of the Pope, for accusations against Rome again constituted the principal theme of the Lent sermons of the year 1497. The language of the preacher became more and more violent. "Come here, thou ribald Church," he cried out. "The Lord saith, I gave thee beautiful vestments, but thou hast made idols of them. Thou hast dedicated the sacred vessels to vainglory, the sacraments to simony; thou hast become a shameless harlot in thy lusts; thou art lower than a beast, thou art a monster of abomination. Once, thou felt shame for thy sin, but now thou art shameless. Once, anointed priests called their sons nephews; but now they speak no more of their nephews, but always and everywhere of their sons. Everywhere hast thou made a public place, and raised a house of ill-fame. And what doth the harlot? She sitteth on the throne of Solomon and soliciteth all the world; he that hath gold is made welcome, and may do as he will; but he that seeketh to do good is driven forth. And thou, O prostitute Church, thou hast displayed thy foulness to the whole world, and stinkest up to Heaven." †

Language such as this was calculated to alienate many who had hitherto favoured the Florentine prophet. The General of his Order and Cardinal Caraffa now ceased to defend him; and in Rome his cause was practically lost, while in Florence, also, public opinion was beginning to turn against him. His irreconcilable opponents, the Arrabiati and the Compagnacci (boon companions and lovers of the table), began to get more and more the upper

* GHERARDI, 149 *seq.*; COSCI, 440 *seq.*

† VILLARI, II., 165–166 (Engl. trans.), who justly observes that the passage about the sons of priests was directly aimed at Alexander VI.

hand. The excitement became so great that at last the Signoria issued a decree forbidding all monks of all Orders to preach after Ascension Day. On this day (4th May) Savonarola once more stood up in the Cathedral pulpit and boldly repeated his former assertion, that all who persecuted him were fighting against God; Italy, and especially Rome, would be terribly chastised, and then would come the reformation of the Church. It was untrue to say that he ought not to have preached that day because his preaching might give rise to disturbances; the Signoria might forbid preaching, but all the same there would be strife to determine whether such tyranny ought to be endured. At this moment a tumult began in the Church which soon spread into the streets. A regular pitched battle between the opponents and adherents of Savonarola seemed imminent.* An Envoy in Florence writes: "We have got back to the days of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines."† The authors of these disturbances remained unpunished, and the preacher could not fail to see that his party had lost its ascendency. Under these circumstances he resolved to make an attempt to avert the storm that was gathering against him in Rome. On the 22nd May he wrote a letter to the Pope, beginning with the words, "Why is my lord so wroth with his servant?" He had never, he declared, made any personal accusations in his sermons against any one, least of all against the Vicar of Christ—further, he asserted that he was always ready to submit himself to the judgment of the Church, and preached no other doctrine than that of the Holy Fathers, as would soon be proved to the whole world in his forthcoming work, *The Triumph of the Cross.*‡

* RANKE, Studien, 274 *seq.*

† Somenzi in his Report, May 4, in the Arch. St. Ital., XVIII., 2, 19.

‡ VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 188 (Engl. trans.)

While Savonarola was penning these words, judgment had been already pronounced against him in Rome. Even his former friend and supporter, Cardinal Caraffa, had now become convinced of the necessity for this step. Savonarola had invented all sorts of flimsy pretexts for evading the examination into his prophetical gifts which Rome was bound to require, and to which it was his clear duty to submit. What would become of the authority of the Holy See if every one were to follow his example? At the same time, while withholding from his Superiors that submission to which his vows had bound him, he claimed unquestioning obedience to his own commands, as Divine revelations! *

On the 12th May, 1497, Alexander attached his signature to the Brief of Excommunication. He had delayed his action as long as he could, and given the hot-headed Friar ample time to come to a better mind. Referring to the complaints brought to Rome of Savonarola's proceedings, the Florentine Envoy expressly says that Alexander had let it be clearly seen that he "was not inclined to make use of all the weapons that he had in his hand." But Savonarola's obstinate refusal to carry out the orders of the Holy See, in regard to the union of the Convent of S. Marco with the newly-erected Tuscan and Roman congregation, and his persistent disregard of the prohibition against his preaching, displayed an amount of insubordination towards the Papal authority that could not be left unchallenged. In addition to this, there were his incessant diatribes against Rome, and the assumption of prophetical authority on which these were founded;† and no doubt political motives tended in the same direction,

* PERRENS, 230 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the Despatch of the Florentine Ambassador in Rome, in GHERARDI, 141.

since Alexander was making every effort to detach Florence from France, and Savonarola was in this his strongest antagonist. However, the Friar's persistent insubordination was certainly the main determining factor in the final decision against him. "It was impossible for even an Alexander VI. to tolerate a prophet overriding the Hierarchy." *

The Brief of Excommunication runs as follows: "We have heard from many persons worthy of belief, that a certain Fra Girolamo Savonarola, at this present said to be Vicar of S. Marco in Florence, hath disseminated pernicious doctrines to the scandal and great grief of simple souls. We had already commanded him, by his vows of holy obedience, to suspend his sermons and come to us to seek pardon for his errors; but he refused to obey, and alleged various excuses which we too graciously accepted, hoping to convert him by our clemency. On the contrary, however, he persisted still more in his obstinacy; wherefore, by a second Brief (7th November, 1496), we commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to unite the Convent of S. Marco to the Tuscan-Roman Congregation recently created by us. But even then he still persisted in his stubbornness, thus, *ipso facto*, incurring the Censure. Wherefore we now command you, on the feast days and in the presence of the people, to declare the said Fra Girolamo excommunicate, and to be held as such by all men, for his disobedience to our apostolic admonitions

* GRISAR, in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 397; BALAN, 379; and RANKE, Studien, 278, who assigns correct limits to the influence of political motives. He remarks: "The principal motive, however, was the vindication of the supremacy of the spiritual authority, which at that time could count upon a party in the city prepared to support it." On the co-operation of Card. Caraffa in regard to the Brief, see GHERARDI, 160 *seq.* *Cf.* also PELLEGRINI, in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 717.

and commands; and, under pain of the same penalty, all are forbidden to assist him, hold intercourse with him, or abet him either by word or deed, inasmuch as he is an excommunicated person, and suspected of heresy. Given in Rome, 12th May, 1497." *

In order to spare the Florentines as much as possible, the Brief was not sent to the Government but to the several convents. It was not solemnly published until the 18th June.† Meanwhile the Florentine Envoys in Rome were working hard to obtain from the Pope the withdrawal, or at least the suspension, of the sentence. Savonarola's letter of 22nd May had arrived in the interim and produced a softening effect on Alexander, who from the first had been doing his best to avoid extreme measures. It seems most probable that at this juncture, in spite of the intrigues of the enemies of the Friar, it would have been possible to have obtained a suspension of the Brief. Alexander VI. was cut to the heart by the murder of the Duke of Gandia, and frightened also, as the assassin could not be discovered.‡ So prudent a statesman could not have desired to aggravate the tension of the situation just then by embarking in a new conflict. The fact that he put Savonarola's case into the hands of the newly-appointed commission for the reform of the Church, for further consideration, seems to prove that a pacific solution of it was quite within the bounds of possibility.§

At this critical moment it was Savonarola's own incon-

* See DEL LUNGO in the Arch. St. Ital., N. Serie, XVIII., 1, 17 *seq.*, and VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 189–190 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* SANUTO, I., 632 *seq.* Even Protestant historians, *e.g.*, KRABBE, Savonarola, 56 (Berlin, 1862), admit that the excommunication was merited.

† LANDUCCI, 152–153.

‡ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 496.

§ See PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 719.

siderate violence which effectually crushed this last chance of a reconciliation. On the 19th June he wrote in great haste an "Epistle against the surreptitious Excommunication addressed to all Christians and friends of God." In it he endeavoured to defend himself against his opponents, and repeated his claim to a Divine mission. At the close he says: "This Excommunication is invalid before God and man, inasmuch as it is based on false reasons and accusations devised by our enemies. I have always submitted, and will still submit, to the authority of the Church, nor will ever fail in my obedience; but no one is bound to submit to commands opposed to charity and the law of God, since in such a case our Superiors are no longer the representatives of the Lord. Meanwhile, seek by prayer to make ready for that which may befall you. If this matter is pursued further, we will make the truth known to all the world."* This theory is in direct contradiction to the teaching of the Church, which enjoins obedience even to an unjust Interdict, and would obviously destroy all discipline.† Savonarola was bound to obey the Holy See, however it might be desecrated by such an occupant as Alexander VI.

The Pope had no choice but to treat this step as a declaration of war. On the 26th June he told the Florentine Envoys that he was determined to proceed against the disobedient Friar, in the manner prescribed by the Church for dealing with rebels and those who contemned her authority. The Florentines still hoped by diplomacy to avert the catastrophe, especially as Alexander declared that, if Florence would give up the French alliance, he

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 193–194 (Engl. trans.); MEIER, 135 *seq.* Savonarola's replies were always printed at once; *cf.* SANUTO, I., 634, who observes that for this reason he does not insert them, also because they are so lengthy, and "per esser cosa fratescha."

† FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82

would do everything in his power to meet all the wishes of the Republic. The Florentine Envoy was also indefatigable in exerting himself to influence the Cardinals in favour of Savonarola, and not entirely without result, for some members of the commission recommended that the Censure should be suspended for two months, and the Friar induced meanwhile to come to Rome. But these views did not prevail. The commission of Cardinals agreed with the Pope that it was out of the question to comply with the request of the Signoria, unless Savonarola would first consent to yield obedience to the commands of the General of his Order and of the Holy See. People began to say that the Interdicts would be extended to the city itself. Still the Florentine Envoy refused to relinquish all hope, but was forced on the 12th February, 1498, to confess, after months of toil, that the case presented extraordinary difficulties.*

Meanwhile Savonarola, more than ever convinced of his divine mission,† did everything that in him lay to increase these difficulties and to exasperate the Pope and make a reconciliation impossible.

Hitherto, even during the Plague, he had abstained from attempting to exercise any sacerdotal functions; he well knew that to do so while under a formal sentence of Excommunication would be a sacrilege.

At the end of the year 1497 he changed his mind on this point. On Christmas Day he celebrated three masses and gave communion to all his religious and a large number

* GHERARDI, 172, 174–176. *Cf.* the Ferrarese Despatch in CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 89 *seq.*, who at the same time reports that Savonarola continues irreconcilable.

† *Cf.* the Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, in Aug. 1497, of his conversation with the "prophet," who explained that he was only an instrument in the hands of God, and therefore had no fear of the result, as God must certainly conquer. CAPPELLI, 90, *cf.* 98–99, on Savonarola's firm determination not to yield obedience to the Pope.

of the laity. Many of his partisans even disapproved of this sacrilegious act.* Presently it was announced that he intended to begin again to preach. The excommunication, he explained to the Ferrarese Envoy, was unjust and had no power to bind him; he did not mean to take any notice of it; see what a life Alexander VI. was leading; nothing should hinder him from preaching, "his commission came from One who was higher than the Pope, higher than any creature."† The Vicar of the Archbishop of Florence

* NARDI, I., 120, says: con gran maraviglia d'ognuno e dispiacimento non piccolo de' suoi divoti. Savonarola had resumed his spiritual ministrations.

† CAPPELLI, Savonarola, 102. RANKE is of opinion (Studien, 289 *seq.*) that "the Friar's action in permitting himself to resume his preaching outside the walls of S. Marco was far more important (than his exercise of sacerdotal functions); for this was an open defiance of the papal commands and the announcement made to him in the previous June of his Excommunication. This must not be regarded as an isolated act of disobedience; it is plain that it implied an attack on the whole system of the Church. The supreme authority of the Pope and his infallibility are called in question by it. . . . Savonarola, in resisting the Excommunication, was preparing the way for the Reformation." VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 246, n. 4 (Engl. trans.), and PELLEGRINI in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XII., 258, n. 2, justly dispute this latter assertion, but the error contained in the opening sentences of this passage is much greater. Ranke's Studien on Savonarola has the merit of being an impartial view of the "prophet," undistorted by the Dominican legends by which Villari has been far too much influenced. But this makes such remarks as those in the sentences quoted above all the more regrettable. When Ranke betakes himself to the domain of Catholic theology, his utter ignorance leads him into serious error. Thus he says (p. 327) that Savonarola distinctly taught the doctrine of justification by faith only! The parallel drawn between the Friar and Luther and Calvin on p. 331 is only partially true. Ranke says here that Luther "took up his position outside the hierarchy of the Church, while Savonarola still held to it." But if so, on what grounds does he, on p. 6, call Savonarola "a precursor of the Reformation of the 16th Century"?

tried to prevent this by issuing a mandate forbidding all from being present at the sermons, and desiring the parish priests to explain to their flocks that the excommunication was perfectly valid, and that any one attending Savonarola's preaching incurred the same penalty himself, and would be cut off from the Sacraments and from Christian burial. The Signoria, however, made short work of this proclamation, threatening the Vicar with the severest penalties if he did not withdraw it at once.*

On Septuagesima Sunday, 11th February, 1498, Savonarola again entered the pulpit of S. Marco under the ægis of the secular power and in open defiance of the commands of his spiritual superiors. In burning words he defended his disobedience. "The righteous prince or the good priest," he declared, "is merely an instrument in the Lord's hands for the government of the people, but when the higher agency is withdrawn from prince or priest, he is no longer an instrument, but a broken tool. And how, thou would'st say, am I to discern whether or no the higher agency be absent? See if his laws and commands be contrary to that which is the root and principle of all wisdom, namely of godly living and charity; and if contrary, thou may'st be truly assured that he is a broken tool, and that thou art nowise bound to obey him. Now tell me a little, what is the aim of those who, by their lying reports, have procured this sentence of Excommunication? As all know, they sought to sweep away virtuous living and righteous government, and to open the door to every vice. Thus, no sooner was the Excommunication pronounced, than they returned to drunkenness, profligacy, and every other crime. Thus, I will not acknowledge it, for I cannot act against charity. Any one who gives commands opposed

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 247–248 (Engl. trans.), Appendix, LI.; PERRENS, 333; MEIER, 140 *seq.*

to charity is Excommunicated by God. Were such commands pronounced by an angel, even by the Virgin Mary herself and all the saints (which is certainly impossible), *anathema sit.* If pronounced by any law, or canon, or council, *anathema sit.* And if any Pope hath ever spoken to a contrary effect from this, let him be declared excommunicate. I say not that such a Pope hath ever existed; but if he hath existed he can have been no instrument of the Lord, but a broken tool. It is feared by some that, though this excommunication be powerless in Heaven, it may have power in the Church. For me it is enough not to be interdicted by Christ. Oh, my Lord, if I should seek to be absolved from this excommunication, let me be sent to hell; I should shrink from seeking absolution as from mortal sin."

"The Pope may err," Savonarola asserted in his sermon on 18th February, "and that in two ways, either because he is erroneously informed, or from malice. As to the latter cause we leave that to the judgment of God, and believe rather that he has been misinformed. In our own case I can prove that he has been falsely persuaded. Therefore any one who obstinately upholds the excommunication and affirms that I ought not to preach these doctrines is fighting against the kingdom of Christ, and supporting the kingdom of Satan, and is himself a heretic, and deserves to be excluded from the Christian community."*

These and similar utterances which occur in all his sermons were the result of Savonarola's unfortunate conviction derived from his visions, that he had a mission from God, and his attacks on the Italian, and especially the Roman

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 248 *seq.* (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* MEIER, 141 *seq.*, and PERRENS, 335 *seq.*; the latter justly observes that Savonarola's theory paves the way for all kinds of insubordination. See also FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 82.

clergy, became more violent than ever. "The scandals," he says, "begin in Rome and run through the whole of the clergy; they are worse than Turks and Moors. In Rome you will find that they have, one and all, obtained their benefices by simony. They buy preferments and bestow them on their children or their brothers, who take possession of them by violence and all sorts of sinful means. Their greed is insatiable, they do all things for gold. They only ring their bells for coin and candles; only attend Vespers and Choir and Office when something is to be got by it. They sell their benefices, sell the Sacraments, traffic in masses; in short, money is at the root of everything, and then they are afraid of excommunication. When the evening comes one goes to the gaming table, another to his concubine. When they go to a funeral a banquet is given, and when they ought to be praying in silence for the soul of the departed they are eating and drinking and talking. They are steeped in shameful vices; but in the day-time they go about in fine linen, looking smart and clean. Many are absolutely ignorant of their rule and where to find it, know nothing of penance or the care of souls. There is no faith left, no charity, no virtue. Formerly it used to be said, if not pure, at least demure. Now no one need try to keep up appearances, for it is considered a disgrace to live well. If a priest or a canon leads an orderly life he is mocked and called a hypocrite. No one talks now of his nephew, but simply of his son or his daughter. The . . . go openly to S. Peter's; every priest has his concubine. All veils are cast aside. The poison is so rank in Rome that it has infected France and Germany and all the world. It has come to such a pass that all are warned against Rome, and people say, 'If you want to ruin your son make him a priest.'"*

But the scene which Savonarola permitted himself to

* MEIER, 143 *seq.*

enact on the last day of the Carnival, was even more outrageous than his language. He began by saying mass in S. Marco and giving communion to his monks and a large number of laymen. Then he mounted a pulpit which had been erected before the door of the Church, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, and, almost beside himself with excitement, blasphemously exclaimed, "Oh Lord, if my deeds be not sincere, if my words be not inspired by Thee, strike me dead this instant."*

"O ye priests," Savonarola cried out from the pulpit on the 1st March, "you have surpassed the pagans in contradicting and persecuting the truth of God and His cause. O my children, it is evident now that they are worse than Turks. Now must we resist the wicked as the martyrs resisted the tyrants. Contend ye evil-doers against this cause like pagans; write to Rome that this Friar and his friends will fight against you as against Turks and unbelievers. It is true that a Brief has come from Rome in which I am called a son of perdition. Write that he whom you thus designate says that he has neither concubines nor children, but preaches the Gospel of Christ. His brethren, and all who follow his teaching, reject all such deplorable things, frequent the Sacraments, and live honestly. Nevertheless, like Christ Himself, we will somewhat give way to wrath, and thus I declare to you, that I will preach no more from this pulpit except at the request of those who desire to lead a good life. I will preach in S. Marco but to men only, not to women; under the present circumstances this is needful."†

* LANDUCCI, 163, who describes this appalling scene, adds: Eravi venuto grande popolo, stimando vedere segni: e tiepidi si ridevano e facevano beffe e dicevano: Egli è scommunicato e communica altri. E benche a me e' pareva errore, ancora che gli credessi; ma non volli mettermi mai a pericolo andare a udirlo, poichè fu scommunicato.

† MEIER, 146.

Nothing could have pleased Savonarola's enemies better than this aggressive tone. His friends were in the greatest embarrassment. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome knew not what reply to make to the Pope's complaints of the intemperate sermons of the Friar and the obstinacy of the Florentines in clinging to their prophet and to the French alliance. On the 25th February, 1498, Alexander told the Envoys that "even Turks would not endure such insubordination against lawful authority," and threatened to lay an Interdict on the city.* A few days later he attached his signature to a Brief to the Florentines, which ran thus: "On first receiving notice of the pernicious errors diffused by that child of iniquity, Girolamo Savonarola, we required him to abstain entirely from preaching, and to come to Rome to implore our pardon and make recantation; but he refused to obey us. We commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to join the Congregation of S. Marco to the new Tuscan-Roman Congregation, and again he refused to obey, thus incurring, *ipso facto*, the threatened excommunication. The which sentence of excommunication we caused to be pronounced and proclaimed in your principal churches, likewise declaring that all who heard, or addressed, or held intercourse with the said Girolamo would incur the same penalty. Nevertheless, we now hear that, to the grave hurt of religion and the souls of men, this Friar still continues to preach, despises the authority of the Holy See, and declares the excommunication to be null and void. Wherefore we command you, by your duty of holy obedience, to send the said Fra Girolamo to us, under safe custody; and if he return to repentance, he will be paternally received by us, inasmuch as we seek the conversion, not the death, of the sinner. Or at least put him apart, as a corrupt

* GHERARDI, 180 *seq.* *Cf.* PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 721.

member, from the rest of the people, and keep him confined and guarded in such wise that he may have speech of none, nor be able to disseminate fresh scandals. But if ye refuse to obey these commands, we shall be forced to assert the dignity of the Holy See, by subjecting you to an Interdict and also to other and more effectual remedies." *

This Brief, therefore, does not contain the Interdict itself but only threatens it. In a second the Canons of the Cathedral are enjoined not to allow Savonarola to preach on any pretext whatsoever. Thus the Pope still abstained from doing anything more than that which was absolutely necessary, and demanded nothing that was not strictly within his rights. According to the ecclesiastical laws of that time Savonarola was unquestionably a delinquent, and being a religious, Alexander had a right to require that he should be handed over to the Holy See for judgment. It is quite true that, from the beginning and throughout, the fact that the Friar was the soul of the French party in Florence was one of the weights in the scale, and not a light one; but it is an exaggeration to assert that Alexander's only motive in his proceedings against Savonarola was to induce Florence to join the Italian League against France; at this moment it is clear that in the Pope's mind the vindication of the authority of the Church was the foremost consideration.† "If the monk will prove his obedience," he said on 27th February to the Florentine Envoy, "by abstaining from preaching for a reasonable time, I will absolve him from the censures which he has brought upon himself; but if he persists in

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 262, 263 (Engl. trans.). The whole text is in the Italian, II., ed. 2, App., LXVI.–LXVII.

† GRISAR in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 397. *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 78.

his disobedience we shall be obliged to proceed against him with the Interdict and all other lawful punishments, to vindicate our own dignity and that of the Holy See." * The Pope again expressed himself in similar terms when, on the 7th of March, the Florentine Envoy presented the reply of his Government to the Brief of 26th February. The reply pointed out that Savonarola had never entered the pulpit in the Cathedral since the arrival of the Brief, defended him warmly on all points, declaring that he had been calumniated, and said that the Government was unable to comply with the Pope's request. Alexander, however, was well aware that Savonarola continued to preach and abuse him in S. Marco in exactly the same manner as he had done in the Cathedral. "This is a sorry letter," he said to the Florentine Envoy on the 7th March, "that your Government has written to me. I am not misinformed, for I have myself read the sermons of this Friar of yours, and conversed with people who have heard them. He despises the censures and has had the insolence to call the Pope a 'broken tool,' and to say that he would sooner go to hell than ask for absolution." With growing irritation Alexander went on to complain that the Signoria still permitted Savonarola to preach. More than once it had been at their express desire that the Friar had re-entered the pulpit at S. Marco; the Pope demanded that he should be absolutely silenced, otherwise he would lay the city under Interdict. The Envoy strove to mollify the Pope by pointing out that there was nothing reprehensible in Savonarola's teaching. Alexander replied that it was not the Friar's doctrines that he condemned, but his conduct in refusing to ask to be absolved from the excommunication, declaring it to be null and void, and continuing to preach in spite of his express prohibition. Such an example of open defiance of

* GHERARDI, 183.

his and the Church's authority was most dangerous.* This declaration was endorsed by a new Brief dated 9th March, again denouncing in the strongest terms Savonarola's disobedience in preaching and exercising sacerdotal functions, notwithstanding his excommunication, and in disseminating through the press his denial of the validity of the Papal censures, and other subversive doctrines. "Does the Friar think," it said, "that he alone was excepted when our Lord conferred the power of binding and loosing on our predecessor S. Peter? . . . Our duty as Pastor of the flock forbids us to tolerate such conduct any longer. We therefore once more command you either to send Savonarola to Rome, or to shut him up in some convent where he can neither preach nor speak to any one until he comes to himself and renders himself worthy to be absolved. If this is not done we shall lay Florence under Interdict; all that we require is that Savonarola shall acknowledge our supreme authority."†

The numerous letters of the Florentine Ambassador shew the extremely embarrassing position in which he was placed by the perfectly legitimate demands of the Pope. From Florence he received nothing but fair words excusing Savonarola, while Alexander VI. insisted on deeds. On the 16th of March, in a very outspoken letter, he again explained the true state of things to his Government. The Pope, he says, absolutely requires that Savonarola shall be silenced; if not, the Interdict will certainly be pronounced. They may spare themselves the trouble of any more fair words and apologies for the Friar; they make no impression on any one. On the contrary, every one laughs at their notion that Savonarola's Excommunication can be set aside.

* MARCHESE in Arch. St. Ital., VIII., 167 *seq.*

† GHERARDI, 194 *seq.*; *cf.* PELLEGRINI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 723.

The power of pronouncing censures is by no means an insignificant part of the authority of the Holy See. They need not fancy that they will be permitted to question it. "I repeat once more," he adds, "what I have so often written to you, if the Pope is not obeyed, the Interdict will be laid on the city. Consider, moreover, how you yourselves would act if one who owed you obedience not only frankly acted against your commands, but flouted you into the bargain."*

A few days later the Ambassador announced that the Pope had received further accounts of the abuse showered upon him, the Cardinals, and the whole Roman Court by Savonarola in his sermons. The result of a consultation with several of the Cardinals was that to forbid his preaching was not enough, he must be sent to Rome; otherwise, not only would an Interdict be laid upon Florence, but all Florentines residing in Rome would be arrested and put in prison and their property confiscated.†

It was so obviously the fault of the Signoria that matters should have been brought to such a pass as this, that their conduct has been suspected of having been due to the intrigues of Savonarola's enemies, whose influence was growing from day to day. The Milanese Ambassador in Florence wrote to his Government on the 2nd March, 1498, that the Signoria were endeavouring to irritate the Pope to the utmost, in order to provide themselves with a plausible pretext for taking proceedings against the Friar.‡ It is not necessary to determine whether this view is correct or not, but the fact remains that the behaviour of the Signoria

* GHERARDI, 198–201, has been the first to publish this highly interesting report of the Ambassador. Villari did not know of it.

† GHERARDI, 204.

‡ This report is quoted by VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 267 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XIII., 186, and PELLEGRINI in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 722 *seq.*; *cf.* 724 *seq.*

did necessarily greatly embitter Alexander against Savonarola. The Pope complained of the Friar's disobedience and of his being permitted openly to set his authority at defiance. The Signoria replied that the preacher was doing a great deal of good and was a true reformer, and that therefore they could not comply with Alexander's commands. When the accounts from Rome became more menacing, they gave way so far as to forbid him from preaching;* but allowed his followers, Fra Domenico and Fra Mariano Ughi, to go on declaiming against Rome in their sermons as freely as ever. The Pope complained of this in a conversation with the Florentine Ambassador on the 23rd of March and demanded an answer to his Brief. "I do not require," he said, "that the friars should be prevented from preaching, but these attacks on the authority of the Church and abusive language against myself must be put a stop to." Referring to Savonarola, he added: "If he would be obedient for a while and then ask for absolution, I would willingly grant it, and permit him to resume his sermons, but he must cease from abusing the Holy See, the Pope, and the College of Cardinals; for I do not object to his doctrines, but only to his preaching without having received absolution, and to his contempt of myself and of my censures; to tolerate this would be to give away my apostolic authority."† These words are remarkable as

* In his last sermon on 18th March, Savonarola said that the only resource now left was an appeal to the highest tribunal. "We must turn from the earthly Pope to Christ, the heavenly Pope." He declared that he had never set himself against the true authority of the Church, "but if the power of the Church is corrupted, it ceases to be that of the Church, and becomes the power of Satan. When it encourages concubines, knaves, and thieves, and persecutes the good, and hinders those who desire to lead Christian lives, I tell you then it is a devilish power that must be withstood." See MEIER, 150.

† Bonsi's Despatch of 23rd March, 1498, in GHERARDI, 209; *cf.* 210.

clearly proving that at this time the vindication of the Church was the first consideration.

Could the proud Friar at this juncture have made up his mind to humble himself before the Pope and ask for absolution, possibly the storm which was ultimately to overwhelm him might, even at the last moment, have been averted. But nothing could have been further from his thoughts; blinded by his false theory, that a Council is superior to the Pope,* he obstinately persisted in pushing matters to an extreme. On the 13th March he addressed an angry letter to Alexander, accusing him of having "made a compact with his enemies, and let loose savage wolves upon an innocent man."† Then, following in the way of all other rebels, he urged that a Council should be held to depose the Pope as "guilty of simony, a heretic, and an unbeliever." Savonarola's friends pressed the Florentine Envoy in France and Spain to support this plan; he himself addressed a letter to all the great Christian Princes, to the Kings of France, Spain, England, and Hungary, and the Emperor of Germany, strongly urging them to convoke an anti-Papal Council. "The hour of vengeance has arrived," he wrote in this document, "God desires me to reveal His secret counsels and to announce to all the world the dangers to which the barque of Peter is exposed in consequence of your slackness. The Church is steeped in shame and crime from head to foot. You, instead of exerting yourselves to deliver her, bow down before the source of all this evil. Therefore, the Lord is angry and has left the Church for so long without a shepherd. I assure you, *in verbo Domini*, that this Alexander is no Pope at all and should not be accounted such; for besides having attained to the Chair of S. Peter by the

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 212.

† MEIER, 148 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*

shameful sin of simony, and still daily selling Church benefices to the highest bidder; besides his other vices which are known to all the world, I affirm also that he is not a Christian, and does not believe in the existence of God, which is the deepest depth of unbelief." After this introduction, he required all Christian Princes to unite in convoking a Council as soon as possible in some suitable and neutral place. On his side he not only bound himself to substantiate all his charges with irrefragable proofs, but also assured them that God would confirm his words by miraculous tokens.*

The agitation in favour of a Council acquired a real force and extension from Alexander's growing unpopularity. The way in which he had given up the projects of reform which he had announced before the death of the Duke of Gandia, and his unblushing nepotism necessarily aroused bitter feelings against him, both in Italy and abroad. There was fermentation on all sides. The greatest danger seemed to lie in Savonarola's friendship with the French King Charles VIII. who had already, on 7th January, 1497, obtained a pronouncement in favour of his plans for calling a Council from the Sorbonne.† Alexander had got to know of these intrigues, either through intercepted letters or through some unwary speaker. He now thought that he had good reason to fear that Savonarola's mysterious threats, such as "Some day I will turn the key," or "I will cry, Lazarus, come forth," were more than mere empty

* The draft of this letter is to be found in MEIER, 349 *seq.* This document is pronounced to be genuine, not only by MARCHESE in Arch. St. Ital., VIII., 86 *seq.* (*cf.* SCRITTI, I., 254 *seq.*), but also by RANKE, Studien, 307 *seq.*, who also, in the same place, expresses his belief in the statements made by Savonarola in his trial.

† DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, Coll. Judic., T. I., P. II., pp. 335–336; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 333.

words. No doubt he recalled to mind Andrea Zamometič's attempts to bring about a Council, and especially dreaded combinations between the Friar and Princes or Cardinals who were hostile to him, with the object of getting him deposed by a Council. "From henceforth all his moderation and gentleness vanished." At the same time the tempest burst upon Savonarola from another quarter.*

* SCHWAB, in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 906; *cf.* PELLEGRINI, in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 726. ARMSTRONG, in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 455, strongly condemns the passionate partisanship with which Villari, even in his latest edition, and in contradiction to all the best authorities, describes the conduct of Alexander VI. in regard to Savonarola. This author, a Protestant, remarks among other things: "Even a Pope has some rights of self-defence, and had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the Friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible. Until the last act of the drama, he seems to have behaved with singular moderation, and the changes which the author ascribes to malevolent cunning were clearly due to a real difficulty in taking stringent measures against a man for whose life and moral teaching he had considerable respect. If the Pope had a right to separate the Tuscan from the Lombard congregation against the will of the latter, he certainly had the right to unite it to the Roman against the will of the former. Professor Villari is never weary of assuring his readers that Savonarola's opposition was directed not against the Papacy but against the Pope, and that no taint of heresy lingers round his memory; but it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between doctrine and discipline, and the head of the Church would appear to have an even stronger claim to enforce his views of discipline than of doctrine." In another place (p. 459), Armstrong says that Villari's biography is a panegyric and an apology. Before him, GASPARY (II., 664) had also taken exception to Villari's point of view. HARTWIG, in the Zeitschr., LXIV., 178 *seq.*, endeavours to defend Villari against his critics, but has to admit that he had undertaken to glorify Savonarola (p. 179), and that he is prejudiced in favour of his hero (187). In introducing into this question the definition on Infallibility of 1870 (179), Hartwig only shews that he has not understood this dogma. I see in GOTHEIN'S work, Ignatius von Loyola, which has just appeared (782), that he also considers Villari's point of view "unsatisfactory."

At the very moment that the Friar was thus attempting to stir up a revolt amongst the Princes of Europe his standing ground in Florence was slipping away from under his feet.

The days in which Savonarola was the guide and ruler of almost the whole of Florence had long gone by. The turning point for him came in the year 1497 with the failure of Piero de' Medici's attempt to make himself master of the city, and the execution of five of his adherents. Their relations set themselves as avengers of blood to hunt Savonarola down,* and the influence of the Arrabiati became so great that from that time his followers had to fight hard to hold their ground. The position of the Frateschi naturally was very much damaged when, on the top of this, the excommunication also came, for it produced a great impression in the city, and many held it to be binding.† The disputes on this point and on the guilt or innocence of the Friar grew more and more vehement. The revolutionary character of Savonarola's attitude‡ was severely stigmatised by the Franciscans of S^ta^ Croce. When he was silenced by the Government they redoubled their attacks upon him. The Dominicans were unwearied in defending him; their chief argument was his Divine mission. In his sermons he had repeatedly asserted that supernatural tokens of the righteousness of his cause would not fail to be forthcoming if the natural evidence were insufficient.§ For a time the moderation of his conduct and the fact that many of his prophecies came true had caused him to be

* See HASE, Savonarola, 53.

† LANDUCCI, 162, reports that many were saying that, whether it were just or unjust, the Excommunication was a serious matter. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., III., 167, and ARMSTRONG, *loc. cit.*, 456.

‡ CREIGHTON, III., 238, considers it such.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 28, and Arch. Veneto, VIII., 77.

widely believed. Gradually people became more and more sceptical, and he found himself more and more obliged to stand on the defensive against the cavillers who disbelieved in his prophecies. The very palpable disadvantages consequent on the state of tension between Florence and Rome which was the natural result of her championship of an excommunicated religious, and especially the Pope's refusal to consent to the levying of a tithe on Church property, had a considerable effect in increasing the number of sceptics. The deliberations of the Council in March 1498, on the course to be pursued in their relations with Rome, shew how far matters had gone in this respect. Francesco Valori, Savonarola's confidential friend, and others, stood up for him, but they were strongly opposed.

His enemies took pains to point out, in addition to higher considerations, the material inconveniences that must attend persistence in the course which Florence had hitherto been pursuing. Giovanni Conacci observed that the Pope's jurisdiction was universal, and he ought to be allowed to have what rightly belonged to him. Giuliano Gondi reminded the Florentines of their profession of obedience; in refusing to obey the Pope they were breaking a solemn oath. The result of Savonarola's preaching, denying that Alexander was a true Pope and vilifying his person, would be that a sect would be formed in Florence. It was not worth while to make enemies of the Pope and all the Italian powers for the sake of such a man; in the end the Florentines would be declared rebels against the Church, and would be treated as such. Giovanni Brunetti remarked that however good and learned Savonarola might be, he was still not infallible. Guid' Antonio Vespucci said that, looking at the case on all sides, he thought it would be better to obey the Pope. "You have got an envoy in Rome," he said, "who is commissioned to request the Pope to restore

his consent to the tax on the clergy, without which the city cannot exist. For this end he is charged to do all he can to conciliate the Holy Father; there is no sense in contradicting a man from whom you are seeking to obtain a favour. Whether Savonarola be innocent or guilty is of no moment; the Holy See holds him to be guilty, and unless we satisfy the Pope on this point we shall certainly get nothing from him, and it is much to be feared that the Interdict, with all its disastrous consequences, will come upon us. Stress has been laid on the harm that will be done by silencing the Friar; but since his own Superiors have forbidden him to preach it is not at our doors that the sin will lie. For Rome the matter is far from being so unimportant as some would make it out. Censures are the weapons of the Apostolic See; if it is deprived of these, how can it maintain its dignity and authority? This is perfectly understood in Rome. It is said that we ought to consider God and His honour. I agree; but the Pope is Christ's Vicar on earth, and derives his authority from God. It is therefore more meritorious to accept his censures, whether they be just or unjust, than to defend the Friar. No doubt if we could be sure that Savonarola was sent by God it would be right to protect him against the Pope; but as we cannot be certain of this, it is more prudent to obey Rome." *

Meanwhile Savonarola unflinchingly maintained the supernatural origin of his prophecies, and asserted that if necessary they would be confirmed by a miracle. On the last day of the Carnival of the year 1498, before all the people, holding the Blessed Sacrament in his hand, he prayed, "O God, if my words are not from Thee, I entreat

* See the report of these transactions in the documents published by LUPI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, III., 1, 33–53. *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 300 *seq.*; FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 71 *seq.*; and HASE, 61.

Thee to strike me down this very moment." * On Quinquagesima Sunday of the same year, in his sermon he cried out, "I entreat each one of you to pray earnestly to God that if my doctrine does not come from Him, He will send down a fire upon me, which shall consume my soul in hell." In other sermons he had repeatedly told stories to his audience of cases in which the truth was not recognised until manifested by some direct token from God, and offered himself to pass through the fire in order to prove the reality of his mission.† After such utterances as these it was not surprising that on 25th March, 1498, the Franciscan, Francesco of Apulia, in a sermon in S^ta^ Croce, should have taken up the challenge, and undertaken to submit to the ordeal by fire with Savonarola. "I fully believe," Francesco said, "that I shall be burnt, but I am ready to sacrifice myself to free the people from this delusion. If Savonarola is not burnt with me then you may believe him to be a prophet." ‡

Savonarola meanwhile shewed no great inclination to prove his mission by the ordeal, but it was otherwise with his followers. Not only the enthusiastic Fra Domenico da Pescia but also many other Dominicans, and even several laymen and many women, announced their readiness to undergo it. "It is wonderful," writes a Florentine to his friend on 29th March, 1498, "to see how many here are ready to go through the ordeal as joyfully as if they were going to a wedding." §

* "The test was somewhat cheap," says BÖHRINGER, 974, "and the Arrabiati were quite justified in saying that Savonarola would have done better if he had promised a miracle if God were for him, than if He were against him; for a negative proves nothing. But all that was needed was to set afloat the idea of a Divine manifestation."

† PERRENS, 361; BÖHRINGER, 988.

‡ *Cf.* LANDUCCI, 166–167, and GHERARDI, 216.

§ GHERARDI, 216. RANKE Studien, 310, says that this "strange

Savonarola's enemies recognised at once that the question thus started might, and possibly must, entail the destruction of their hated foe. "If he enters the fire," they said, "he will be burnt; and if he does not, he will forfeit the faith of his adherents, and it will be easy to stir up a riot, during which he may be arrested." They therefore resolved to do their best to have the trial by ordeal carried out. For this it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Government; and here there was considerable opposition from many who recognised the scandalous nature of the proposal; also Savonarola's refusal to take up the challenge in person was embarrassing. However, the majority agreed that all possible means must be tried, including the ordeal if necessary, to heal the divisions in the city. Savonarola's party were the most eager advocates of the ordeal. Again and again their master had told them that one day his words would be miraculously confirmed and his enemies destroyed, and now it seemed as if the day had come. With fanatical confidence they clamoured for the ordeal; convinced that when the decisive moment arrived, the master would no longer be able to restrain himself, he would plunge into the flames, and then would come the miracle.*

The propositions, the truth of which Domenico da Pescia hoped to establish by means of the ordeal by fire, were those which were most contested by Savonarola's opponents. They were the following:—"The Church of God is in need of reform; she will be chastised first and then renovated. Florence also will be chastised and afterwards restored and flourish anew. All unbelievers will be converted to Christ. These things will come to pass in our own time. The

duel" was proposed because "no ecclesiastical authority existed which was acknowledged by both parties."

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 307 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* RANKE, Studien, 311 *seq.*

Excommunication pronounced against our revered father, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, is invalid and may be disregarded without sin."

The attitude of the Government towards the ordeal should have caused Savonarola and his followers to pause; but common-sense had long been thrown to the winds by the Friar's party, to make way for a blind belief in the somnambulistic oracles of Fra Silvestro Maruffi. On the 30th March, the Signoria had decreed, in regard to the ordeal, that the party whose champion succumbed must immediately leave the city; that if either of the combatants refused to enter the fire, he would incur the same penalty; that if both were burnt, the Dominicans would be considered the vanquished party. In a new decree on 6th April there was no longer any mention of a penalty for the Franciscans; it simply announced that if Fra Domenico perished, Savonarola would have to leave Florence within three hours.*

When the news of these proceedings reached Rome, Alexander at once expressed his disapprobation. The Florentine Ambassador endeavoured in vain to obtain his sanction for the ordeal. He condemned it in the strongest terms, as did also the Cardinals and the whole Roman Court. The Ambassador insisted that the only way of preventing it would be for the Pope to absolve Savonarola, an obviously impossible alternative.†

Meanwhile the 7th of April, the day fixed for the ordeal,

* This decree is in VILLARI, Savonarola, II., ed. 2, XCI.–XCIII.

† In the face of the documents published by GHERARDI, 217 *seq.*, Villari's assertion, in which he persists even in his second edition, II., 145, that Alexander had approved of the ordeal by fire, is absolutely untenable. CREIGHTON, III., 240; PELLEGRINI in the Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XI., 727; and ARMSTRONG in the Engl. Hist. Review, IV., 458, all rightly agree in rejecting Villari's theory. *Cf.* also CHRISTOPHE, II., 503, n. 1, and CIPOLLA, 755, n. 2.

had arrived. Savonarola's misgivings had been dissipated by a vision of angels which had been vouchsafed to Fra Silvestro. On the morning of the appointed day he said mass and delivered a brief address to those who had attended it. "I cannot promise you," he said, "that the ordeal will take place, for that does not depend upon us; but, if it does, I have no hesitation in assuring you that our side will triumph." Then he set out for the Piazza accompanied by all his friars singing the Psalm, "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered," as they walked in procession. The Franciscans, who had come quietly, were already there. An enormous multitude had assembled and were eagerly awaiting the unwonted spectacle. The Signoria had taken every precaution to secure the preservation of order. Two piles of faggots forty yards long and saturated with oil and pitch were prepared, divided by a space wide enough to allow a man to pass between them. It had already struck twelve when the Dominicans and their adherents, walking in solemn procession (Savonarola carrying the Blessed Sacrament), reached the Piazza. The Franciscans had come earlier, simply and without any demonstration, and now stood in silence on their side of the Loggia, while the Dominicans prayed aloud. All was ready. But now a difference arose between the two parties as to what each of the champions should be allowed to take with him into the flames. Fra Domenico insisted on taking the Crucifix, and this the Franciscans refused to permit. While this question was being discussed, a heavy shower came on, threatening to drive the spectators away, but they were too eager to be easily scared and it ceased in a few minutes as suddenly as it had begun. Fra Domenico persisted in his determination not to lay aside the Crucifix. At last he said that he would be willing to take the Sacred Host instead. Against this not only the Franciscans but the whole body

of spectators energetically protested, rightly judging that such a proceeding would be nothing less than an outrage on the Blessed Sacrament. Savonarola and Fra Domenico were of a different opinion ; later, Fra Domenico acknowledged that the reason he refused to give way on this point was, that Fra Silvestro's angel had expressly ordered him to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the fire. The only possible explanation of Savonarola's persistence in this matter was the influence exercised over his mind by this friar. As a priest he must have known that to introduce the Sacred Host in such a manner into a personal experiment was absolutely forbidden by Canon Law. He seemed to have entirely forgotten that in the Church the only purposes for which the body of the Lord can lawfully be used are for the adoration of the faithful, or for their food. He maintained that only the species could be burnt, and that the Host itself would remain untouched, and quoted a number of doctors of the Church in support of his view, which the Franciscans as resolutely contested.* Meanwhile it was growing dark and Savonarola's opponents were becoming more and more violent. The only course now open to the Signoria was to command both parties to withdraw. The mob, disappointed of the spectacle to which they had been so eagerly looking forward, were furious. Their wrath naturally was directed against the Dominican, "whose proposal of carrying the Sacred Host into the fire was looked upon as an insult to the Blessed Sacrament." The bad impression produced by this was all the stronger because

* BÖHRINGER, 999, remarks, "If Savonarola believed in the certainty of a miracle in his favour, why then should he carry the Sacred Host into the fire? Or if, on the other hand, It was to serve as a sort of talisman to protect Fra Domenico, would it not have had the same effect if Rondinelli also had insisted on carrying it, and thus reduced the whole ordeal to a farce?"

the Franciscan had been ready to enter the fire without any more ado and without expecting any miraculous interposition. The conduct of Savonarola and his party was universally condemned, especially after having so confidently announced that a miracle would take place in their favour; "the idea that the whole thing was a fraud gained ground from moment to moment."* If Savonarola was so confident that God would protect him, it was said, why did he shrink from himself undergoing the ordeal? Also, why did he insist on Domenico's being allowed to carry the Blessed Sacrament with him into the flames? Even those who believed in the prophet said that if the proof of his Divine mission were to be held as really incontestable, he ought to have entered the fire alone. Thus, in a single day, Savonarola by his own act had dissipated the prophetic halo which had hitherto surrounded him in the eyes of the people.† His fate was sealed. "He had himself led the populace to look for, and believe in, such tokens as the ordeal would have been, and whenever the masses find themselves disappointed in their expectations, and think themselves cheated and insulted, their resentment is bitter and ruthless."‡

* RANKE, Studien, 313–314 (*cf.* 352 *seq.*); he cites Cerretani and the Report of the Milanese Envoy, Somenzi, in the Arch. St. Ital., XVIII., 2–31 *seq.* Ranke rightly follows Cerretani's impartial account and rejects Violi and Burlamacchi's Dominican Legend, which Villari reproduces in all essential points. A fresh authority, overlooked by Villari, has now come to light in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI (II., 194), who is all the more trustworthy because he fully recognises Savonarola's great qualities. PELLEGRINI in the Giorn. St. d. Lett. Ital., XII., 262 *seq.*, also points out the strong bias in Villari's account of the ordeal by fire.

† Il popolo si conturbò tutti quasi perdendo la fede del Profeta, writes LANDUCCI, 169. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, II., 242; COSCI, 456; and PERRENS, 378 *seq.*

‡ FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 80.

On the following morning, Palm Sunday, Savonarola still further damaged his position by again preaching in S. Marco in direct contradiction to the command of the Signoria. On the same day his banishment was decreed; but this sentence was not carried out.* The Compagnacci resolved to take advantage of the anger and disappointment of the populace in order once for all to crush the Frateschi. Before Palm Sunday was over the two parties into which the city was divided had come to blows. The sermon of a Dominican friar who was preaching in the Cathedral was violently interrupted. Francesco Valori, Savonarola's chief supporter, was murdered, and the Convent of S. Marco was stormed. At first Savonarola thought of defending it, but when the city officials presented themselves and summoned him to appear before the Signoria, he followed them. By torchlight he and Domenico da Pescia were led to the palace through the seething crowd, which hooted and jeered at the prophet as he passed.†

The Signoria lost no time in acquainting the Pope and the various Italian powers with what had taken place. The Florentine Ambassador in Rome was also charged to beg for a general absolution from all Church penalties that might have been incurred by having allowed the Friar to go on preaching for so long, or by proceedings against ecclesiastical persons. In addition they asked for powers to try the religious who had been arrested, and also again

* The Decree is in VILLARI, II., ed. 2, XCIV. *Cf.* PORTIOLI in the Arch. St. Lomb., I., 351 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Cerretani and Parenti's reports in RANKE, 314 *seq.* "So great was the rage of the people," says the chronicler VAGLIENTI, "that Savonarola, if he had not had the Blessed Sacrament with him, would have been torn to pieces." See Riv. d. Biblioteche dir di G. Biagi, IV., 60. See also JACOPO PITTI, Ist. Fior., in the Arch. St. Ital., 152, and the letter of a Mantuan Agent in the Arch. St. Lomb., I., 347 *seq.*, and also COSCI, 457 *seq.*

approached the question of the tax on the clergy. Alexander VI. expressed his satisfaction that the scandal caused by the excommunicated Friar was at last put an end to; he willingly granted the absolution, but desired that the prisoners should be sent to Rome. Although this request was afterwards repeated with considerable urgency, no attention was paid to it in Florence. To send the delinquents to Rome was held not consistent with the dignity of the Republic; the sentence ought to be carried out where the crime had been committed. It was finally decided that two Papal Delegates were to assist in the trial, and on May 19th the General of the Dominicans, Gioacchino Turiano, and Francesco Romolino, Bishop of Ilerda, came to Florence in this capacity. But long before they arrived the trial had begun, and it was evident that Savonarola's opponents were now complete masters of the city and were prepared to employ any amount of torture and falsification of evidence to ensure his destruction.

It is plain that Savonarola's statements, forced from him by torture and further distorted by interpolated sentences and omissions, cannot be accepted as proofs of anything. Thus the justice of his sentence can never be either proved or disproved; but the excitement of Florence was so great that the Government believed that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to the Friar's proceedings. No doubt Alexander VI. was urgent in his demands that the rebel who had intended to call in the help of the secular powers to achieve his dethronement should be punished. Nevertheless the responsibility for the severity with which he was treated must rest on the rulers of Florence. It has been truly said, in excuse for this, that the Republic was at that time in such a critical position, both externally and internally, that the Government were convinced that this was a case for the application of the old Roman maxim,

"the good of the State before everything else," and that they were bound to adopt any measures, however extreme, that seemed expedient for its defence.*

What was given out as Savonarola's "Confessions" was of a nature to shake the faith even of his most trustful disciples in his Divine mission and his prophetic character, and the mass of his disciples began rapidly to fall away. "On the 29th April, 1498," writes the loyal Luca Landucci in his Diary, "I was present at the reading of the depositions at the trial of Savonarola, whom we had all believed to be a prophet. He confessed that he was no such thing and that his prophecies were not from God. When I heard this I was filled with amazement and confusion. My soul was pierced with anguish when I perceived that the whole of the edifice which my faith had reared was founded on lies and was crumbling away. I had thought that Florence was to be a new Jerusalem, out of which would proceed the law of holy life, the reformation of the Church, the conversion of unbelievers, and the consolation of the good. Now all this has vanished. My only comfort is in the word: *In voluntate tua Domini omnia sunt posita.*"† The majority even of the friars of San Marco now abandoned their master. On the 21st of April they sent a letter of apology to Alexander. "Not merely ourselves," they said, "but likewise men of far greater talent, were deceived by Fra Girolamo's cunning. The plausibility of his doctrines, the rectitude of his life, the holiness of his manners; his pretended devotion, and the good results he obtained by purging the city of immorality, usury, and every species of vice; the different events which confirmed his prophecies in a manner beyond all human power and imagination, were such that had he not made retractation

* Cosci, 460, *cf.* 462.

† Landucci, 173.

himself, declaring that his words were not inspired by God, we should never have been able to renounce our faith in him. For so firm was our belief in him that we were all most ready to go through the fire in support of his doctrines." *

As every one had foreseen, the trial resulted in the sentence of death being pronounced upon Savonarola, Fra Domenico, and Fra Silvestro, "for the monstrous crimes of which they had been convicted." On the following day the sentence, death by hanging, was executed.

All three met their fate courageously and calmly. Before being delivered over to the secular arm, they were degraded from their priestly dignity as "heretics, schismatics, and contemners of the Holy See." † One of the spectators is said to have called out to Savonarola, "Now is your time, Prophet, let us have the miracle." When life was extinct

* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., 375 (Engl. trans.). *Cf.* PERRENS, 597 *seq.*

† For those readers who are unfamiliar with ecclesiastical terminology, I think the following remarks will not be superfluous. It was not only the Papal Commissioners but Alexander VI. himself who charged Savonarola with disseminating "falsa et pestifera dogmata" (see the Brief of 12th March, 1498, in GHERARDI, 267). But by this phrase, according to the ordinary language of the time and the legal points of view, which was also that of the Inquisition during the following centuries, we are not to understand the teaching of erroneous dogma. Under certain circumstances, as GRISAR in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, 398, justly points out, teaching, the tendency of which was practically schismatic or unecclesiastical, was so designated. "Thus, any one who was guilty of insordescentia in excommunicatione made himself 'suspect of heresy' in the eye of the law, by seeming to deny the right of the Church to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, or the necessity of membership with the Church." And Savonarola's claim of being a divinely commissioned prophet would fall under the same category. *Cf.* the Letter of the Papal Commissioners of the 23rd May, 1498, in RUDELBACH, 494–497, from which it is evident that the charge of heresy in this case is to be understood in the constructive and not in the strict sense.

the bodies were taken down and burnt: a gust of wind for a moment blew the flames aside, and many cried, "A miracle, a miracle"; but in another moment the corpses were again enveloped. The ashes were thrown into the Arno so as to leave no relics of the prophet for his disciples to venerate.*

Such was the end of this highly gifted and morally blameless, but fanatical, man. His greatest faults were his interference in politics and his insubordination towards the Holy See. His intentions, at least in the earlier years of his active life, were pure and noble; later, his passionate nature and fanatical imagination carried him far away and led him to overstep the bounds of what was permissible in a religious and a priest. He became the head of a political party and a fanatic, openly demanding the death of all enemies of the Republic; this could not fail in the end to bring about his destruction.

In theory Savonarola remained always true to the dogmas of the Catholic Church; but in his denial of the penal authority of the Holy See, and in his plans for calling a Council, which, if they had succeeded, must inevitably have produced a schism, his tendencies were practically uncatholic.†

* LANDUCCI, 177–178; *cf.* VILLARI, Savonarola, II., ed. 2, 243 *seq.* See also F. RICCIARDI DA PISTOJA, Ricordi, 51–52, and Un testo oculare del supplizio del Savonarola, in the periodical Zibaldone of 1st Jan., 1888.

† The old Lutheran view, that Savonarola was a precursor of the Reformation, and taught the doctrine of justification by faith alone, can no longer be held by any serious historian; *cf.* GUERZONI, Rinascimento, 80, and the Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft, I. (1878), 325, 360. Next to MARCHESE, I., 193 *seq.*, Villari has undoubtedly rendered great services in exposing the unhistorical character of this view, of which Rudelbach is one of the principal supporters; though, from his imperfect acquaintance with Catholic theology and philosophy,

It may justly be urged in Savonarola's defence that in Florence and in Rome, and indeed throughout Italy, a

he has not been able to avoid falling into some contradictions and errors. SCHWAB in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, IV., 897, and FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., XV., pp. 91–93, have pointed these out, but Villari, against his own interest, has refused to notice them. The absurd notion of introducing Savonarola, who in his "Triumph of the Cross" places defection from the Catholic Church in the same category with defection from Christ (Qui ab unitate Romanae Ecclesiae doctrinam dissentit, procul dubio per devia aberrans a Christo recedit, sed omnes haeretici ab ea discordant, ergo ii a recto tramite declinant neque Christiani appellari possunt. Lib. IV., c. 6) into the Luther memorial at Worms, has set a number of Catholic pens to work to prove his orthodoxy. Amongst these are: (1) Das Lutherdenkmal zu Worms im Lichte der Wahrheit (Mainz, 1868, 2nd ed., 1869); (2) ROUARD DE CARD, H. Savonarola und das Lutherdenkmal zu Worms ins Deutsche übersetzt. (Berlin, 1868). See also SICKINGER, Savonarola, Eine historische Studie (Wurzburg, 1877); FRANTZ, Sixtus IV., 80 *seq*; CIPOLLA, 760; DITTRICH, Contarini, 478 *seq.*; CANTÙ, Eretici, I., 232, and Ital. Ill., III., 640 *seq.*; CAPPONI, Gesch. der Florent. Republik, II., 229; American Catholic Quarterly Review, XIV. (1889), 36 *seq.*; and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 335. The latter says of him: "He certainly was not a formal heretic or a precursor of the so-called Reformation, unless the mere fact of being in opposition to Rome is enough to constitute him such. His teaching was thoroughly Catholic, and, with the exception of a few which have been put into the Index, his writings have held their ground unquestioned in the literature of the Church." In the reaction against this unhistorical point of view, a Dominican, E. Bayonne, went so far as to write a book (Étude sur J. Savonarola d'après des nouveaux documents, Paris, 1879) with the object of preparing the way for his canonisation. The "New Documents" have been published by Gherardi, but contain nothing to justify such a proposal; nor can the reverence and esteem entertained for him by S. Philip Neri and S. Cath. Ricci be considered enough to support it. The legend that Benedict XIV. "inscribed the name of Savonarola in the Catalogue of the saintly and blessed servants of God" is entirely false. See GRISAR, in the Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theologie, IV., 392 *seq.* Bayonne's pretension is in contradiction also with the old tradition of his Order. The documents in GHERARDI, 329 *seq.*, shew that the Dominican Superiors for a

deplorable corruption of morals prevailed, and that the secularisation of the Papacy in Alexander VI. had reached its climax; but in his burning zeal for the reformation of morals he allowed himself to be carried away into violent attacks on men of all classes, including his superiors, and he completely forgot that, according to the teaching of the Church, an evil life cannot deprive the Pope or any other ecclesiastical authority of his lawful jurisdiction He certainly was quite sincere in his belief that he was a prophet and had a Divine mission, but it soon became evident that the spirit by which he was led was not from above, for the primary proof of a Divine mission is humble submission to the authority which God Himself has ordained. In this, Savonarola was wholly wanting. "He thought too much of himself and rose up against a power which no one can attack without injuring himself. No good can come of disobedience; that was not

whole century combated the tendency to the veneration of Savonarola among their subjects, and that it was forbidden to have any picture of him, or even to mention his name. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 214, on a heretical development of Savonarola's tendencies. It is well-known that in the 16th Century, during the disturbances of 1527–1530, and at the time of the opposition to the Grand Duke Alessandro Medici, Savonarola's views and methods were revived, and exercised considerable influence. In this connection it is useful to compare MARCHESE, Scritti, I., 307 *seq.*, with the documents in GHERARDI, *loc. cit.* REUMONT, III., 1, 154, thinks that there has been some exaggeration in the description and estimation of Savonarola's influence on the Florentine clergy of that time. In the present state of our knowledge this question cannot be certainly determined; but a careful investigation of the subject would be very valuable. I should wish to draw the attention of any one who felt disposed to undertake this, to an apparently unprinted paper written on the 7th June, 1578, at Fiesole. I found this panegyric of the virtues of Savonarola (with the text: Credidi propter quod locutus sum) in the Varia Polit., 47, f. 447 *seq.*, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

the way to become the apostle of either Florence or Rome."*

* CARDINAL NEWMAN'S judgment in WEISS. IV., 246 (VII. 532, ed. 3); *cf.* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 277. CESARE BALBO, Storia d'Italia (ediz. decima, Firenze, 1856), has the following passage (p. 276) on the Friar of San Marco : Di Savonarola chi fa un Santo, chi un eresiarca precursor di Lutero, chi un eroe di libertà. Ma son sogni : i veri Santi non si servon del tempio a negozi umani ; i veri eretici non muoion nel seno della Chiesa, come morì, benche perseguitato, Savonarola ; e i veri eroi di libertà sono un po' più sodi, non si perdono in chiasso come lui. Fu un entusiasto di bon conto ; e che sarebbe forse di buon pro, se si fosse ecclesiasticamente contentato di predicare contro alle crescenti corruttelle della spensierata Italia.

CHAPTER II.

Cæsar Borgia resigns the Cardinalate, and becomes Duke of Valentinois.—Change in the Papal Policy.—Alliance between Alexander VI. and Louis XII.

Only a few weeks before Savonarola's execution the Prince on whom the visionary Dominican had hung such strangely baseless hopes for the reformation of the Church and the salvation of Italy, had passed away. Charles VIII. died suddenly in the prime of life on the 7th April, 1498.* He was succeeded by Louis XII. The new ruler shewed at once what Italy had to expect from him by assuming not only the title of King of Jerusalem and the two Sicilies, but also, as descendant of one of the Visconti, that of Duke of Milan.

These pretensions were hailed with satisfaction in Florence, and still more so in Venice, the Republic having fallen out with Milan about Pisa. Louis lost no time in securing the services of the turbulent Gian Giacomo Trivulzio,† and Venice, in the same breath with her congratulations on his accession, proposed an alliance.‡ The

* On Charles' latest project and his promises to Alexander VI., see Delaborde, 684.

† Sanuto, I., 963; Cipolla, 761; Balan, 386. *Cf.* Pélissier, La politique de Trivulce au début du règne de Louis XII. (Paris, 1894). Louis XII. sent an Envoy to Siena to induce that city to enter into an alliance with France and Venice. See Pélissier, Lettre de Louis XII. à la Seigneurie de Sienne. Siena, 1894.

‡ Romanin, V., 101–102; Sanuto, I., 1012.

French King had announced his accession to the Pope in remarkably friendly terms.* Alexander hastened, on the 4th of June, to respond to these advances by sending persons of unusual distinction, the Archbishop John of Ragusa, the protonotary Adrian of Corneto, and Raimondo Centelles, as Envoys to France.† They were charged, first of all, to congratulate the new King on his accession, and to call his attention to the war against the Turks ; in the next place, they were to say that the Pope would investigate certain claims made by Louis in regard to the Neapolitan question ; and to warn him against making any attack upon Milan. They were to ask him to endeavour to obtain the restitution of Pisa and Florence. Finally, they were to require him to give up the alliance with the Orsini and Colonna, and to abstain from taking the banished ex-Prefect of Rome, Giovanni della Rovere, under his protection.‡ On the 14th June the Envoys were again desired to impress upon the King that nothing must be done against Milan.§

* *Cf.* PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 310.

† SANUTO, I., 979 ; BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 474. *Letter of Card. A. Sforza, dat. June 4, Rome, 1498 : Hoggi N. S. ha inviato per soi oratori al ser^mo^ Re de Franza el rev. Arcivescovo de Ragusa, M. Hadriano da Corneto prothonotario et secretario de S. S^ta^ et M. Santigles Spagnolo prothonotario antiquo servitore de Sua B^ne^. State Archives, Milan.

‡ The Instruction is to be found in MAULDE, Procéd. Polit., 1106 *seq.*, taken from Cod. XXXIII., 170 f., 411^b^, of the Bibl. Barberini ; and in THUASNE, II., 673 *seq.*, printed from a MS. in the Papal Archives. Maulde and Thuasne, however, and also GREGOROVIUS, VII., 409, ed. 3 (ed. 4, 415), are not aware that this document had been published long ago by FERRI (Comment. de rebus gestis Hadriani Castelli. Faventiae, 1771 M. X.). *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Adrian, 9, where the reference to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 200, is wanting. On R. Centelles, see DAL RE, 136 *seq.* ; and on the journey of the Envoys and their arrival in the French Court, PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 323 *seq.*

§ Alex. VI. ven fratri Jo. Archiepisc. Ragusin ac dil. filiis Hadriano

About the same time an Envoy from Louis XII. appeared in Rome, asking for the dissolution of his marriage with his consort Jeanne, to which he had been constrained in earlier days by Louis XI. The King swore that he had never consummated the marriage. The Pope, on the 29th July, 1498, appointed a judicial commission to examine into the case, and in December they decided in favour of the dissolution. On the 13th of September Alexander had already granted a dispensation to Louis to contract a fresh marriage with Anne of Brittany, the widow of his predecessor, stipulating at the same time that something was to be done for his beloved Cæsar.* The advances made to France, formerly so energetically repelled, though only begun in June, soon developed into a firm friendship. Many causes, besides those already mentioned, conduced to this result, and especially the conduct of Naples.

Ever since the Autumn of 1497 Cæsar Borgia, who was only in minor orders, had been seeking to return to the secular state,† to obtain a principality, and to marry a Princess. The Pope at first seems to have been averse to these projects; but Cæsar had little difficulty in overcoming this feeling, and Alexander's ambition began forthwith to

Castellen. cam. ap. clerico et secret. nostro et Raymundo Centell thesaur. Perusin. protonotariis, oratoribus nostris. Dat. Rom., 1498, Juni 14, Aº 6º. State Archives, Milan.

* SANUTO, I., 998 *seq.*, 1019, 1030, 1047. *Cf.* BALAN, 387; GUETTÉE, VIII., 83 *seq.*; PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 335 *seq.*; and, especially, MAULDE, Procéd. Polit., 789 *seq.*, 812 *seq.*, 945 *seq.*

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 519; the Ferrarese Despatch in BALAN, 376; and the *Report (in cypher) of A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 1497, Aug. 20: "Questi di passati è stato rasonato di fare il carle de Valenza seculare et darli la principessa de Squillace per mogliere col stato chel principe ha nel reame il qual per quello se intende non ha fin qui tocato carnalmente la principessa et in questo caso si dariano ad epso principe li beneficii del pto carle." Milanese State Archives.

busy itself with a plan for obtaining the throne of Naples for the house of Borgia by means of an Aragonese alliance.*

Cæsar was to marry Carlotta, the daughter of the Neapolitan King, and receive the principality of Tarento. The Mantuan Envoy states expressly that this was the Pope's real object in bringing about the marriage between Lucrezia and Alfonso, the natural son of Alfonso II., and now Prince of Bisceglia and Quadrata.† On the 15th July Alfonso came incognito to Rome, and was cordially received by Alexander and Cæsar.‡ On the 21st the marriage itself took place very quietly, but was celebrated on the following days with great festivities, in which Alexander took part with boyish gaiety. On this occasion a sharp encounter took place between Cæsar's retainers and those of the Duchess, not a good omen for the future. Alfonso's good looks are much vaunted by one of the chroniclers, and this marriage of Lucrezia's was a happy one.§ On the other hand, Cæsar's alliance with Carlotta, who had been brought up at the French Court, fell through. She herself refused, and her father was even more opposed to it than she was. On the 24th July, writing to Gonsalvo de Cordova, he said that the Pope was insatiable, and that

* BROSCH, Julius II., 319–320; SANUTO, II., 250. Cæsar's famous sword (now in the possession of the Duke of Sermoneta) bears witness to his plans and aspirations. The engraved designs with which it is covered contain many plays upon his name with appropriate mottoes, *e.g.*, Cum numine Cesaris omen. It was first described by Ademollo, and later with admirable illustrations by YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 143 *seq.*

† See Appendix N. 3, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, 8th Aug., 1498. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ See Appendix N. 1 and 2, *Letters from A. Sforza of 15th and 17th July, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 493 *seq.*; SANUTO, I., 1030, 1042; and in Appendix N. 3, Cataneo's *Despatch of 8th Aug., 1498, with GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 104 *seq.*

he would rather lose both his kingdom and his life than consent to this marriage. In this remarkable letter the King confesses the extreme weakness of his Government.* The Pope was perfectly aware of all this, and the knowledge made him still more desirous of entering into closer relations with the growing power of France. Yet another motive was added by the conflict between the Orsini and Colonna, which had broken out afresh. The Orsini, in spite of their union with the Conti, were completely defeated at Palombara on the 12th April, 1498.† The Pope's efforts to bring about even a truce between the contending parties were unsuccessful.‡ It seemed as if both sides were bent on continuing the contest until one or other was destroyed, when suddenly, on 8th July, they came to an agreement to place the decision in regard to Tagliacozzo and Alba in the hands of King Frederick of Naples.§ This mysterious reconciliation meant a combination against the Pope. In his own palace, one day, a set of verses were put up, urging the Colonna and Orsini to come forward bravely to the rescue of their afflicted country; to slay the bull (a play upon the Borgia arms) which was devastating Ausonia; to fling his calves into the raging Tiber, and himself into hell ||

* Arch. St. Ital., XV., 235 *seq.* *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 79; SANUTO, I., 988; and PÉLISSIER, L'Alleanza, 307 *seq.*

† SANUTO, I., 940, 965, 988, 998, and 1007; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 175 *seq.*; and the Report in BALAN, 373 *seq.*, 376.

‡ *Letter from A. Sforza, Rome, 2nd May, 1498. Milanese State Archives.

§ *Heri che fu alli 8 è stata conclusa la pace tra Sr Colonesi et Ursini comprendendosi in epsa li Savelli et Conteschi. Letter from A. Sforza, Rome, 9th July, 1498. (Milanese State Archives.) See SANUTO, I., 1014, 1015; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 409 *seq.*, ed. 3 (415 ed. 4); and BALAN, 377. On 3rd Feb., 1499, Frederick awarded Tagliacozzo, Alba, and Carsoli to the Colonna. See COPPI, Mem. Colonn., 236.

|| MALIPIERO, 508, says these verses were affixed to the door of the

Alexander VI. and Cæsar meanwhile had succeeded in obtaining what they wanted,* and on the 17th of August Cæsar resigned his Red-hat with the consent of all the Cardinals.† Sigismondo de' Conti calls this a new and unheard of proceeding; but at the same time dwells on the fact that Cæsar was naturally a warrior, and unsuited for the priesthood. Sanuto, in his Diary, is much more severe in his judgment. He says: "When Cardinal Ardicino della Porta wished to resign the Cardinalate in order to become a monk, many in the Consistory were against it, while all gave their consent to Cæsar's plan; but now in God's Church everything is topsy-turvy."‡ The disposal of Cæsar's benefices, which were worth 32,000 ducats, was left with the Pope, who later gave the Archbishopric of Valencia to Cardinal Juan Borgia.§

On this same 17th August the French King's Envoy, Louis de Villeneuve, arrived in Rome in order to accompany Cæsar to France. The preparations for the journey took so long that they did not start until the 1st of October.‖ A few days earlier Alexander addressed an

Libraria del Papa; SANUTO, whose version is a little different (I., 1016, 1017), that they were found: in su una collona nel palazo dil papa.

* In the postscript of a *Letter from Card. A. Sforza to his brother in July, 1498, we read: Come piu volte ho scripto alla Ex. V. io extimo che N. S. non sia per riposare fin che non habia dato assetto alle cose del rev. card. de Valenza. Milanese State Archives.

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 412, ed. 3 (418, ed. 4); CIPOLLA, 764; REUMONT, III., 1, 228; and BALAN, 388, give a wrong date—13th Aug. That in the text is the date in BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 492.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 201; SANUTO, I., 1054. *Cf.* also Diario Ferrarese, 390; NOTAR GIACOMO, 225; CARPESANUS, lib. III., 6; and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1492, n. 34, in connection with Mansi's note.

§ SANUTO, I., 1110; II., 67, 629; and *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 8. Consistorial Archives.

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 493; PÉLISSIER, 344 (of course it is

autograph letter to Louis XII., in which he commended Cæsar to him as one who was more dear to him than anything else on earth.* In this Brief Cæsar is called Duke of Valentinois; thus this principality must have been already bestowed upon him, although the formal investiture did not take place till later.† It is a curious coincidence that the former Archbishop of Valencia should have become Duke of Valentinois, so that he still retained the appellation Valentinus, which could stand for either.

The new Duke set forth on his journey in royal state; 100,000 ducats were said to have been spent on his outfit. He was clad in silk and velvet and bedizened with gold and jewels. The equipment of his suite corresponded with his own. The trappings of his horses were mounted in silver, and their saddle-cloths were embroidered with costly pearls.‡ French galleys were waiting for him at Civita Vecchia. On the 3rd of October he embarked for Marseilles, where on the 19th he was received with royal honours.§ In Avignon, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who was now completely reconciled with the Pope, and in August had been reinstated in Ostia, also gave him a splendid reception.‖ Slowly, and with great pomp, the

Oct. 1 instead of Nov. 1); *Acta Consist., Oct. 1, 1498, in the Consistorial Archives. *Exitus, 531, f. 151 : 28th Sept., 1498, Joh. Cardona missus in Franciam cum card^li Valent. with 9 armigeris and several comestabiles. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* Brief of 28th Sept., 1498, in MOLINI, I., 28, and also in PÉLISSIER, 344.

† See SANUTO, I., 1095; II., 154.

‡ SANUTO, I., 1111; II., 15, 320; Branca de Telini in GORI, Arch., II., 113 *seq.*; CAMBI, XXI., 135; YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 157 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, II., 3 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, II., 25; PÉLISSIER, 345.

‖ *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 502, on Alexander's reconciliation with Giuliano. See further, GREGOROVIUS, VII., 421, ed. 4; BROSCH, Julius II., 79; CREIGHTON, III., 265. See also SANUTO, I., 1091; II., 158;

proud Duke pursued his journey through Lyons to the Royal camp, which was then at Chinon. On the 19th of December (according to other accounts, the 20th) he made his entry there with a splendour hitherto unknown in France. He brought to the King the Bull of dispensation for his marriage, and a Red-hat to the Archbishop of Rouen, George d'Amboise. At this time Louis spoke openly of his designs on Milan, in which he expected the Pope's support.*

The closer relations with France caused a breach between the Pope and Ascanio Sforza and Lodovico Moro. As early as September, 1498, we find this mentioned in the Envoy's reports. The Colonna and Frederick of Naples were on the side of Ascanio Sforza. Their attitude was so menacing that on All Saints' Day the Pope appeared in the Church with a strong guard; and later this occurred again several times.†

Even when the Portuguese Envoys, on 27th November, came for their audience, they found a large guard in the ante-chamber. If, as many thought, this was intended to overawe the Envoys, it quite failed in its effect. On the

and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 201; and on the festivities at Avignon, G. BAYLE'S paper in the Mém. de l'Acad. de Vaucluse, Vol. 7.

* FERRATO, Entrata del Valentino nel 1499 a Cinone (Venez., 1868); SANUTO, II., 39, 175, 317, 320, 347 *seq.*, 367–368; SIGISMONDO DE CONTI, *loc. cit.*; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 318. On the dissolution of Louis XII.'s marriage, see LEONETTI, III., 251; CIPOLLA, 764; and EHSES, Documente zur Gescht. der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII., 56, note 1. PANVINIUS, 334, and CARDELLA, 275, erroneously place d'Amboise's nomination on the 12th of September. See, against this, BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 516, and *Acta Consist., where the 17th September is distinctly mentioned as the day of nomination. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, C. 2.) Upon d'Amboise, see NOVAES, VI., 100; MIGNE, *s. v.*; and DE MONTBARD'S work, Le Card. G. d'Amboise, Ministre de Louis XII. Limoges, 1879.

† SANUTO, I., 1111; II., 102, 113, 186. *Cf.* PÉLISSIER, 353 *seq.*

contrary, they remonstrated in unsparing terms with Alexander on his nepotism, his simony, and his French policy, which, they said, endangered the peace of Italy, and, indeed, of the whole of Christendom. If the Pope persevered in this they openly threatened a Council. "The demeanour of the Portuguese Envoys," Ascanio Sforza wrote on 3rd December, "is all the more unpleasant to the Pope in that he believes their Spanish Majesties to be at the bottom of it, and that the Spanish Envoys, who are daily expected, will say the same things, or worse. He thinks the King of the Romans also has a hand in it, as he has made similar representations."* Under these circumstances Alexander VI. awaited with keen anxiety the announcement from France, which, he hoped, would bring the assurance of the French alliance.†

In the Consistory, in December, the Pope and Ascanio Sforza came to a sharp passage of words. The testy Cardinal declared that Alexander, in sending Cæsar to France, was bringing ruin on Italy. "Are you aware, Monsignore," replied Alexander, "that it was your brother who invited the French into Italy?" The Venetian Envoy, who reports this incident, adds that Ascanio intended, with the help of Maximilian I. and King Ferdinand of Spain, to get a Council summoned to dethrone Alexander. We can understand with what misgivings the advent of the Spanish Envoys was awaited.‡

They arrived on the 19th December. On the same day Cardinal Borgia started for Viterbo, in order to quell the

* Report in cypher from Card. A. Sforza of 3rd Dec., 1498, taken from the original in the Milanese Archives, now printed in the Bollet. St. d. Suizz. Ital., VII., 202–204.

† SANUTO, II., 157, 249.

‡ SANUTO, II., 217, 250. *Cf.* LANZ, Actenstücke zur Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 47.

disturbances which had broken out there.* Three days later they appeared before the Pope with that display of anxious concern for the welfare of the Church which Ferdinand's successors were so apt at employing,† while, in fact, their aims were entirely political. Ferdinand of Spain dreaded, above all things, an alliance between Rome and Louis XII., which would give to France the predominance in Italy, and frustrate all his designs in regard to Naples. Consequently, he had charged his Envoys to threaten Alexander with a Council and reform. They began by telling the Pope to his face that the means by which he had obtained the Pontificate were notorious. Alexander interrupted them with the remark that, having been unanimously elected Pope, his title was a far better one than that of their Spanish Majesties, who had taken possession of their throne in defiance of all law and conscience. They were mere usurpers, and had no right whatever to their kingdom. The rest of the audience corresponded with this beginning. The Envoys reproached Alexander with his simony and his nepotism, and threatened a Council. The Pope justified himself, and accused the Spanish Ambassador, Garcilasso de la Vega, of concocting false reports. When the Envoys spoke of the death of the Duke of Gandia as a Divine chastisement, he angrily replied that the Spanish monarchs were more severely punished than he was, for they were without direct successors, and this was doubtless on account of their encroachments on the rights of the Church.‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 500, and *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 9 *seq.* Consistorial Archives.

† HAVEMANN, II., 15.

‡ SANUTO, II., 279; *cf.* 836, and ZURITA, V., 159b–160. *Cf.* HÖFLER, Rodrigo de Borja, 83; WIFFEN, Life of Juan Valdes, 25 (1885); MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Ref., 379.

Louis XII. endeavoured to tranquillise the Pope by informing him that he had an agreement with Ferdinand, and consequently there was nothing to fear from him.* Meanwhile, Alexander became more and more disturbed, as he found the Portuguese and Spanish Envoys making common cause and combining to threaten him with a Council.† In January 1499, the Ambassadors of Portugal and Spain presented themselves together before the Pope. In presence of Cardinals Costa, Ascanio, Carvajal, de S. Giorgio, and Lopez, one of the Envoys told the Pope to his face, that he was not the lawful Head of the Church. Alexander in his anger threatened to have him thrown into the Tiber, and retorted by attacking the conduct of the Queen of Spain, and complaining of the interference of both King and Queen in matters concerning the Church. The Venetian Ambassador thought he perceived that the Pope, in his alarm, was beginning to repent of his alliance with France and to wish to be friends again with Ascanio.‡ To add to his annoyance, news came from France that, in spite of all Giuliano della Rovere's persuasions, the daughter of the King of Naples persisted in her refusal to marry

* SANUTO, II., 280 (*cf.* PRESCOTT, II., 219), and *Acta Consist., C. 303: 9th Jan., 1499 . . . Per rev. D. Sanseverinat. lecte sunt littere Christ. Francor. regis ad s. Collegiam idiomate Gallico date ex oppido Chinon XX. Decemb. 1498 quibus significabat se de present ietiam ad S. D. N. scripsisse. (Consistorial Archives.) An account, written by Mattia del Canale on 3rd Jan., 1499, of Alexander's interests in the Carnival festivities in ADEMOLLO, Alessandro VI., 24, curiously illustrates the frivolity of his nature. The Ferrarese Envoy, Manfredi, on 8th Jan., 1499, reports: *Le oratori spagnoli tengono et prefato N. S. multo svegliato et tocco suso el vivo. State Archives, Modena.

† SANUTO, II., 343.

‡ SANUTO, II., 385; *cf.* 343, and BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 506–507. See also ZURITA, V., 160, and S. Pinzoni's *Despatch of 1st Jan., 1499. State Archives, Modena.

Cæsar.* Alexander laid the blame of this on Louis XII. In a letter of 4th February, 1499, to Giuliano della Rovere, he complained of the King's faithlessness, which had made him the laughing-stock of the world; as every one knew that, but for this marriage, Cæsar would never have gone to France.† On the 13th of February he spoke in a similar strain to Ascanio, and begged him to endeavour to persuade the King of Naples to agree to the marriage. Ascanio, however, replied that this was impossible. The Cardinal thought that the Pope was very much afraid of Spain and thoroughly mistrustful of France.‡ Just at this time Louis XII. concluded his treaty with Venice for the partition of Milan, leaving it open to the Pope to join in the League if he pleased.§ At this juncture it seemed extremely unlikely that this would take place.‖ If Cæsar had not been in France, the Venetian Envoy, in a report of 12th March, says he believes that Alexander would have allied himself

* SANUTO, II., 412, where, however, the date should be the 19th instead of the 18th Jan. Giuliano's letter was discovered by BROSCH, Julius II., 79. *Cf.* also PÉLISSIER, 369 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VII., 416–417, ed. 3 (423, ed. 4).

‡ Notizenblatt (1856), p. 587.

§ In regard to the League of 9th Feb., 1499, which was published in Blois on the 15th April, and Giuliano della Rovere's part in it, see BROSCH, Julius II., 80. In the *Acta Consist., C. 303, we find (f. 36), Feb. 27, 1499: S. D. N. legit litteras rev. d. S. Petri ad Vinc. quemadmodum Veneti die 9 Febr. confederati forent cum rege christ. dixitque etiam oratorem Venetum hac de re litteras habuisse ac locum Sue Stⁱ reservatum esse. Consistorial Archives.

‖ Giuliano della Rovere was the person counted on to bring the Pope round. In the *Report of an anonymous person, dat. Lyons, 28 Mar., 1499, we find the following passage on Giuliano's journey, which may serve to fill up the gap in BROSCH'S Julius II., 80: Ali XXIV. de questo arrivo qua lo card. de S. Petro. Yesterday he went on to Avignon: se stima vulgarmente per tirar el papa in la liga. State Archives, Modena.

with Milan.* Perhaps that was too much, but it is certain that at that time Alexander was extremely dissatisfied with France, and was still in the same mood when Louis XII. offered the hand of the charming Charlotte d'Albret to Cæsar.†

Alexander's position was an extremely critical one. In Rome, the probability that Germany and Spain would renounce their obedience was freely discussed.‡ There can be no doubt that in both these countries there was a strong party hostile to Rome. This explains why Christopher Columbus, when on 26th February, 1498, he settled his estate upon his son Diego, commanded him to employ his wealth in the support of a crusade, "or in assisting the Pope if a schism in the Church should threaten to deprive him of his seat or of his temporal possessions."§ The danger from Spain was pressing. In order to remove at least one of that country's grounds of complaint, Alexander resolved, on the 20th of March, 1499, to take Benevento away from the heirs of the Duke of Gandia and restore it to the Church.‖ In May, Alexander promised to

* SANUTO, II., 530. The following note in the *Acta Consist., C. 303, 8 Aprilis, 1499, is interesting: Cum ego vicecancellarius dixissem oratorem ill. ducis Mediolani ad S. D. N. hodie ingressurum esse in urbem, statuerunt rev. d. cardinales cum honore suscipiendum esse licet fuerit dictum consuetudinem fuisse non mittere obviam oratoribus praeterquam venientibus ad praestandam pontifici obedientiam. Consistorial Archives.

† SANUTO, II., 562, 617, 640.

‡ The Ferrarese Envoy, Manfredi, in a *Report, dat. Rome, 1st March, 1499, announces: La obedientia si è levata al papa in le terre del imperatore; el simile seguira in Spagna secundo il commune credere. State Archives, Modena.

§ NAVARRETE, Colecion, II., 260. *Cf.* BÜNDGENS, Was verdankt die Länder- und Völkerkunde den mittelalterlichen Mönchen und Missionären? p. 49. Frankfort, 1889.

‖ *Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 46. Consistorial Archives in the Vatican.

send his children away from Rome and to carry some reforms into effect; he granted powers for the adjustment of ecclesiastical affairs in Spain, and made large concessions to the King and Queen in regard to their control. In consequence, his relations with Spain became more friendly.*

Alexander had nearly given up all hope of the realisation of Cæsar's marriage with the French Princess,† when an autograph letter from Louis arrived announcing that it had taken place. On the 24th of May Cardinal Sanseverino read the letter in the Consistory.‡ This event created a complete revolution in the Pope's dispositions; he now openly embraced the French side and that of Venice, and announced that the Milanese dynasty must be done away with.§ Cardinal Ascanio Sforza saw that Rome was no longer the place for him; on the 14th July he quitted

BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 387; SANUTO, II., 562; and *Despatch from Manfredi, Rome, 23rd March, 1499. State Archives, Modena.

* *Cf.* the Ambassadorial Report of 29th May, 1499, in the Notizenblatt of 1856, p. 593 *seq.* (not correctly printed), and PRESCOTT, II., 221; see here, p. 201, for Alexander's Bull of 16th Nov., 1501, empowering the Spanish Government to levy all tithes in the Colonies.

† See the Ambassadorial Report, Notizenblatt (1856), p. 592.

‡ *Per eund. r. d. Sanseverinatem lecte fuerunt in Sacro consistorio littere eiusdem christ^mi regis sua manu Gallico idiomate ad S. D. N. scripte in monticulis Blesis die XIII. Maii 1499 de matrimonio scilicet inter D. Cesarem Borgiam et dominam Carolam de Labreto die X. Maii contracto ac XII. consumato. Lecte fuerunt et in s. consistorio littere ipsius dominae de Labreto sua manu ad S. D. N. sine ulla data exarate in quibus cum placuisset christ^mo regi et ill. genitori suo ut domino Cesari Borgiae nuptui traderetur sibi quoque talem virum placuisse ferebit futurumque perpetuo gratum atque jocundum sperare et se bonam filiam fore semper venturamque brevi ad osculandum pedes S^e B^nis polliceri. Acta Consist., C. 303, f. 54. (Consistorial Archives.) *Cf.* *Letter from A. Sforza, dat. Rome, 18th May, 1499. (Milanese State Archives.) BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 532; SANUTO, II., 759; and YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 168 *seq.*; II., 324 *seq.*

§ SANUTO, II., 799, 826, 923, 958, and Notizenblatt (1857), p. 7.

the city, taking all he had with him. In the first instance he went to the Colonna at Narni, and thence sailed in a Neapolitan ship to Genoa, whence he fled to Milan. Thither he was afterwards followed by the Cardinals Colonna and Sanseverino,* and Alfonso, Lucrezia's husband. Lucrezia was, on the 8th August, made Regent of Spoleto, and went there at once, accompanied by her brother Jofré.

Alexander's children had all now been removed from Rome;† but this had no effect on his nepotism. Nepi was soon bestowed upon Lucrezia, and the governor left there by Ascanio Sforza had to hand it over;‡ meanwhile, the plans for Cæsar's advancement were maturing.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 546, 549; SANUTO, II., 933, 958, 959, 1017. See in the Notizenblatt (1857), pp. 8–9, Milanese Report and Letter of A. Sforza.

† *Dice el papa vole monstrar al Re chel sa viver senza li soi. Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 9th August, 1499. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 108 *seq.* *Cf.* DAL RE, 139, and SANUTO, II., 1049, 1075. On the banishment of Sancia, Jofré Borgia's consort, whose reputation was none of the best, *cf.* SANUTO, II., 1089.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH IN MILAN.—CÆSAR BORGIA CONQUERS IMOLA AND FORLI. — RESTORATION OF LODOVICO MORO. — LOUIS XII. CONQUERS MILAN A SECOND TIME.—ANARCHY IN ROME.—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BISCEGLIA. — FRIVOLITY AND NEPOTISM OF ALEXANDER VI.—PARTITION OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN.

BY the month of July of the year 1499, a French army had already crossed the Alps, and fortress after fortress went down before the "rush of the Swiss and the French." Venice would have chimed in from the eastern side had not her hands just then been over full with the war against the Turks.* Lodovico Moro had hoped that the German Emperor and Frederick of Naples would have come to his aid, but Maximilian was fully occupied in fighting the Swiss. Frederick was to have declared war against the Pope; but when Alessandria fell into the hands of the French, he gave up all thoughts of this.† Thus Lodovico was left to face the French entirely alone. Seeing that the situation was hopeless, on the evening of 1st September he fled to the Tyrol, to put himself under Maximilian's protection. Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Sanseverino followed him.‡ The moment he was gone the Milanese opened their gates to the French; on the 6th September

* HAVEMANN, II., 49; ZINKEISEN, II., 529 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 205.

‡ CIPOLLA, 770; HAVEMANN, II., 56 *seq.*; MAGENTA, I., 554, places the date of his flight on 2nd September.

Trivulzio entered the city, and the fort surrendered almost immediately. A few days later Cremona submitted to the Venetians.* Upon this Louis XII. hastened to Italy to enjoy his triumph. On the 6th October he entered Milan, and was greeted with acclamations by the populace. The King was accompanied by the Marquesses of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo, the Dukes of Ferrara and Savoy. Cæsar Borgia, the Cardinals d'Amboise and Giuliano della Rovere, as well as the Envoys from Genoa, Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa.†

Alexander VI., now that the alliance with Louis XII. was turning out so favourably for his beloved Cæsar, hailed the success of the French arms with unconcealed delight, quite regardless of the scandal he was causing throughout the whole of Europe. On the 24th of August, 1499, two Portuguese Envoys arrived in Rome and at once asked for an audience. On the part of their Government, they animadverted strongly on the Pope's nepotism, on Cæsar's resignation of the Cardinalate, and on the French alliance, which was fatal to the peace of Europe. If he persisted in these paths, the result would be the calling of a Council.‡ Alexander was annoyed and troubled at these new threats, but did not make any change in his proceedings. On the 25th September he went to Lucrezia at Nepi.§ Here it

* SANUTO, II., 2210; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 206; GUIDI, Sommi Picenardi, Cremona durante il dominio de' Veneziani, 8. Milano, 1866.

† SANUTO, III., 24–25; Diario Ferrarese, 370; ALVISI, 60–61. On the complete reconciliation of the Pope with Giuliano della Rovere, who now cordially supported Cæsar, see BROSCH, Julius II., 81 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* the Report of the 3rd September, 1499, in the Notizenblatt for 1857, 54–55.

§ Lucrezia's husband, Alfonso, had returned to his wife at the command of the Pope. On the 14th October she went back to Rome, and on the 1st November gave birth to a son, who was called Rodrigo.

was arranged that Cæsar was to conquer the Romagna. The King of France manifested his gratitude by placing a portion of his army at the Duke's disposal.* "It was not difficult to make the expedition appear as though undertaken for the interests of the Church, though in reality the interests of the family were the first consideration. The relations between the rulers of the cities of the Romagna and their feudal Lord were so variable, and often so unsatisfactory, as easily to afford a handle for proceeding against them to any Pope who wished to do so. Alexander resolved to make use of this opportunity to strike a crushing blow."† Bulls were issued declaring the Lords of Rimini, Pesaro, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Urbino, and Camerino to have forfeited their fiefs by the non-payment of their dues. Louis XII. arranged that proceedings should only be taken against those who belonged to the party of the Sforza, and this plan had also the advantage of satisfying the susceptibilities of the Venetians.‡

In the middle of November Cæsar began the campaign by attacking Caterina Sforza and the sons of Girolamo Riario. Imola opened her gates of her own accord, and the fort fell in the early part of December. In Forli, also, the inhabitants offered no resistance, but the citadel here was far stronger and was bravely defended by the high-spirited Caterina herself; yet on 12th January, 1500, it was forced to capitulate.§

On the 10th Aug., 1500, Lod. Borgia, Archbishop of Valencia, was made Lieutenant-governor of Spoleto. See SANSI, Documente dall' Arch. Comm. di Spoleto, 81. Spoleto, 1861.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 209.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 229. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 223; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 422, ed. 3 (428, ed. 4); and CREIGHTON, IV., 4. In September the Pope had thought of getting the Dukedom of Ferrara for Cæsar, but Venice objected. See Hist. Zeitschr., XXXIII., 380.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 570; BALAN, V., 394, n. 3; ALVISI, 67.

§ SANUTO, III., 56, 84; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 209 *seq.*;

When Cæsar's nephew, Cardinal Juan Borgia, heard at Urbino the good news of the fall of Forli, he set out on horseback, although suffering from fever, to offer his personal congratulations, but was prostrated by a fresh attack of the malady before he could get beyond Fossombrone. Later, an utterly groundless story was concocted of Cæsar's having poisoned his nephew.*

Just as Cæsar was preparing to proceed against Cesena and Pesaro,† an event occurred which deprived him of his French troops and brought the whole campaign to a standstill. The Milanese rose against the extortions of the French, while Lodovico Moro appeared in Como at the head of a body of Swiss and German troops; and on the 5th of February, 1500, re-entered the city in triumph. The French lost the whole of Lombardy as quickly as they had won it.‡ Without the help of the French troops, which had now been sent against Lodovico Moro, it was impossible to go on with the conquest of the Romagna, the more so as Venice had grown jealous and now strongly supported

Diario Ferrarese, 374, 375, 377; ALVISI, 63, 70 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 395; see here also on supposed plots of some inhabitants of Forli for poisoning the Pope. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 579. See also YRIARTE'S recent work, César Borgia, 21 *seq.*; and especially PASOLINI, II., 134 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, and CIAN, Cat. Sforza, 28 *seq.*, where the history of Caterina's fate is given in detail.

* See ALVISI, 83 *seq.*; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 60–91. *Cf.* also KINDT, Die Katastrophe L. Moro's in Novara, 80 *seq.*, and in Appendix, N. 4, the *Letter of 23rd Jan., 1500. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BALAN, V., 395, n. 3; YRIARTE, César Borgia, I., 200 *seq.* On the assistance sent him by the Pope, see DAL RE, 122.

‡ SANUTO, III., 103; BALAN, V., 396; Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1890), 43 *seq.*; DIERAUER, II., 384; LUZIO-RENIER, Relaz. di Isabella d'Este, 157–158 (at p. 154 read 5th instead of 4th February). PÉLISSIER, La politique du Marquis de Mantoue, in the Annal. de la fac. des Lettres de Bordeaux (1892), 104.

the Lords of Faenza and Rimini.* Cæsar, therefore, returned to Rome and made his triumphal entry into the city on the 26th February, clothed in black velvet and with a gold chain round his neck; all the Cardinals and Envoys came to meet him. Alexander VI. was beside himself with joy; he wept and laughed in the same breath.† Amongst the Carnival-plays the triumph of Julius Cæsar was represented in the Piazza Navona. On Laetare Sunday (29th March), the Duke received from the hands of the Pope the insignia of a standard-bearer of the Church and the Golden Rose.‡ The power of the Duke of Valentinois was now almost unlimited. Even on the 23rd of January a report from Rome announced that, at the approaching nomination of Cardinals, Cæsar's influence would be decisive: he was the person to apply to. No Castellans were appointed to any of the strong places within the Papal States but such as were devoted to him; the governorship of the Castle of St. Angelo was given to one of his retainers.§

Meanwhile the state of affairs in Lombardy had again completely changed. Louis XII. had lost no time in sending a fresh army across the Alps, and the battle at Novara proved a decisive victory for France. The Swiss refused to fight against their kinsmen in the French army, and abandoned Lodovico, who was taken prisoner (10th April, 1500).‖ Louis XII. shut him up in the fortress of Loches

* See in Appendix, N. 4, the *Letter of 23rd Jan., 1500. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, III., 140–141; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 19 *seq.*

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 22, 26 *seq.*; SANUTO, III., 198; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 228; *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ See Appendix, N. 4.

‖ See RUSCONI, Lod. il Moro e sua cattura in Novara (Novara, 1878); KINDT, Die Katastrophe L. Moro's in Novara; and DIERAUER, II., 386–387. See also KNUTH, Jean d'Auton, 37 *seq.*

in Touraine; Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who fell into the hands of the Venetians, was delivered over to the French and imprisoned in Bourges;* thus reaping the reward of his unprincipled conduct at Alexander's election.

On the evening of the 14th of April, 1500, the news of Lodovico's catastrophe reached Rome; the Pope is said to have given 100 ducats to the messenger who brought it; the Orsini lighted bonfires everywhere, and Rome resounded with cries of "France and the Bear" (=Orsini).† This occurred in the midst of the Jubilee festivities, which had filled the city with pilgrims from foreign parts. "The events of the year and the state of Rome were anything but suitable however to a religious celebration." In spite of the precautions taken by Alexander, even in the previous year, the insecurity of both life and property in the city was frightful; murders occurred nearly every day. The severest punishments effected no improvement in its condition, which indeed was not worse than that of most of the other Italian cities;‡ but the events which took place

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 41, 46, 141. On the imprisonment of Card. Sforza, see KINDT'S investigation, Katastrophe, 73 *seq.* It seems very doubtful whether Alexander's mediation to procure Ascanio's liberation (see MARINI, I., 304) was meant to succeed; for the Pope promptly took possession of Ascanio's art treasures, and gave away his benefices; Giuliano della Rovere obtained one of these latter. See the *Deed in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, in Appendix, N. 6. Ascanio Sforza was not released until the 3rd Jan., 1502, through the good offices of Card. d'Amboise. He accompanied his benefactor to the Conclave in Rome which elected Pius III., and died there at the end of May, 1505, not of poison but of the Plague; see BALAN, 398; RATTI, I., 87 *seq.* His splendid monument by Andrea Sansovino in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo is world-famed. See MÜNTZ, Renaissance, 347, 493 *seq.*, and SCHÖNFELD, A. Sansovino and s. Schule. Stuttgart, 1881.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 35.

‡ Compare what SUGENHEIM, 380 *seq.*, says of Perugia.

in the Borgia family attracted more attention than any of these deeds of violence.*

Next to Cæsar, Lucrezia at that time again stood highest in the Pope's favour. In the Spring of the year 1501 Sermoneta, which had just been snatched away from the Gaetani, was added to Spoleto and Nepi, which had already been bestowed upon her.† As she was on excellent terms with her present husband, there seemed nothing now to mar her happiness. It was, however, not destined to last long: on the evening of the 15th of July, as Alfonso was returning from the Vatican he was set upon by five assassins in the Piazza di San Pietro. Though badly wounded he succeeded in making his escape. He was so much afraid of poison that he refused all medical help, and sent word to the King of Naples that his life was in danger, as his own physician had endeavoured to destroy him by this means.‡ A report was immediately circulated that the attempt originated from the same quarter as the murder of the

* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 39–42 *seq.*, 45; SANUTO, III., 319; Letter from Brandolinus in BROM, 190 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 232. On the precautionary measures of the Pope, see, specially, *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. In the library at Siena, A. III., T., f. 15, is an unprinted Bando against the Corsi in Rome and the States of the Church.

† *Alexander VI. vendit Sermonetam et alia loca sublata a Caietanis praetextu rebellionis Lucretiae Borgiae. Dat. Rom., 1499 (st. fl.), 7 Id. Mart. Cod. Ottob., 2504, f. 287 *seq.* (Vat. Library.) *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 421, ed. 3 (427, ed. 4), and L. Borgia, 114; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 238; and BALAN, 393–394.

‡ Besides the notice in SANUTO, III., 521, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 69., *cf.* Brandolinus' Letter in BROM, 185; the Florentine Report in THUASNE, III., 437 *seq.*; and especially the Report of B. Calmeta, which has been strangely overlooked by Gregorovius, although there is a triple copy of it in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. I had intended to give it in the Appendix, but can now refer the reader to LUZIO-RENIER, who has printed it in his work, Mantova e Urbino, 103.

Duke of Gandia.* All the probabilities of the case point to the Orsini, who believed that Alfonso was intriguing against them with the Colonna, who were allied with the King of Naples. It is most unlikely that Cæsar had anything to do with it.† Nevertheless, Alfonso was convinced that his brother-in-law was the author of this foul deed, and the moment he felt himself recovering he was bent on revenging himself. Lucrezia and Sancia strove to make peace, and the Pope posted a guard at the door of the sick-room, but all was in vain. In a despatch of 18th August, which was forwarded at once, Paolo Capello, the Venetian Ambassador, writes that on that day Alfonso, looking out of the window, saw Cæsar walking in the garden. In a moment he had seized a bow, and discharged an arrow at his detested enemy. Cæsar retaliated by having Alfonso cut to pieces by his own body-guard.‡ Lucrezia, who had

* P. Capello's Despatch in SANUTO, III., 532.

† CREIGHTON, IV., 11.

‡ Despatch from the Venetian Envoy, P. Capello, of 18th Aug., in SANUTO, III., 671. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 12, 257 *seq.*, whose remarks supply the necessary criticism on P. Capello's narrative of 28th Sept., 1500 (to be found in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 3–14, and SANUTO, III., 842 *seq.* *Cf.* RANKE, Päpste, III., 5*–6*). Unfortunately Hagen's careful paper on Alexander VI., "Cäsar Borgia und die Ermordung des Herzogs von Biselli," in Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theolog., X., 313 *seq.*, has escaped Creighton's notice. This writer comes to the conclusion that much stronger evidence of the Duke's guilt is furnished by Capello's Despatches, and especially by that of 23rd Aug., than by the personal convictions of Burchard and the Florentine Envoy. (See p. 78, note ‡.) "There is no formal argument," says Hagen, "to contradict these statements. We must therefore hold them to be true, whatever general doubts may rest on his report, and especially on his narrative." CIPOLLA, 778, is also against Alvisi's defence of Cæsar, 109 *seq.* On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Capello's account of the murder of the Pope's servant, Pierotto, is false, although Gregorovius and Ranke uphold it. *Cf.* HAGEN, *loc. cit.*, 317; REUMONT, III., 1, 207; and BROSCH in Sybels Zeitschr., XXXIII., 370.

been herself nursing her husband with the tenderest care, was inconsolable. Overwhelmed with grief she went back to Nepi to hide herself in its solitude. Some of Alfonso's Neapolitan servants were arrested on a charge of having planned an attempt on Cæsar's life, but nothing of any importance was extracted from them.* When the Neapolitan Envoy heard what had happened he at once took refuge in the palace of the Spanish Ambassador.† Alexander told the Venetian Envoy, who came to see him on the 23rd August, that Alfonso had tried to kill Cæsar. Beyond this nothing on the subject was allowed to transpire ; a few conjectures were whispered about, but no one dared to speak above his breath. Evidently Alexander VI. thought it prudent to hush up the whole affair as much as possible ; no doubt he too was afraid of Cæsar.‡

Shortly before the murder, Alexander's own life had been in great danger. In the ninth year of his reign, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Sigismondo de' Conti relates, just as the Pope was about to give his audience, the sky being clear, suddenly, with no warning, a tornado of wind sprung up and tore off the very solid roof of the upper part of the Sala de' Papi as though it had been made of straw. In consequence, that portion of the roof under which the Pope was sitting also gave way, but the balcony over his head, still remaining attached to the wall, protected him from the falling masonry, and the gold embroidered hanging over his throne from the smothering dust. Half an hour elapsed before his servants could make their way through the wind

* Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, III., 438, and in Appendix, N. 5, a Letter from G. L. Cataneo, of 19th Aug., 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On Lucrezia at Nepi, see GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia, 154 *seq.*, 159 *seq.*, ed. 3.

† See Appendix, N. 5.

‡ Despatch from P. Capello, 23rd Aug., in SANUTO, III., 685; CREIGHTON, IV., 12.

and dust to the place where he lay, bleeding and apparently hardly alive. He was carried into the adjoining hall and there soon recovered consciousness. His physicians found that two fingers of the right hand had been injured, and he had a wound in his head. The first night he was very feverish, but soon began to get better.* "If nothing unforeseen occurs," the Mantuan Envoy writes on the 2nd July, "he will recover." This Envoy states that on the previous day also Alexander had a narrow escape of being killed by a heavy iron chandelier, which fell just in front of him.† Any other man would have been led to look into himself and consider his ways by such a series of narrow escapes; but Alexander was a true Borgia, he thanked God and the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul for his preservation,‡ and lived on as before. Writing of Alexander

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 269. *Cf.* the Papal Briefs of 3rd and 4th July, 1500, in BALAN, 398-9, and SANUTO, III., 477-479; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 65 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 433 *seq.*; the Report of P. Capello; LANDUCCI, 211 *seq.*; NOTAR GIACOMO, 235; *Letters from G. L. Cataneo of 28th June and 2nd July, 1500 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); and one from Brandolini in BROM, 183–185. All these authorities agree in giving the date of the catastrophe as 29th June, and GREGOROVIUS, VII., 434, ed. 3 (in the 4th ed., 440, the true date is given), and CREIGHTON, IV., 9, require to be corrected in accordance with them. SANUTO, III., 455, contains an account from the Venetian Envoy of the accident, the date of which must be 29th June, 1500, instead of 29th May, 1501, as there given. In France it was thought that the Pope would die, in which case the Tiara was to be secured for Giuliano della Rovere. See BROSCH, Julius II., 85. On a poem relating to this incident, see ZINGERLE, XXXII.

† G. L. Cataneo's **Reports, dat Rome, 2nd July, 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) Details in regard to the Pope's health after this time are to be found in the Reports in THUASNE, III., 434 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, III, 469. In the Spring the Pope had had an attack of fever: this was the date of the Dialogus mortis et pontificis laborantis febre, preserved in SANUTO, III., 277.

‡ SANUTO, III, 478. He re-enacted the ordinance of Pope Calixtus III.

in September 1500, Paolo Capello says: "The Pope is now seventy years of age; he grows younger every day, his cares never last the night through; he is always merry and never does anything that he does not like. The advancement of his children is his only care, nothing else troubles him." *

In Cæsar's eyes this accident was a warning to carry out his plans with as little delay as possible. His campaign against the Tyrants of the Romagna required a considerable sum of money and the acquiescence of Venice, where, since the month of May, a Papal Nuncio, Angelo Leonini, had been permanently residing.† He succeeded in obtaining both money from the creation of Cardinals of 2nd September, 1500,‡ and the consent of Venice in return

on the ringing of the Angelus, about this time. See Vol. II. of this work, p. 400, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 4.

* SANUTO, III., 846-847. In a hitherto unnoticed Report of C. Guasco of 14th Aug., 1499 (Notizenblatt, 1857, p. 55), we find: Madonna Julia [Farnese] è ritornata a la S. de N. S. The Venetian Envoy paid a visit to the Pope on 3rd July, 1500, and says: Era con S. Sta Madona Lugrecia la principessa e so marito, e una soa damisella sta con Madona Lugrecia, ch' è *favorita del papa.* SANUTO, III., 469; *cf.* also Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 100, 295. SANUTO mentions, I., 375, the fall of a wall in the Vatican in Nov. 1496, struck by lightning, and III., 909, on 5th Oct. 1500, that Alexander was attacked by an angry fallow-buck and was in considerable danger.

† According to PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 35 *seq.*, this is the first instance that can be traced with certainty of a permanent Nuntiature at any Court.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 855, 857, 878, 879, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 77, who gives the sum that each Cardinal had to pay. The twelve nominated, of whom six were Spaniards, were: (1) Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; (2) A. d'Albret; (3) Lod. Borja; (4) Jacopo Serra; (5) Pietro Isvalies; (6) Francesco Borja; (7) Giovanni Vera; (8) Lodovico Podocatharo; (9) Gianantonio Trivulzio; (10) Giambattista Ferrari; (11) Thomas Bakocs; (12) Marco Cornaro. *Cf.* PANVINIUS, 335; CARDELLA, 279 *seq.*; and *Acta Consist; in fol. 9 are also the names of the thirteen

for the help against the Turks given them by Alexander.*

On the morning of the 1st of October, 1500, Cæsar set out from Rome at the head of an army of 10,000 men. He had in his pay some Roman Barons of the houses of Orsini and Savelli, Giampolo Baglione of Perugia, Vitellozzo Vitelli of Citta di Castello, and other chiefs, who, frightened at the alliance with France, thought there was less danger in siding with the dreaded foe than in resisting."† The Lords of Pesaro and Rimini, Giovanni Sforza and Pandolfo Malatesta, made no attempt to defend themselves and sought safety in flight. Faenza was not so easily conquered; its ruler, Astorre Manfredi, was beloved by all his subjects, and was supported by the Florentines and by his maternal grandfather, Giovanni Bentivoglio. The citizens defended themselves with resolution, and when winter came on, the siege had to be raised. When the Spring returned, Cæsar again invested the city (7th March, 1501) and on the 25th April it was forced to capitulate.‡ Astorre Manfredi was faithlessly carried off

Cardinals who consented to the creation. (Consistorial Archives.) On the lives of the several Cardinals see, besides Ciaconius and Migne, GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 275 *seq.*; and MARINI, I., 263, on Francesco Borja, who had till then been Treasurer-General; FRAKNÓI'S Monograph, 79 *seq.*, on Bakocs; and MARINI, I., 218 *seq.*, and Anecd. Litt., I., 279 *seq.*, on Podocatharo.

* CREIGHTON, IV., 13.

† *Cf.* ALVISI, 124 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 23; and G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 1st Oct., 1500. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the 5th Oct. the *Legati de latere* were nominated: Peraudi to Maximilian (see SCHNEIDER, 55); P. Isvalies to Hungary (see SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 248); and Giov. Vera to Spain, Portugal, and England.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 228 *seq.*; Diario Ferrarese, 390 *seq.*; SENAREGA, 570; *GHIRARDACCI, St. di Bologna, Cod. 768 of the University Library, Bologna; ALVISI, 172 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*; TONINI, V., 437; BALAN, V., 399; YRIARTE, Rimini, 360; SUGENHEIM, 371;

to the Castle of St. Angelo where, in January 1502, Cæsar had him and his younger brother put to death.* Next came the punishment of Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had supported Faenza in its resistance. When several castles had been taken, he sued for mercy, gave up Castel Bolognese also, and promised to supply Cæsar for five years with 300 horsemen.† Alexander now bestowed on Cæsar the title of Duke of Romagna, "thus making the largest province of the Church hereditary in the Borgia family, in utter indifference to the probability that this might easily entail on the Church the loss of all these States."‡

Encouraged by these rapid successes, Cæsar now turned his attention to Florence, at that time seriously weakened by the war with Pisa. In great alarm the Florentines purchased peace by granting him for three years a subsidy of 36,000 ducats, and promising not to help Piombino. The Lord of this principality, Jacopo d'Appiano, lost in a very short space of time the greater part of his possessions.§

CIPOLLA, 778–779. G. L. Cataneo announces, 6th March, 1501 : *El papa manda ogni di molto denari a Valentino. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 232. I cannot accept Alvisi and Maury's defence of Cæsar in the Rev. Hist., VIII., 94, in the face of the explicit testimony of a historian who was by no means hostile to the Borgia family. *Cf.* also BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 208 ; LANDUCCI, 244 ; and Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 18. Here the story of the murder (è stato detto) is told on 6th June, while G. L. Cataneo, on the 7th June, 1502, writes home : *El Sig. gia de Faenza e lo fratello qual erano qua in castello benche alquanto largi ma guardati sono stati conducti fuora d'esso ne se sa dove siano ; tamen credesi siano condutti a Piombino per don Micheloto primo homo in l'arme del ducha p^to^. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† ALVISI, 496 *seq.* ; BALAN, V., 401 ; SUGENHEIM, 372 ; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 16 ; CIPOLLA, 779.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 439, ed. 3 (446, ed. 4) ; ALVISI, 181 ; THUASNE, III., 131, n. 2.

§ ALVISI, 192 *seq.* ; SUGENHEIM, 373.

After this the Duke returned to Rome, where he was wanted on account of the state of affairs in Naples. Highly important decisions were come to in relation to this kingdom in the next few weeks. Hitherto it had been a constant tradition of Roman policy that no foreign power was to be allowed to obtain a footing in Naples. Now Alexander VI. abandoned this principle.*

Soon after Cæsar's arrival on the 25th June, 1501, a Bull was drafted assenting to the secret treaty of 11th November, 1500, between France and Spain for the partition of Naples between them. Louis XII. was to be King of Naples and to possess Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzi; Ferdinand was to take Apulia and Calabria with the title of Grand Duke. Both were to hold their lands in fief from the Church. The way in which the King of Naples had been dallying with the Turks served as the pretext for his deposition.† One motive which strongly inclined Alexander VI. to agree to the plan was the blow that it would deal to the rebellious Roman Barons, who would now be deprived of all support. On the 27th June, 1501, the League with France and Spain was announced, and the French army, which was already encamped near Rome, began its southward march.‡ On the 4th July Cæsar joined it with his troops.§

Frederick of Naples had had no suspicion of Ferdinand's perfidy, and knew nothing of it until the Papal Bull was

* *Cf.* the very interesting summary in Trinchera's collection of documents in the Allg. Zeitung of 1870, No. 46. See also TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 327.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 53–72.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 149–150; SANUTO, IV., 61, 82; Arch. St. Nap., II., 659 *seq.*; and G. L. Cataneo's *Letter of 30th June, 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ Report of G. L. Cataneo, 5th July, 1501. (Gonzaga Archives Mantua.) According to this, ALVISI, 209, requires correction.

published. The French reached Capua, destroying the villages of the Colonna on their way, almost without resistance, and successfully stormed and sacked that city before the end of July.* Gaeta now also capitulated, and the French army under d'Aubigny appeared before Naples. Frederick fled to Ischia and surrendered to the French King, who gave him the Dukedom of Anjou and a yearly pension. France and Spain divided his kingdom between them.†

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 239; SANUTO, IV., 76–78; BALAN, V., 404–405; HAVEMANN, II., 120 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 781. In regard to the accusations against Cæsar, see his defence in ALVISI, 209 *seq.*; LEONETTI, II., 455; MAURY in the Rev. Hist., XIII., 96 *seq.*; and R. di SORAGNA in the Rassegna Naz., X. (1882), 364, who do not here go too far. *Cf.* BROSCH in Hist. Zeitschr., XLIV., 542.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 248; Brandolinus' Letter in BROM, 147 *seq.*; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 33 *seq.*; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 142 *seq.*, 149 *seq.* Although Louis XII. was excused his tribute by Alexander VI. on 27th Aug., 1501, on account of the Turkish war (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 75; GOTTLOB, 234–235), he did very little in this direction. Ferdinand was excused on the 15th May, 1502, from the duty of appearing personally in Rome to receive his fief; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1502, n. 16; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 384. He lost no time in manifesting his gratitude to the Borgias; see HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

Alexander VI. and the War against the Turks in the years 1499–1502.

Alexander's unabashed nepotism and wholly worldly aims in politics cast their baneful shadows also over the resistance to the Turkish advance during his reign.* The Pope's nepotism repeatedly acted as a direct hindrance to efforts against the Turks, but its indirect effects were perhaps still more injurious; for no one trusted him, and whatever he put his hand to was believed to have, for its ultimate object, nothing but the aggrandisement of the house of Borgia. Nevertheless, even such a man as Alexander could not remain entirely inactive in presence of the danger from the East. The noble generosity of his predecessors in assisting the refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks was continued under his rule, and towards the close of the century he appeared to be thoroughly in earnest in his efforts to organise a Crusade.†

Prince Dschem, in the hands of the Christians, acted to

* *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, pp. 397, 428. Malipiero, 161, mentions another later convention between Alexander and the Sultan which was negotiated by Ascanio, but very soon given up by the Pope. On his relation to the question of the Crusade in 1498, see also Maulde, Procédures Polit., 1106 *seq.*, and Dipl. de Machiavelli, I., 72.

† *Cf.* Reumont in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 489, ed. 2, and Gottlob in Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459. On Ferdinand's suspicions as to the application of the Crusade money by Alexander, *of.* Bergemoth, I., 266.

a certain degree as a check upon the Sultan; but after his death fresh attacks on Christian lands recommenced almost at once. In Bosnia, in the year 1496, a number of small fortresses, still occupied by the Hungarians, were invested by Turkish troops and many of them conquered. In Moldavia the inroads of the Turks, beginning in the same year, were of a more serious character. In 1498 a band of Turks and Tartars, combined with Moldavians, swooped down on Poland itself. Far and wide they ravaged the country; "the land was strewn with corpses. All the towns on the hills and plains round Lemberg and Przemysl as far as Kanczug were plundered and burnt; the harpies encamped in the fields for a short time and then returned whence they came, loaded with booty."*

Already in the previous year the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between Venice and the Porte had been sharply disturbed. The Turks had for some time past been busily occupied in strengthening their armaments, and especially their navy. The object of these preparations was kept a profound secret, and the Venetians, with all their sagacity, were completely deceived.† When the preparations were completed, the Sultan, without any declaration of war, began hostilities by arresting all the

* CARO, V., 2, 751; ZINKEISEN, II., 507 *seq.*

† *Ex litteris abatis Gondulae, 1499, Juli xxiii.: Che le cose del Turco vanno tanto secretamente che non se po intendere ne sapere ne pensare la soa deliberatione. (State Archives, Milan, Turchia.) Barthol. Sfondrato had, however, correctly guessed what the Turks were about; *cf.* his Report of 18th June, 1499, in MAKUSCEV, II., 108. He says: Tutto il Levante trema. . . . Et ben che le cose del dicto Turcho siano passate et passano secretissime, tamen ad me, me pare comprehender che quantunque dal principio la fama si e stata contro Rhodo et contra Puglia, tamen el suo disegno è stato de rumpere guerra ad S. Venetiani. In Ragusa, however, it was firmly believed in the middle of July, 1499, that the Turks were going to attack Rhodes. MAKUSCEV, II., 194.

Venetians in Constantinople. Venice was plunged in dismay and distress, and, to make matters worse, the finances of the Republic were at that moment at a very low ebb. To meet the heavy expense of fitting out a fleet it was necessary to raise all tolls and taxes and to impose new ones. All the officials of the republic were required to surrender the half of their salaries to the State, and the clergy had to contribute a third of their revenues, this with the Pope's consent. By dint of these exertions an imposing fleet of 130 sails was equipped. But even this was quite insufficient to cope with that of the Turks, which numbered 270. On the 26th of August, Lepanto, the only important sea-port in the Gulf of Corinth that still remained in the hands of the Venetians, fell.* At the same time 10,000 Turkish horsemen from Bosnia made a successful raid on the mainland of Venice. The whole district on one side to Tagliamento and even near Vicenza, and on the other as far as Drau, was devastated with fire and sword, and all the inhabitants slain or carried into captivity.†

In the Summer of 1499 the Turkish question was re-

* ZINKEISEN, II., 527–531 ; ROMANIN, V., 134 *seq.* ; HEYD, II., 330 *seq.* ; HOPF, 167.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 532. *Cf.* also BALAN'S concluding vol. of Addenda, p. xvii., and MAKUSCEV, II., 109 ; LANDUCCI, 203. A detailed account of the Turkish raid on Friuli in 1499 is to be found in the Cronaca di Nicolo Maria di Strassoldo, anno 1469-1509 (Nozze Strassoldo-Gallici. Udine, 1876). The sea-board of Southern Italy was harried by the Turks at the same time. In the *Avisi de Nicolo Gondula de lettere, 16th, 17th, and 20th June, 1499, I found the following memorandum which belongs to this period. *Che circa XI. Giorni inanti introrno XIIII. fuste de Barbaria nel golfo de Taranto et IIII. de epse so apresentorno a capo de Ottranto dove preheseno una naveta Ciciliana carica de frumento et zuchari et una sagitta Lipariota. Milanese State Archives, Turchia.

peatedly discussed in Consistory. It was then thought, from the report of the Grand-Master of Rhodes, that the attack was to be directed against that island.* While the deliberations on the help to be sent to Rhodes were going on, the news came of the descents on Venetian territory. In the beginning of August, letters from the French Envoy in Venice to a French Cardinal came to hand, accusing the Milanese Government of having instigated the Turkish attack. The Milanese Envoy in Rome defended the conduct of his master in view of the hostile attitude of the Venetians, and declared openly that Milan would not scruple to use the Turks and the Moors in self-defence.† It never came to this, however, for in the Autumn of that year Lodovico Moro was driven out of Milan.‡

In consequence of the increasingly menacing reports which continued to arrive from the East, Alexander, in the late Autumn of 1499, issued an invitation to all the Christian Princes to send representatives to Rome in the ensuing March to deliberate on the formation of a League against the Turks.§ This invitation met with so little response that in February 1500, it was found necessary to repeat it.‖ Even this produced but little result. On the

* Protocols of the Consistories of the 10th, 14th, and 26th June, and 5th July, 1499. *Acta Consist., C. 303, in the Consistorial Archives.

† See the Milanese Ambassadorial Reports in the Notizenblatt (1857), pp. 21–22, 38–39.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 70.

§ *Cf.* the Brief of 12th Nov., 1499, to King Emanuel of Portugal in SANTAREM, X., 120.

‖ See the identical Briefs of 3rd Feb., 1500, to Florence (MÜLLER, Relaz., 245) and to Francesco Gonzaga; the original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The King of Portugal received Briefs of commendation for his zeal in regard to the war against the infidels on the 10th and 16th Feb., 1500; in the last of these the 1st of March is mentioned as the day on which the deliberations were to begin. SANTAREM, X., 121.

11th March a secret Consistory was held, to which all the Envoys in Rome were invited. These consisted of the representatives of Maximilian, Louis XII., Henry VII. of England, and Ferdinand of Spain, besides those of Naples, Venice, Savoy, and Florence. Alexander VI. put before the assembly the great danger now threatening Europe from the Turks, and expressed his regret that his summons of the previous Autumn had met with so little attention. He went on to say that Venice was the bulwark of Christendom and that it was the duty of all Christian powers to support her. The answers of the Envoys were so unsatisfactory that the Pope made no secret of his displeasure with Germany, France, and Naples; Spain was the only Government to which he awarded unqualified praise.* In the beginning of May, Alexander VI. proposed in Consistory that a Legate should be sent to Hungary and that a tithe should be levied on the clergy of France, Germany, and Hungary; also that the Cardinals should be taxed, beginning with himself. Many of the Cardinals objected, but the Pope stood firm. In spite of all this the Venetian Envoy still refused to believe in Alexander's sincerity, which is significant of the prevailing opinion in regard to him.† These doubts were dissipated by his later acts.‡

A Bull, dated 1st June, 1500, was addressed to all

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 24, and, in more detail, ZURITA, V., 175 *seq.* Towards the end of February a Turkish Envoy had arrived in Rome with the object of averting the war. This brought Card. Peraudi back, in hot haste and without leave, in order to counteract these efforts, which he succeeded in doing. See SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 53–54. On the policy of France, see LANZ, Actenst. zur Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 56.

† SANUTO, III., 309, 342, 343, 355. *Cf. ibid.*, 255, 385, and 426, on the sending of the Legate to Hungary and the support to be given to that country.

‡ *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459.

Christendom, setting forth the fury and cruelty of the Osmanli and their hatred of the Christian name, and urging all to unite against the common enemy. The purpose of the Turks, it affirmed, was, first to conquer Rome, and then to subjugate all the Christian populations. Consequently, the Roman Church had now formally declared war against the hereditary foe. To meet the expenses of the contest, a tithe was to be levied on all ecclesiastical benefices without exception, and on all the officials in the States of the Church. All who resisted the impost were threatened with Excommunication. This Crusade-Bull was to be publicly read, in the vulgar tongue, on some feast-day in all the dioceses of the world. The Jews were required to contribute a twentieth of their property.* At the same time a Brief was drawn up addressed to the King of France. In it the Pope said that Envoys had been summoned to Rome in March, in order to take counsel on the war against the Turks. Many had not come, and those that had appeared were not provided with sufficient powers. Although the summons had been repeated, as yet the Pope had received nothing from the Princes but fair words. Hence he now once more turned to the King of France, who, now that he was ruler of Milan, was doubly bound to come forward to protect Italy from the Turks, and requested him to send representatives at once. Spain and Venice were full of zeal, thus there was a good prospect of success. For his own part, he had imposed a tithe upon all the inhabitants of the Papal States and on the clergy throughout the world, and was prepared to make even greater sacrifices.† A further proof that Alexander was then in earnest in regard to the war is given by the fact that at the end of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 7–9, and in a more complete form in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 46–56.

† SANUTO, III., 435–348.

June he recalled Cardinal Peraudi, the eager advocate of the Crusade, to the Court, and in the Spring of the following year began to collect the contributions of the Cardinals, out of which a fleet was to be equipped.* The tax-list, which has been preserved, and is interesting as giving the incomes of the different Cardinals, is as follows:—

		Ducats.		*Ducats.*
Card. Caraffa . .	On income,	10,000	To pay	1000
„ Giuliano della Rovere .	„	20,000	„	2000
„ Zeno	„	15,000	„	1500
„ Giovanni Michiel .	„	12,000	„	1200
„ Giorgio Da Costa .	„	7,000	„	700
„ Girolamo Basso . .	„	11,000	„	1100
„ Domenico della Rovere	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Cibò	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Pallavicino . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Juan Borgia . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Orsini	„	10,000	„	1000
„ S. Giorgio . . .	„	8,000	„	800
„ Carvajal . . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Peraudi . . .	„	3,000	„	300

* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 54, looks upon these measures as mere feints hung out to encourage the liberality of the faithful. But in that case would the Cardinals, of whom many were far from anxious for the war, have consented to pay? This argument applies also against LANZ, Actenst. z. Gesch. Karls V., Einleitung, 58 *seq*. Even though Lanz may be quite justified in saying that Alexander took advantage of the distress of Venice for Cæsar's advancement, this does not by any means prove that the whole Crusade was nothing but a sham. Lanz relies entirely on the Venetian documents, which are certainly exceedingly one-sided. Dr. GOTTLOB, with whom in this matter I hold (see *supra*, p. 85, note †), agrees with Reumont in taking a more favourable view of Alexander's intentions. It is to be hoped that the able author of the Cam. Ap. will shortly publish all the materials belonging to this subject from the numerous documents collected by him; till this has been done the question must remain undecided.

		Ducats.		*Ducats.*
Card. De Castro . .	On income,	2,000	To pay	200
„ Lopez . . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Grimani . . .	„	7,000	„	700
„ Serra . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Isvalies . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Francesco Borgia .	„	3,000	„	300
„ Vera	„	3,000	„	300
„ Podocatharo . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Ferrari . . .	„	3,000	„	300
„ Piccolomini . .	„	9,000	„	900
„ Sansoni . . .	„	18,000	„	1800
„ Colonna . . .	„	3,000	„	300
„ Ascanio Sforza . .	„	30,000	„	3000
„ de' Medici . . .	„	6,000	„	600
„ Sanseverino . .	„	13,000	„	1300
„ Iippolito d'Este . .	„	14,000	„	1400
„ Cesarini . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Farnese . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Lodovico Borgia . .	„	10,000	„	1000
„ Cornaro . . .	no income		„	nil
„ Briçonnet . . .	„	12,000	„	1200
„ Philippe de Luxembourg	„	9,000	„	900
„ d'Amboise . . .	„	9,000	„	900
„ d'Albret . . .	„	2,000	„	200
„ Mila	„	8,000	„	800
„ Mendoza . . .	„	14,000	„	1400
„ d'Aragona . . .	„	2,000	„	200
	Total . . .			34,300
From the tax on Roman officials and Hospitals .				11,076
	Total . . .			45,376*

* Cardinales Rhodianus, Polonus, Strigoniensis, quia in bello existunt, were exempted. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 9, from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 56 *seq.* (where Macloviensis should be read *instead of* Madrutiensis). The list is placed in June, which is a mistake, as its mention

In the beginning of September, the Venetian Envoy in Rome wrote that the Pope had been doing all he could throughout the Summer for the support of Venice and Hungary, and had given peremptory orders to the commander of the Spanish fleet to join that of Venice; that his dispositions in regard to the Crusade were excellent, if he only carried out the half of what he had promised it would be quite sufficient.* The doubt again implied in these words was not deserved; a few days earlier Alexander had despatched various Briefs, the contents of which amply prove his sincerity; and he was exerting himself to the utmost to bring about the union of the Spanish fleet with the Venetian.†

Soon after this the Venetian Envoy received the sad tidings that Modon had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and the loss of Navarino and Koron followed almost immediately. Since the fall of Negroponte such consternation and dismay as now prevailed in Venice had not been caused by any of her other disasters. The possession of these old and important colonies was held to be so essential to the maintenance of her navy, both for commerce and for war, that the Council of Ten declared that all her sea-power depended upon them This terrible blow was formally announced by the Signoria to all the powers of Europe. "On the 10th of August," writes Raphael

of Cardinals who were not nominated till the 28th Sept., 1500 (see *supra*, p. 80), shews that it was not drawn up till the Autumn. Their publication in the Spring of 1501 (BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 113-118; *cf.* BALUZE, III., 124 *seq.*), probably followed the assessment. GOTTLOB, Hist. Jahrb., VI., 445, promises to give a schedule of the sums actually paid by each Cardinal. According to the documents which he has investigated, the Cardinals were bound to contribute 34,900 ducats annually for the years 1501, 1502, and 1503. *Cf.* also Cam. Ap., 66.

* SANUTO, III., 475, 521, 577, 589, 714.

† *Ibid.*, 752-753.

Brandolinus Lippi from Rome to a friend, "the unhappy city of Modon was conquered. The few inhabitants who fell into the hands of the Turks were all barbarously impaled; not one was spared. This is what we have come to through the troubles in Italy! To this have we been brought by our internal dissensions! The eloquent Venetian Envoy, Marinus Giorgius, delivered such a splendid oration on the Turks that his Holiness and the whole College of Cardinals were deeply stirred. Now at last we may hope that the Pope will insist on the formation of a League for the destruction of the Turks."*

Vain hope! Eager as the "Christian" powers were to avenge the smallest indignity inflicted on themselves, they were utterly indifferent where only the honour of the Christian name was concerned.† But on this occasion it was not Alexander's fault that so little was done to check the enemy's advance.‡ On the 11th of September, 1500, it was decided in Consistory that two things must be done: first, every possible effort must be made to bring the Spanish fleet to bear against the Turks; secondly, Legates must be sent to Hungary, France, and Germany. On the 5th October the new Legates were chosen: Giovanni Vera for Spain, Portugal, and England; Petrus Isvalies for Hungary and Poland; Peraudi for Germany and the northern kingdoms.§ At the same time a Brief was sent to Gonsalvo de Cordova ordering him to join the Venetian

* BROM, 189-190; *cf.* SANUTO, III., 750, 788; HEYD, II., 331; HOPF, 168; HERZBERG, Griechenland, III., 15.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 11.

‡ REUMONT in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 489, ed. 2. *Cf.* also MICHAUD, VI., 283-284.

§ *Acta Consist., C. 2, in the Consistorial Archives; see also the Florentine Despatches in THUASNE, III., 76; SANUTO, III., 789, 892-893. *Cf.* SCHNEIDER, Peraudi, 55, and GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 459-460.

fleet with his ships as quickly as possible; and the Cardinals were asked for their tithe.* In spite of all this the Venetian Ambassador was not satisfied, and continued to question the sincerity of the Pope's assurances that he would do all that could be done.† However true it may be that if Alexander had completely given up his policy of nepotism, more especially his plans for Cæsar Borgia's aggrandisement, he might have accomplished more in this direction, still it must be admitted that he did a great deal. It was the fault of the "Christian" Princes, not of the Pope, that all his efforts produced so little result. Hardly anywhere was any enthusiasm to be found or willingness to make any sort of sacrifice. At that very time it had been resolved at the Diet at Augsburg that the Pope should be required to refund a portion of the money which had flowed into Rome for Jubilee Indulgences and annates, for the assistance of the administration, because "the empire had thereby been too much impoverished and drained of its coin."‡ It required indeed a zeal no less fervent than that which burned in Peraudi's heart to undertake the German Legation under such circumstances as these. Though suffering from gout he set out on the 26th October, full of hope that he would succeed in effecting a reconciliation between Maximilian and the German Princes and the King of France. But even on the frontier he was met "by serious difficulties in all influential quarters." Although Alexander had expressly commanded that all moneys brought in by the Jubilee from Germany should be exclusively devoted to the Turkish war, neither at Court nor throughout the

* See *supra*, p. 91 *seq*. The Brief to Gonsalvo is in SANUTO, III., 824. *Cf.* BALUZE, III., 423 *seq*.

† SANUTO, III., 856, 879, 939, 977.

‡ MÜLLER, Reichstags-Theatrum, 117 *seq*; SCHNEIDER, 55.

Empire was it believed that this would be carried out. Maximilian went so far as to refuse permission to Peraudi to enter the Empire. It is probable that Lodovico Moro, then there in exile, had a hand in this decision. His chances would have been unfavourably affected by a reconciliation between the Christian powers and a Crusade; but Peraudi would not lose heart. At Roveredo he spent his "days and nights in writing letters to all the German, Danish, and Swedish Princes and prelates, admonishing them to make peace with each other and combine in turning their arms against the Turks. In his zeal for the Crusade, he was prepared to defy the Royal prohibition, go straight to the Diet, and there, if necessary, in virtue of his apostolic powers, pronounce the Ban of the Church against the King of the Romans and some of the Princes; like the Carthusian Thomas he thought nothing of death if it were in defence of the Christian faith." After keeping him the whole winter in Roveredo, Maximilian at last came to a better mind, and allowed him to enter the Empire. Here he met with the greatest difficulties in dealing with the administration, although he was able to give the most positive assurances that the Pope and Cardinals had decided to leave all moneys coming in on account of the Jubilee Indulgences and other privileges absolutely untouched, in the keeping of the Empire, for the Crusade. It was not till the 11th of September, 1501, at the Diet at Nuremberg, that he at last succeeded in coming to an agreement with the assembly and the Imperial Government; and this convention was loaded with vexatious and obstructive conditions for the Legate.

Maximilian, on his side, for political reasons, deferred his permission for preaching the Indulgences until January, 1502. Thus more than a year had passed away before

Peraudi was able to begin to execute his mission. In spite of the unfavourableness of the season, in the early months of the year 1502 he travelled with astonishing rapidity through the whole of South-Western Germany, and preached the Indulgence in the Dioceses of Constance, Augsburg, Strasburg, Spires, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. Towards the end of the year he visited the North-Eastern part of the Empire to announce the Jubilee there, and make peace between Lübeck and Denmark. During this journey the weather was very bad, and in consequence Peraudi was repeatedly confined to his bed from attacks of gout. This, and still more the "hopeless indifference to the Crusade which confronted him among all classes of people, princes, townsmen, and clergy, so discouraged him," that more than once he entreated the Pope to recall him.*

Gasparo Pons had been sent to England by Alexander VI., in order to collect the tithe from the clergy, and announce the Jubilee Indulgences, the proceeds of which were to go to the Crusade. The clergy paid the tithe, and the King, Henry VII., contributed £4000, but absolutely refused to send any assistance in the shape of men or ships. It was right and good, he said, that the Pope should endeavour to induce the Princes of Christendom to be reconciled with each other and combine for this holy purpose. He himself, thank God, had long been at peace with all men; he could not, however, send material help; that should be done by France and Spain, and equally by Hungary and Poland.†

* SCHNEIDER, 58–81; ULMANN, II., 43 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 63 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 360 *seq.*, where there is also other literature on the subject. The accounts of the sums collected are so contradictory, that ULMANN, II., 66, declares himself unable to come to any certain conclusion as to their amount.

† BUSCH, England, I., 242.

The King of France was occupied with plans which had no connection with the war against the Turks. The French clergy were extremely irritated against Alexander for having imposed the tithe without previously acquainting them of his purpose and asking their consent. "Many openly opposed it and appealed to a General Council against whatever censures they might thereby incur. On the 1st April the Theological Faculty of Paris pronounced that censures inflicted after an appeal had been already made to a Council, were invalid, and that the appellants therefore need not pay any regard to them and need not abstain from celebrating mass and exercising other ecclesiastical functions."*

Amongst the Hungarian prelates the spirit of sacrifice was almost entirely absent. The secular nobles were not so averse to the war, but they too made difficulties. "They were not content with the Pope's offer to hand over to the King the Jubilee Indulgence moneys, the tithe on Church property in Hungary, and a Crusade-tax. They thought the income to be derived from these sources uncertain, or that the burdens would all fall on their shoulders." As Venice was bent on beating down the demands of the Hungarians, the negotiations dragged on for a long time, and it was mainly due to the exertions of Thomas Bakocs that an agreement was at last arrived at. This high principled and able man had been appointed Primate of Hungary in the year 1497, in the place of Ippolito d Este, in order to satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians, who objected to the highest spiritual office in the kingdom being held by a foreigner. Bakocs was made a member of the Sacred College by Alexander VI. on the 28th of

* Hergenröther, VIII., 342–343; Du Plessis d'Argentré, I., 2, 346. The Jews in Avignon also resisted the Crusade-tax, but they were forced to comply. See Rev. d'Études Juives, VI., 21.

September, 1500, as a reward for his diligence in this matter. At the end of May in the following year, a League was at last concluded between Hungary, Venice, and the Pope. Alexander VI. bound himself to contribute 40,000 ducats annually as long as the war should last. Venice promised 100,000 ducats and the prosecution of the war at sea, while Hungary undertook to attack the Turks by land. Unfortunately, Hungary only contributed a few "freebooting expeditions on an extensive scale."* Meanwhile, at sea some slight successes were achieved. The new Venetian Admiral Benedetto Pesaro, "an experienced and resolute sailor," late in the Autumn of 1500 made an expedition into the Ægean sea and reconquered Ægina. He was at last joined, in tardy compliance with the Pope's commands, by the Spanish fleet of 65 sail, under the famous Admiral Gonsalvo de Cordova. The combined fleets succeeded before the close of the year in wresting the island of Cephalonia from the Turks and thus obtaining a new point of vantage in the Ionian Sea.†

The year 1501 was spent in "alternations of successes and failures." Alessio was won but Durazzo was lost. In the Spring of the following year the Papal fleet, consisting of 13 galleys and 2500 men, was ready to sail.‡

Bishop Giacopo da Pesaro was appointed by Alexander to the command of the fleet. His portrait is familiar to all lovers of art in Titian's altar-piece representing the Pesaro family venerating the Blessed Virgin and the Divine Child.

* HUBER, III., 427-428; ROMANIN, V., 151; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 141. *Cf.* also the Hungarian monograph on Bakocs by FRAKNÓI, cited *supra*, p. 91. Nothing was done for the Crusade in Poland. The money intended for it was used for other purposes. CARO, V., 2, 814.

† ZINKEISEN, II., 537; HERZBERG, III., 15.

‡ *Cf.* BEMBUS, Op., 210, and especially GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra de' Pirati, I., 9 *seq.*

In this picture, by the side of the Legate, his brother is represented in full armour, holding aloft in one hand the Papal banner of the Crusade, and with the other leading two Turkish captives who follow him.* Pesaro's first step was to join Benedetto, who was waiting for him at Cerigo with 50 Venetian ships. Together they sailed at once for the island of S^ta^ Maura (the ancient Leukadia), and in spite of a desperate resistance on the part of the enemy, they succeeded towards the end of August in making themselves masters of this, from a strategic point of view, very important place. In this battle the Papal Legate Giacopo greatly distinguished himself, and at last planted the Papal banner with his own hands on the battlement of the conquered fort.† It was not destined to float there. Both Venice and Constantinople had begun to weary of the war. The Porte found itself threatened in Asia by the new Persian empire, and the finances of Venice were nearly exhausted, while her trade was suffering severely. The Hungarian alliance had proved of little value, the war being very feebly carried on by King Lladislaus. In consequence,

* This grand picture of Titian's (there is an excellent engraving in LUTZOW, Kunstschätze, 30) is still in the Church of S^ta^ Maria dei Frari in Venice, which also contains Pesaro's monument. Pesaro had already, probably immediately before his departure for the Crusade, had his portrait taken by Titian. This picture is now in the museum at Antwerp. In it Pesaro is represented kneeling before the throne of S. Peter with the Papal banner in his hand. A helmet is on the ground before him, indicating his call to military service. Alexander VI. commends him to S. Peter on the right, in the background are the forts of a harbour. *Cf.* CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, Titian, I., 64 *seq.*, 252 *seq.* On the picture in Venice, see A. Wolf's essay in the Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst, XII., 9 *seq.*; it is a pity that he occupies himself with the "worship of the Madonna."

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 278–79. *Cf.* SANUTO, IV., 313 *seq.*, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1502, n. 29; GUGLIELMOTTI, Guerra de' Pirati, I., 31 *seq.*, 42 *seq*

the Republic lent a willing ear to the Turkish overtures for peace and S^ta^ Maura was hardly conquered before it was again restored to the Sultan.

On the 14th of December, 1502, a temporary agreement was arrived at in Constantinople, which paved the way for the formal Peace which was announced by Venice on the 20th May, 1503.* Without the support of Venice, Hungary was far too weak to face the Turks. Hence we cannot be surprised at finding King Lladislaus also laying down his arms. On the 20th of August, 1503, he concluded a truce with the Porte for seven years.† While the war lasted Hungary received very large sums from Rome. The account books prove that, in the years 1501 and 1502, Lladislaus received from the Cardinals 6851 ducats; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6686 ducats and 6 solidi; 6666 ducats; 3587 ducats and 10 solidi; 1884 ducats, 16 solidi, and 8 denare; 6700 ducats; 222 ducats; 51,687 ducats; 2328 ducats and 12 solidi; 2534 ducats; 13,333⅓ ducats; finally, 2325 ducats and 16 solidi.‡ To all this must be added the pensions given to the numerous refugees from the countries which had been conquered by the Turks, and to the widows and children of those who had fallen in the war.§ Putting all this together, and taking into account

* ROMANIN, V., 152–154. *Cf.* HEYD, II., 331; HOPF, 168.

† Magyar történelmi tar., XXIV., 31; HUBER, III., 429–430.

‡ GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VI., 444.

§ Gottlob intends to publish (Hist. Jahrb., VI., 443) a complete list of all who received assistance from the funds of the Crusade. From my own investigations I derive the following: *Divers. Alexander VI., 1492–1500. The volume begins with payments to Andrea de Paleologo, despota Moreae; it contains further entries of sums disbursed for Leonardo de Tocco, Constantino de Morea, Theodorino de Maro, and numberless other refugees, male and female, from the East, *e.g.*, Maria de Gurga de Candia. A *Private Account-book of Alexander without a title, contains for September 1500, monthly payments to the

the difference between the value of money then and in our own day, it must be admitted that Alexander was not as remiss in regard to the Crusade as has been represented by the enemies of the House of Borgia. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Pope could have accomplished a great deal more if he had given up his gross nepotism and thought less of Cæsar's advancement. A glance at the state of things in the States shews how far he was from doing this in any way.*

Despota Moree, the Despota de l'Arta and others. State Archives, Rome.

* *Cf.* Chapters III. and V.

CHAPTER V.

War against the Colonna.—The States of the Church in the Possession of the Borgia.— Marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Alfonso of Ferrara.—Cæsar Borgia Governor of Rome and Duke of the Romagna.—Conspiracy of the Condottieri against Cæsar; their Betrayal and Destruction.—Oppression of the Orsini.—Tension between the Pope and France.—Cæsar's Plans upset by the Death of Alexander VI.

One of the immediate results of the Neapolitan war had been the downfall of the Roman Barons. Ever since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. the Colonna had leant for support upon the House of Aragon. When the agreement between Spain and France had finally sealed the fate of this family they sought to shelter themselves from the coming storm by proposing to give up the keys of their fortresses to the College of Cardinals; but Alexander required that they should be delivered to him, and in June, 1501, he succeeded in obtaining this.* On the 22nd of the month Francesco Borgia started from Rome in order to take possession in the Pope's name of Rocca di Papa and the other castles belonging to the Colonna. On the following day about twenty of the vassals of the family came to Rome, and swore fealty to the Pope.†

On the 27th of July Alexander went to Castel Gandolfo

* Burchardi Diarium, III., 143, and *Report of G. L. Catanco of 23rd June, 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Ibid.*, III., 146, 148; Sanuto, IV., 61.

and Rocca di Papa and thence to Sermoneta. He had the effrontery to hand over the Regency of the palace to Lucrezia Borgia during his absence, with power to open his correspondence.* Soon after his return from this expedition a Bull was drawn up in which the Colonna and Savelli were declared to be rebels on account of their league with Federigo of Naples, and were excommunicated, and their property confiscated.† Out of the possessions of the Colonna, Savelli, and Gaetani the Pope carved two Dukedoms for his family; a few of the forts and villages belonging to the Savelli were given to Giovanni Paolo Orsini;‡ but all the most beautiful and fertile districts fell into the hands of the Borgia. A Bull of 17th September, 1501, gave to Rodrigo, the son of Lucrezia and Alfonso, then two years old, the Dukedom of Sermoneta with Ninfa, Cisterna, Nettuno, Ardea, Nemi, Albano, and other towns. The Dukedom of Nepi, which included Palestrina, Olevano, Paliano, Frascati, Anticoli, and other places, was bestowed on Juan Borgia, also an infant.§ This child was legitimised by a Bull on 1st September, 1501, as the natural offspring of Cæsar, and his age incidentally mentioned as about

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 153–154, 164. When the Pope went to Nepi in the autumn the same arrangement was made for the time of his absence (from 25th Sept. to 23rd Oct.). Of course Lucrezia was only Regent in regard to secular affairs, but such a thing had never been done before, and was a startling breach of decorum.

† The Bull of 20th Aug., 1561, is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 18–20 (a contemporary copy of it is in the State Archives, Turin). It was not published till the Consistory of 24th Sept. See BALAN, 406, n. 3.

‡ *Cf.* the *Brief to Joh. Paulus de Ursinis domic. Rom. in nostris Aspra, Montedasula, et Rochetta castris pro nobis et R. E. in temp. vicar. Dat. Rom. 1501, XVII. Calend. Nov. Regest. 868, f. 183. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also the App. in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 447.

§ RONCHINI, 42 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*

three years.* A second Bull of the same date legitimised this same Juan as Alexander's own son.† These un-

* According to a *Bull of Leo X. of the 30th April, 1515, Juan was a year older, as it is here said that on the 2nd Sept., 1502, Camerino was bestowed on cuidam Johanni Borgia tunc in quinto vel circa seu etatis anno constituto. Arm. 35, T. 42, f. 23b–30b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† These two Bulls are to be found in the State Archives at Modena. The first is a copy, the second the original. GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, App., 76–85 (90, ed. 3), was the first to publish them. Another original draft of the second Bull is to be found, according to THUASNE, III., App., p. xiv, in the Archives of the Duke of Ossuna, part of which is published in the Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Historia, IX., 440–441 (Madrid, 1886). In view of possible future apologists in the style of Ollivier, it may perhaps be well to observe that I found both Bulls in the Secret Archives of the Vatican in the official *Regesta of Alexander's reign: the first in Vol. 868, f. 153b–157b, the second in f. 176–176b. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 459 (ed. 1 and 2), has fallen into a curious error in regard to the second Bull. He read in a copy in the Barberini Library: Cum autem tu defectum praedictum non de prefato duce, sed de nobis et de dicta muliere patiaris quod bono respectu in litteris predictis specifice exprimere *voluimus*, and concluded from this that Alexander had openly and shamelessly legitimised Juan as his own son; whereas the context of the Bull shews that the word should be *noluimus*, and Gregorovius in his own copy has given the correct rendering. But in the 3rd ed. of his 7th vol. he gives the false one with the conclusion drawn from it, and this is, strange to say, repeated in the monograph on Lucrezia Borgia, 174 (194, ed. 3). Here, p. 175 (195, ed. 3), Gregorovius hazards a conjecture that both Bulls were issued on the same day, "because the Canon Law forbids a Pope to acknowledge a son of his own." I know of no Canon Law to this effect, and experienced canonists have told me that none such exists. CREIGHTON, IV., 19, supposes that Alexander, in his anxiety to secure the position of Cæsar's bastard son, accused himself in the second Bull of a fault which he had not committed; but from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 170, and especially from SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 253, who is always trustworthy, it is plain that Juan, who seems to have been born on the 18th June, 1497, really was Alexander's son. *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 400 *seq.*; Civ. Catt., 15th March, 1873, p. 727 (the extract here quoted from the Report of the Venetian Envoy

doubtedly genuine documents nullify all attempts to rebut the accusations against the moral conduct of the Pope.

is now printed in SANUTO, I., 369); and RONCHINI, 41, n. 1. The last-named historian has rightly pointed out that the second Bull was to be kept secret until a necessity arose for divulging it; thus it is incorrect to speak, as Gregorovius does, of open and shameless legitimation. The words in the first Bull, which declare that it is to be taken as valid proof of Cæsar's paternity in case any one should assert that Juan's father was some other person, either ecclesiastical or secular, etiam cuiuscunque dignitatis et excellentie mundane vel *ecclesiastice etiam supreme*, are remarkable, and destructive of Creighton's hypothesis. They distinctly hint at the contents of the second Bull. This document was at first, as may be gathered from the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 109, quite successfully concealed; Leo X. says in 1515 that Alexander gave Camerino to cuidam Joh. Borgia. (See Regest. Leonis X., n. 15,241.) It was not till later, in the 16th Century, that we begin to find copies of the document, of which there is one not only in the MS. already mentioned in the Barberini Library, but also in Cod. Ottob., 2528, p. 78, with the superscription, Narratur legitimatio et habilitatio pro eodem Joh. Borgia eumque Papa ex se natum agnoscit. (Vatican Library.) On Juan's guardians, see *Regest. 871, f. 196 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), and RONCHINI, 44 *seq.* An inscription in which Franciscus Card. Cusentinus is called Juan's guardian has been published in Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 403; and also IV., 90, in opposition to Ademollo's hypothesis that Juan was the child of Alexander and Lucrezia (GORI, Archivio, II., 94 *seq.*). In the last-named place, DAL RE observes: Storici autorevoli, quali il Roscoe, il Campori, l'Antonelli, il Cittadella ed il Gregorovius in particolare, hanno già addotto le ragioni per cui l'accusa d'incesto con la propria figlia Lucrezia messa fuori a vituperio di Alessandro VI., dai poeti Sannazzaro e Pontano, dagli storici e politici Matarazzo, Marco Attilio Alessio, Guicciardini ed altri, debba qual mera calumnia esser rigettata. DAL RE, *l.c.*, 90, 280, shews that it is impossible that the Bull of 15th Oct., 1501, in which Ademollo in his treatise, Lucrezia Borgia e la verita, in Archiv. Storico, Vol. II., fasc. I., ed. Gori (Rome, 1877), finds an admission that Juan was Lucrezia's son, can have had any such meaning. On the contrary: Manca ogni fondamento di certezza per poter affirmare che Giovanni sia la nefanda prole di Papa Alessandro e di Lucrezia; però che abbiamo due bolle, tutte e due di 1° Settembre, 1501, in cui s'afferma nell' una la paternità del Valentino, nell' altra quella del papa stesso per

"Almost the whole of the States of the Church were now the property of the Borgia; the Romagna and other territories belonged to Cæsar, and another member of the House possessed the hereditary estates of the Roman Barons. This was something entirely new in the annals of the Church."* Meanwhile, Lucrezia Borgia was not forgotten. By a marriage with Alfonso, the heir-apparent of Ferrara, she was to enter one of the noblest and oldest families in Italy, and at the same time secure Cæsar's sovereignty in the Romagna, and help forward his designs on Florence and Bologna. At first both Alfonso and his father, Ercole, refused to listen to the project, and Maximilian I. was equally against it. But Louis XII., Alexander's ally, intervened, and when the Pope had engaged himself to grant a relaxation of feudal rights and a reduction of fief dues, the betrothal took place in September, 1501.† Lucrezia was wild with delight.‡ Still young and beautiful, all her sorrow for Alfonso was forgotten in the brilliant prospect of high position and gratified vanity that opened out before her. The Ferrarese Envoys gave feast

rispetto a quel fanciullo. Ma mentre nè nell' una nè nell' altra si tien parola alcuna della madre di lui, quello che è certo si è che nella bolla del 15 Ottob. l'infante Giovanni Borgia vien citato in modo da volerlo affatto distinguere dal noto della Lucrezia, Roderico di Biselli. Finally, it may be well to recall the fact that in an official deed of the 19th Jan., 1518, Juan is called the *brother* of Lucrezia (Johannes Borgia frater ill. dom. Lucretiae minor annis 25, maior tamen 18). *Cf.* CITTADELLA, Albero, 48, and REUMONT in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XVII., 330, and that Burchard speaks of Juan's mother as quaedam Romana. *Cf.* also MASI in the Rassegna settiman, VI., 120.

* GREGOROVIUS, VII., 449, ed. 3 (455-456, ed. 4); *cf.* R. DI SORAGNA in the Rassegna Naz., X. (1882), 126.

† QUIDDE, Zeitschr., I., 169 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 152 *seq.*; Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 8, 165 *seq.*, 168; GILBERT, I., 83 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 230; THEINER, Cod. dipl., 511 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* Brandolinus' Letter of 10th Sept., 1501, in BROM, 203.

after feast in her honour. One evening she so overfatigued herself with dancing that she was laid up with fever the next day.* The bride's outfit was truly royal. Alexander told the Ferrarese Envoys that he meant Lucrezia to have "more beautiful pearls than any other Italian princess."† At the same time, regardless of the duty imposed upon him by the dignity of his office, the Pope permitted himself to be present at scandalous dances of a similar character to those which had drawn on him the rebuke of Pius II. in former days. Society at that time was so corrupt that even this gave but little offence; everything bad was believed, but no one thought much of anything.‡

On the 9th of December the bridal escort, consisting of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and four other members of the

* See Appendix, N. 7, *Letter from G. L. Cataneo, of 24th Sept., 1501. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 189 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 239.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 167, and the very compromising letter about Alexander VI. of two Florentines cited in the note. *Cf.* also CREIGHTON, IV., 50; Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol., X., 203; L'ÉPINOIS in the Rev. de Quest. Hist., XXXVII., 631; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 40. On Pius II.'s rebuke, see PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 452 (Engl. trans.). The account, De convivio quinquaginta meretricum, which GREGOROVIUS, VII., 456, ed. 4, passes over as mere "scandalous gossip," is not a later interpolation (see PIEPER in the Römisch. Quartalschrift, 1893, p. 346), but is to be found in most of the MS. copies of BURCHARDI Diarium Alexander VI., and in that which is in the Archives of the Cęremonieri in the Vatican. *Cod. A—6, f. 527. (A later hand has drawn a penstroke through the passage; but it corresponds word for word with the printed text.) In the present state of the materials it is not possible to formulate a critical judgment as to the correctness of all the details of the Convivium in Burchardi's narrative; no doubt there is a good deal of exaggeration. But, especially taking into account the Florentine letters mentioned above, there can be no question that there was dancing of a very reprehensible character. PIEPER'S arguments (*loc. cit.*, 396–397) against the trustworthiness of Burchardi's text do not seem to me convincing.

ducal family, with a retinue of 500 persons, started from Ferrara. It reached Rome on the 23rd, and on the same day the Ferrarese Envoy, writing to his master, expresses the favourable impression produced on him by Lucrezia. "She is singularly graceful in everything she does, and her manners are modest, gentle, and decorous. She is also a good Christian, and more, she is going to confession and to communion on Christmas Day. As regards good looks she has quite sufficient, but her pleasing expression and gracious ways make her seem even more beautiful than she is. In short, she seems to me to be such that there is nothing to fear, but rather the very best to be hoped, in every way from her."* On the 30th December Lucrezia's marriage with Alfonso, by procuration, was celebrated with great splendour in the Vatican. The bride's dress was of "gold brocade and crimson velvet trimmed with ermine. The hanging sleeves touched the ground, and her long train was borne by maids of honour. A black band confined her golden hair, and she wore on her head a light coif of gold and silk. Her necklace was a string of pearls with a locket consisting of an emerald, a ruby, and one large pearl." From thence until the day of her departure (6th January, 1502) one entertainment succeeded another in a perpetual round of gaiety. Plays, among others Plautus' Menaechmi, balls, and allegorical representations alternated with races, tournaments, and bull-fights.†

* Report of El Prete da Correggio in GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 194-5. *Cf.* LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 113, and NICCOLÒ DA CORREGGIO in Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital. (1893), XXII., 66 *seq.* On the bridal escort, see also SANUTO, IV., 195 *seq.*, and Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 585-586.

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 197, 199 *seq.*; SANUTO, IV., 211. *Cf.* DAL RE, 104 *seq.*; RICCI SIGNORINI, Il passagio di L. B. per Cesena (Cesena, 1889). On the festivities at Forli on Lucrezia's passage through that place see Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X. (1892), 280-301. On

Lucrezia's marriage with the heir of Ferrara was the turning point in her life. In spite of all the investigations of recent times much in the Roman life of this remarkable woman remains shrouded in darkness; but this is not the case in regard to its closing period in Ferrara.* During this time Lucrezia, who was Duchess of Ferrara from 1505 till 24th June, 1519, when she died in her confinement, not only won the love of her husband, but also that of her people. All accusations in regard to her conduct, which no doubt were not entirely groundless,† from henceforth wholly cease. Lucrezia is only heard of as a faithful and loving wife, and the consoler and advocate of all who were poor or oppressed. Her beauty, added to her sweetness and kindness, captivated the hearts of all. She encouraged arts, and was surrounded and praised by cultivated men such as Ariosto, Bembo, Strozzi, and others.

> Lucrezia Borgia di cui d'ora in ora
> La beltà, la virtù, e la fama honesta,
> E la fortuna, va crescendo non meno
> Che giovin pianta in morbida terra;

the bull-fights in Rome, *cf.* ADEMOLLO, Carnevale, 37–45 *seq.*; LUZIO, Fed. Gonzaga, 49; CIAN, Cortegiano, 48.

* In addition to ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 378 *seq.*, SABBATINI in Educatore Storico, A° III., Disp. 5ª (Modena, 1845); CAMPORI in the Nuov. Antolog. (1866); ANTONELLI in the Arch. Venet., II. (1871), 429 *seq.*; ZUCCHETTI, L. B. Duchessa di Ferrara (Milan, 1869); *cf.* especially GILBERT, II., 97 *seq.*, and GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 209 *seq.* Gilbert's representation is very inadequate (see REUMONT in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, V., 476). In regard to Gregorovius, see Vol. V., p. 399, Antonelli's work, L. B. in Ferrara (Ferrara, 1867), contains nothing but extracts taken from the Ferrarese Chronicle of Bernardino Zambotto and Niccolò of Parma's narrative of the bringing of Lucrezia from Rome, and the festivities at Ferrara on her arrival. On the relations between Lucrezia Borgia and Isabella d'Este, see LUZIO, I Precettori d'Isab. d'Este (Nozze Renier-Campostrini. Ancona, 1887), 42, in which Gregorovius' mistaken statement is corrected.

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 399, note ‡.

is the description of her in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (XIII., 19). Without giving credit to every flattering word that may occur in the strains of a Court-poet, we may fairly assume that he would not have written anything that was in flagrant contradiction with the general opinion. "The art of flattery has its laws and its limits; he who would praise a royal personage for qualities in which he or she was notoriously deficient, must be utterly unacquainted with the world and the usages of society. Such praise would practically be satire, and the foolish courtier would certainly not be rewarded."* The poets, however, are not the only witnesses in her favour. Scholars, statesmen, and historians all agree in pronouncing the same verdict, so that the latest biographer of the Duchess says at the close of his work: "This at least is certain, that during her life at Ferrara she was regarded as a pattern of womanly virtue."† More

* CAMPORI *loc. cit.*; JORRY, 182 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 205. GEIGER, also, in the Zeitsch. für vergleich. Literaturgesch., N. F. II., 154, says: "If we are not to brand such men as Ariosto, Strozzi, etc., as liars, or at any rate as guilty of the most fulsome adulation, we must believe in a real conversion of heart and change of life in Lucrezia."

† GREGOROVIUS, 281. On the relations between Bembo and Lucrezia, this historian says, p. 277: "There can be no doubt that Bembo was passionately in love with Lucrezia, but it were vain to attempt to prove that there was anything which went beyond the limits of what was permissible in the marks of friendship bestowed on him by that beautiful woman." MAZZUCHELLI (see JORRY, 176) and THAUSING in the Vienna Deutsch. Zeitung (1883), N. 3954, pass a similar judgment. With HILDEBRAND (II., 53), I will not attempt to decide whether or not GILBERT (II., 127 *seq.*) has been successful in proving that the famous lock of fair hair which is shewn in the Ambrosiana at Milan with Lucrezia's letters to Bembo, was not hers. "But in any case," Hildebrand says, "Gilbert is right in holding that the 'desiderosa gratificarvi' with which one of her letters concludes does not give the smallest right to infer any return of love on her part. Any one who knows Italian is familiar with this phrase as the commonest expression of complimentary affability

especially in times of scarcity she shewed herself a "Mother of the people"; and actually pawned her jewels in order to help the poor. Jovius tells how completely she renounced all the luxury to which she had been accustomed from her youth, and lived a simple, religious life. He lays special stress on her solid practice of virtue; her religion was no mere show. As a proof of her practical charity he states that she founded a convent and chapel for well-born ladies out of her own private purse.*

After Lucrezia's departure from Rome, Cæsar's influence became absolutely unbounded. He was the real master; in almost everything the Pope conformed absolutely to the iron will of this man, the most terrible of all the cruel offspring of the Renaissance. Cæsar was the tyrant of Rome, which he filled with his spies and minions. A word against him was a crime of high treason. A man who had made too free with his name when in domino had his hand and his tongue cut off and fastened together.† The Venetian Ambassador was unable to protect one of his countrymen who was supposed to have circulated a pamphlet which contained reflections on Alexander and his son. He was murdered and his body cast into the Tiber. The Pope himself, though callous as a rule about such things, blamed his son for this. "The Duke," he said to the Ferrarese Envoy, "is a good-natured man; but he cannot tolerate an insult. I have often told him that Rome is a free city, and that here every one has a right to

from a Prince to an inferior in rank." For a criticism on Gilbert's work, see especially REUMONT in the Bonn. Literaturblatt, V., 476 *seq.*

* JOVIUS, Vitae clar. vir., I., 187. *Cf.* ROSCOE, Leo X., I., 395; JORRY, *loc. cit.*; GREGOROVIUS, 304. See also the testimony of B. PISTOFILO in the Atti Mod., III., 493.

† See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 172. Punishments such as this were then quite usual. See MAURY, Rev. Hist., XIII., 98 *seq.*

write and say what he likes. Plenty of things are said of me, but I take no notice. The Duke replied, That may be all very well for Rome, but I will teach such people to be sorry for what they say." Finally the Pope reminded his son how many of the Cardinals, whom Charles VIII. had himself acknowledged to have been traitors to their master, had been forgiven by him. "I could easily," he said, "have had the Vice-Chancellor and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere killed; but I did not wish to harm any one, and I pardoned fourteen of the nobles."* A short time before this Alexander had proved that this was not mere palaver.

At the close of the year 1501 a pamphlet against the Borgia had appeared which surpassed all former attacks in virulence. It was in the form of a letter to one of the exiled Roman Barons, Silvio Savelli, then living at the Court of Maximilian I., and was dated from the Spanish camp at Tarento, 15th November, 1501. "You are mistaken, my dear friend," it said, "if you think that you ought to attempt to come to terms with this monster. He has betrayed you, banished you, and resolved on your destruction, simply out of greed and faithlessness, and for no other reason. Therefore you should repay an enmity that will never cease with an unalterable hatred. You must choose a different path and disclose the misery of Rome to the true physician. Lay before the Emperor and the other Princes of the empire all the evil that has proceeded from this cursed beast for the perdition of Christendom; narrate the abominable crimes by which God is set at naught, and

* From a *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, Beltrando Costabili, of 1st February, 1502, in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 453-454, ed. 3 (460-61, ed. 4). *Cf.* Lord ACTON, 364. Another Ferrarese Envoy describes in a *Letter, dat. Rome, 30th October, 1501, that Cæsar never goes out without being masked. (See Vol. V. of this work, p. 403.) El resto del tempo he remains shut up in quelle sue camere. State Archives, Modena.

the heart of religion pierced through. Describe these horrors in detail before the Diet, and take care that they shall be disseminated from mouth to mouth. It is idle for Christendom to groan over the nations which are torn from her arms by her old enemy the Turk, while this new Mahomet far surpasses the old one in the havoc he causes in what yet remains of faith and religion by his filthy crimes. These are the days of Antichrist, for no greater enemy of God, Christ, and religion can be conceived." It goes on to accuse all the Borgia, Alexander, Lucrezia, and Cæsar, of every imaginable crime and vice. All that could be invented by political hatred in Milan, Venice, and Naples, and all the venom that Roman satire could hatch, is heaped together and poured forth in unmeasured language. "There is no sort of outrage or vice," it says in one place, "that is not openly practised in the Palace of the Pope. The perfidy of the Scythians and Carthaginians, the bestiality and savagery of Nero and Caligula are surpassed. Rodrigo Borgia is an abyss of vice, a subverter of all justice, human or divine. God grant that the Princes may come to the rescue of the tottering Church, and steer the sinking barque of Peter out of the storm and into the haven! God grant they may rise up and deliver Rome from the destroyer who was born to be her ruin, and bring back justice and peace to the city!" *

This diatribe, brimming over with political hatred and the spirit of revenge, cannot, of course, be regarded as historically trustworthy. But it shews what dangerous

* The whole letter is to be found in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 182–187 (on p. 183 read conventibus *instead of* convenientibus, and on p. 187 labanti *instead of* labenti). The author was evidently a Humanist, or connected with the Humanists. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 460, ed. 3 (467, ed. 4), conjectures that he may have been one of the Colonna.

weapons the disgraceful conduct of the Borgia put into the hands of their enemies.*

Alexander had this libel read to him; but, indifferent as he was to public opinion, it never occurred to him to attempt to curtail the liberty of speech or writing in Rome. We hear nothing of any measures to check the circulation of the pamphlet, or any attempt to prosecute its author. Silvio Savelli, in whose interest it was professedly written, was allowed later to return to Rome and was received in audience by the Pope.†

Alexander paid heavily for his indifference to all these attacks and accusations.‡ Writings like these exercised a lasting effect on the judgments regarding him, both of his contemporaries and of later times.

The longer this "incredible liberty" in the expression of opinion lasted in Rome the more freely was it taken advantage of by the enemies of the Borgia. "Sannazaro certainly wrote his epigrams in a place of comparative security, but others said the most hazardous things at the very doors of the Court."§ Epigrammatic satire developed enormously in literary circles in Rome. Literary men vied with each other in producing the most melodramatic and unheard of accusations, and spicing them with the most caustic wit.‖

* CREIGHTON, IV., 22. *Cf.* ALVISI, 223-224.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 182; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 309.

‡ "Alexander," says LANGE, 32, "as a Sybarite who cared nothing for the opinion of the world, bore these attacks with perfect equanimity, and unless they contained actual threats never took any measures in regard to them. He looked upon Rome as a privileged place where every one should be left free to speak and write as he pleased."

§ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 309, ed. 3; *cf.* 152 *seq.*

‖ LUZIO in the Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 89 *seq.*, has collected a multitude of satires and epigrams mostly drawn from printed sources. *Cf. Ibid.*, XVII., 296, note, and XIX., 455. See also FUMI, Alessan. VI.,

Alexander was often now loaded with vituperation by the very same persons who had formerly "praised him to the skies."* Just at this time (1511) Cardinal Caraffa had had an ancient statue, supposed to represent Hercules strangling Geryon, placed on a pedestal just outside his palace, which was situated in one of the most frequented thoroughfares of Rome.† Burchard relates how, in August

102 *seq.*, and Doc. intorno Pio II. e III., 16 *seq.* The number of MS. epigrams is even greater, the majority of which were not written until after the Pope's death, and later. (*Cf.* PIEPER in the Römischen Quartalschrift, 1893, p. 393.) I can only mention a few. Thus, see Cod. 9846 in the Court Library at Vienna; Cod. Lat. 428, f. 265, in the State Library at Munich; Cod. Vatic. 3351, in the Vatican Library; poems of FAUSTO, Maddaleno de Capodiferro, f. 68 (In Alexandrum VI., P. M., f. 74: In edictum contra lenones Alex. VI., f. 90; Contra Alexandrum VI., and specially f. 77; De vitiis Alexandri VI., P. M. Then also against others of the Borgia family, *e.g.*, f. 55^{b}: De Dorothea a Caesare Borgia rapta). Cod. Hamilton, 561, formerly in the possession of one of the Rovere Cardinals, contains, f. 9, atrocious verses against Alexander, *e.g.*:

Heredem certum ut possit sibi linquere Sextus
Ex nota prolem suscipere instituit.

(Royal Library, Berlin.) The same detestable accusation is to be found in Protestant polemics of the 16th Century (*e.g.*, L. OSIANDER, Sieben Predigten gegen Feucht und Pistorius, 1589, pp. 38–39), in the verses:—

Conditus hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Alexandra filia, sponsa, nurus,

which are quoted as true. It has been clearly proved, *supra*, p. 105, note †, that these charges are calumnies. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 520. Burchard's silence, from which GOTHEIN, 461, note 2, infers their truth, is no proof whatever; as L. GEIGER has shewn in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung (1888), p. 1751.

* TOMMASINI, Evangelista Maddaleni de Capodiferro, in the Atti dei Lincei, 4 Serie, Cl. di scienze mor. storiche, X., 9. Roma, 1893.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 561 where also the older literature relating to Pasquino is given.

1501, on the pedestal of this antique fragment, which then went by the name of Pasquino (it is now thought to be Ajax with the body of Achilles), a prophecy of the death of the Pope was affixed, which was quickly circulated throughout the whole of Rome. This prediction, he adds, was posted up in several other parts of the city:* in the Campo di Fiore, the Bridge of St. Angelo, the doors of the Vatican Library, and the gates of the Papal Palace. The number of places here mentioned proves that at that time the popular and courtly epigram was not yet a fixed institution in Rome. Up to the time of Leo X. the statue of Pasquino is only occasionally mentioned as the place on which epigrams were posted. It had not yet acquired any special distinction in this respect. It was in his reign that it first became the recognised place for affixing all the epigrams and witticisms of the Roman satirists.† It seems thus equally clear that the origin of the Pasquinade literature, centred here, was scholarly rather than popular. From the year 1504, on the Feast of S. Mark (25th April), this figure was dressed up in masquerade as Minerva, Jupiter, Janus, Apollo, Flora, etc., while the members of the literary circles covered its pedestal with witty epigrams. For the rest of the year Pasquino relapsed into silence; as yet he was still in the youthful, academic stage of his existence.‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 157.

† *Cf.* LUZIO in the Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 94–95; G. A. CESAREO in the N. Antologia, CXXXV. (1894), 537 *seq.*; and Pasquino e la Satira sotto Leone X. (Roma, 1894). For a review of this work see also Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XXIV., 473 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GNOLI and LUZIO in the Nuova Antologia (1890); GENNAIO, 2, 16; AGOSTO, 16. See also ERRERA in Arch. St. Ital., 5 Serie, X., 176 *seq.*, and CIAN in Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 295 *seq.* MORANDI'S contention in the Fanfulla della Domenica, XII, 52, against Luzio is not convincing. *Cf.* Giorn. st. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 151. The

There can be no doubt that the comic poems of that time in Rome were often accompanied by caricatures. When later (in the year 1509), collections of these Pasquinades began to be made, the pictures were thrown away, and only the epigrams were kept. Thus valuable materials for the history of culture have been lost and we can never hope to recover them. Even such things as abortions like, for instance, the monster that was said to have been found in January 1496, at the time of the overflow of the Tiber,* were, as Alexander's misgovernment grew worse and worse, caught hold of by the enemies of the Borgia, and interpreted in their own sense.†

Five weeks after Lucrezia's departure, Alexander and Cæsar, accompanied by six Cardinals, set out for Piombino, which had surrendered in the previous September. The object of their journey was to inspect the fortifications which were being constructed there, apparently under the direction of Leonardo da Vinci.‡ On the 17th February, 1502, they set out by way of Civita Vecchia and Corneto, and after Piombino the island of Elba was also visited. The return journey was begun on the 1st of March, but a violent storm came on, and they did not succeed in reaching Porto Ercole till the 4th. Although the gale had by no means subsided, the voyage was pursued as far as Corneto; but when they got there the sea was running so high that

view given in the text is corroborated by a scarce work in the Court Library at Munich (Po. Lat., 861): Carmina apposita Pasquino Paci Anno 1520 (Printed at Rome in 1520). In Mazzochi's Dedication to the Card. del Monte, dat. Romae, Kal. Maii 1520, we find: Solent namque juvenes hic geniam quotannis musis exerceri, accendique ad virtutem, magna principis, magna tua, magna caeterorum omnium delectatione.

* See Vol. V. of this work, p. 480.

† LANGE, 32, 43; *cf.* 39.

‡ *Cf.* ALVISI, 244.

it was impossible to land. As the storm still continued to increase, the terrified crew threw themselves on their faces on the deck, the Cardinals wept, the Pope alone remained perfectly calm. In the evening they were obliged to return to Porto Ercole, and from thence Alexander travelled back to Rome by Corneto and Civita Vecchia, and arrived there on the 11th of March.*

There was a political reason for this expedition. Piombino was to form the basis of Cæsar's operations against Tuscany, where the enmity between Florence and Siena, and the war against Pisa, created a favourable situation for him.† In other directions, also, the moment was opportune. The King of France was thought to be safe, as he required the help of the Pope in the coming struggle with the Spanish League. The Roman Barons had been crushed, and all was quiet in the Romagna. Ferrara was an ally; Venice was too busy with the Turks to interfere; there was nothing to fear from Germany.‡ Such a happy combination of circumstances called for prompt action, and all possible speed was made in the preparations. The artillery of the dethroned King of Naples was purchased for 50,000 ducats.§ The fact that Cæsar alone, in May, 1502, drew the

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 192–196, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI. II., 269; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 454–455, ed. 3 (461, ed. 4). *Cf.* also *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives, and a **Letter of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 17th Feb., 1502. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† REUMONT, III., 1, 241. *Cf.* G. L. Cataneo's **Letter of 17th Feb., 1502. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ G. L. Cataneo's **Letter of 17th Feb., 1502. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 25 *seq.* On the pacification of the Romagna by Cæsar, see REUMONT, III., 1, 240, and ALVISI, 246 *seq.*, 259 *seq.*, 261. The last named historian shews that Cæsar displayed great administrative capacity in his government of the Romagna, and was a generous patron of Art.

§ The Portuguese Envoy names a lower sum. See Corp. Dipl. Port.,

sum of 54,000 florins out of the Papal treasury, shews what large demands were made upon it by the Pope's nephews. This did not include the cost of weapons and ammunition. Between 10th May and 12th July the Apostolical treasury paid for 83,098 pounds of powder (each 1000 pounds cost 40 ducats). A separate register was kept in the Secretariat for the ordnance expenses.*

On the 13th June Cæsar left Rome at the head of his army. No one, says Sigismondo de' Conti, knew whither he was bound, but all the inhabitants of the States of the Church trembled at the approach of his troops, who in their violence and exactions behaved as though they were in an enemy's country.†

The Duke proceeded to Spoleto, and from thence entered the Duchy of Urbino. By dint of fraud and treachery he succeeded in making himself master of the whole country, its deluded ruler, Guidobaldi, barely escaping out of his hands by a timely flight.‡ In the following month he took Giulio Cesare Varano, the murderer of his brother Rudolf, prisoner, and conquered Camerino.§ He now received the

I., 34; but Dr. Gottlob states that the sum in the text is that which is found in the disbursements mentioned in Cod. XXXII., 242 (at the end), in the Barberini Library, Rome.

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 229.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 251. Alvisi has shewn that Cæsar endeavoured to check the rapacity of his soldiers, but the testimony of such a well-informed contemporary witness can hardly be set aside. In this, as in several other points, Alvisi seems to me to go too far in his desire to take an unprejudiced view of Cæsar, and reject the calumnies of his contemporaries. How "barbarous" was his treatment of Fossombrone is clearly shewn by GIAC. LAURO, *Storia de Fossombrone. MS. in the Plattner Library in Rome.

‡ DENNISTOUN, I., 385; UGOLINI, II., 89 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 374; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 158 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 784; ALVISI, 528 *seq.*; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 124 *seq.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 253; SUGENHEIM, 375 *seq.*; BALAN,

title of Cæsar Borgia of France, by the Grace of God Duke of the Romagna and of Valencia and Urbino, Prince of Andria, Lord of Piombino, Standard-bearer and General-in-Chief of the Church.*

When the Pope heard of the conquest of Camerino he was "almost beside himself with joy," writes the Venetian Envoy, Antonio Giustinian. "He could so little contain himself that, to give some vent to his feelings and mark the importance of the news, he got up from his chair and went to the window, and there had the letter of his Duke of 20th July from Urbino read aloud."† Camerino was given to the infant Juan Borgia,‡ while Cæsar's plans took larger and larger scope. He was, in fact, on the high road to become King of the whole of Central Italy. He was already beginning to think of turning his arms against Bologna when Louis XII. came forward, in connection with Neapolitan relations with Asti, and gave it to be understood that he would not permit any further developments.§ All the enemies of the Borgia were besieging the King with complaints of, and warnings against, the Duke of the Romagna. Cæsar's resolution was promptly taken. Disguising himself, he hastened to the royal camp at Milan, and arrived on the 5th of August. He was successful in winning Louis by the promise of help in Naples, in return for which the King engaged to support him in his attack on Bologna and the Orsini.‖

407 *seq.*, 409, 411 *seq.* The excommunication of G. C. Varano is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 17.

* VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 333; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 457–458, ed. 3 (464, ed. 4).

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 64; *cf.* 76.

‡ RONCHINI, 46 *seq.*, 62 *seq.*

§ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 333 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 785; and on the fresh rupture between Giuliano della Rovere and the Pope, BROSCH, 88 *seq.*

‖ ALVISI, 300 *seq.*, 311 *seq.*

At this moment a conspiracy against Cæsar was formed amongst the chief captains of the mercenary troops under his command. "They were afraid that the dragon was preparing to swallow them one by one."* On the 9th of October the conspirators met at La Magione, not far from the Lake of Thrasimene. Many of the Orsini came, the Cardinal, the Duke of Gravina, Paolo, and Franciotto, besides Hermes, the son of Giovanni Bentivoglio, as the representative of his father, Antonio da Venafro, representing Pandolfo, Petrucci, Gentile, and Giampaolo Baglione, and Vitellozzo Vitelli.† They proceeded at once to action, and on the 15th of October Paolo Orsini entered Urbino, and Guidobaldi immediately joined him there. Without the help of France, Cæsar would have been lost, and he exerted himself to obtain the support of Venice and Florence also. It was at this time that Machiavelli was sent as Envoy to Cæsar at Imola, and gave the first indication of his genius as a political historian by his judgments of the "inscrutable Duke who hardly ever spoke, but acted."‡

Ferrara promised to send troops to Rome if the Pope should require help against the Orsini.§ Actually, however, the only help received by Cæsar came from France alone; but that sufficed, for in the meanwhile his opponents lost time in negotiations, and split among themselves.

The Duke exerted all his craft to break up the League, and fool the conspirators; and they on their part walked

* So writes G. P. Baglioni on the 11th Oct. See VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 334.

† VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, 334; SUGENHEIM, 385; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 160; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 257 *seq.*, says that Cardinal Orsini was the prime mover in the Confederacy.

‡ *Ibid.*, 339 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*

§ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 463, ed. 3 (470, ed. 4).

blindly into the net that he had laid for them.* Antonio da Venafro and Paolo Orsini came to Imola and concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Duke, by which they bound themselves to recover Urbino and Camerino for him. Bentivoglio entered into separate negotiation with Cæsar; and on the 2nd of December they came to terms.† Soon after Urbino and Camerino were restored to him.

On the 10th December Cæsar, who a short time before had received considerable sums from the Papal treasury,‡ proceeded with his troops from Imola to Cesena. "No one knew or could guess the object of the movement," writes Machiavelli, "for this Signor never speaks of his intentions until he carries them out, and he carries them out at the proper moment."§ Soon, however, it became evident that the Duke's purpose was to take Sinigaglia. Andrea Doria was in command of the Castle. When he found that Cæsar was hurrying towards the city, and already preceded by the troops of Vitellozzo and the Orsini, he fled to Venice. The commander whom he left in charge declared that he would give up the citadel to Cæsar but to no one else.‖ The Duke arrived on the 31st of December, and was joined at the gates by Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsini, the Duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto of Fermo. He re-

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 262.

† Besides VILLARI, *loc. cit.*, I., 343 *seq.*, *cf.* also CIPOLLA, 788, and ALVISI, 547 *seq.*, 550 *seq.*

‡ *Die III. Decemb. [1502] recepi ducat. 9000 auri in auro A. S. D. N. munerata in camera Susanne mittenda in summa duc. 15,000 ill. duci Valentino, que recepi in duobus sacculis. *Intr. et exit., 532; at the end of a loose sheet tacked on f. 4. The further entries in this vol. shew that Cæsar drew enormous sums for military purposes. In Perugia he had 600 German mercenaries. See *Intr. et exit., 533, f. 201. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ Letter of 28th Dec. See VILLARI, I., 352.

‖ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 353.

ceived them in the friendliest manner, and they entered together; but no sooner were they within the walls than he had them arrested, and their people disarmed. That very same evening Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were ruthlessly put to death.* The Orsini soon after met with the same fate.† In justification of these murders it was said later that those chiefs had agreed to rise against the Duke and assassinate him. No proofs of this are to be found; but it is not unlikely that it may have been true.‡

Cæsar now turned with lightning-like rapidity on his other foes. On 1st January, 1503, he set off for Perugia on his way to Siena. "At his approach all the smaller despots (such as the Vitelli of Città di Castello, Giampaolo Baglione of Perugia, etc.) fled as from that of a hydra."§

The Duke's "extraordinary good fortune and super-

* On the tragedy of Sinigaglia, in addition to Machiavelli's cold-blooded account (*cf.* VILLARI, I., 354 *seq.*), see also a Letter from Isabella d'Este to her husband, of 10th Jan., 1503 (Arch. St. Ital., Serie 1, App., II., 262 *seq.*), and Giustinian's Despatch of 4th Jan., 1503 (Dispacci, I., 304 *seq.*). A Letter of Cæsar's of 1st Jan., 1503, in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 133, is also interesting in this connection. Amongst recent authors, see CIPOLLA, 789 (good against Leonetti, and on the question of Alexander VI.'s complicity in this deed); L'ÉPINOIS, 415; ALVISI, 388 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 256 *seq.* Machiavelli tells the story of this execution (for Cæsar's contemporaries regarded it as an execution) over again, but with fewer details, in his well-known "Descrizione del modo tenuto dal duca Valentino nell' ammazzare Vitellozzo," etc. GASPARY, II., 345, conjectures that some alterations were purposely introduced into this second narrative "with a view of setting the Duke's sagacity in a more brilliant light, for Machiavelli was never scrupulous in regard to strict historical accuracy when he had a political doctrine to illustrate." Alexander VI. bestowed Fermo on Lucrezia's son, Don Rodrigo. See FULVI, Docum. d. Storia de Fermo. Fermo, 1875.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 356 *seq.*

‡ CIPOLLA, *loc. cit.*

§ VILLARI, I., 356 *seq.*

human sagacity," to use Machiavelli's words, so encouraged the Pope, that he determined to proceed now himself against the Orsini. On the 3rd of January, 1503, Cardinal Orsini, now blind, but still spending his nights in play and feasting, was arrested in the Vatican, and taken first to Torre di Nona and then to St. Angelo.* At the same time, Rinaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence, Giacomo Santa Croce, and other adherents of the family were put in prison. Cardinal Orsini's palace and all his property were confiscated by Alexander VI. The other Cardinals interceded for him, but without effect. The Pope declared that his treachery and participation in the captains' conspiracy could not be left unpunished.† In Rome the numerous arrests created quite a panic. Many fled from the city, so that at last Alexander found it necessary to send for the Conservators, and assure them that all the guilty persons had now been disposed of; the other citizens were to remain in Rome and enjoy the Carnival. In the latter respect he himself set them the best example.‡

On the 5th of January, Jofré Borgia set out to occupy Monte Rotondo and the other strongholds of the doomed family. This was the signal for a final effort to avenge themselves on the part of the remains of the Orsini party in combination with the Savelli and a few of the Colonna. They entrenched themselves in Cere and Bracciano, and on the 23rd January attacked the Ponte Nomentano. The attack was repulsed; but the Pope was so much alarmed

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 230, and *Report of the Mantuan Envoy of 4th Jan., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 301 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, according to which the Cardinal fully expected that he would be put to death. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 232.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 313 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*, 322, 324. *Cf.* ADEMOLLO, 27.

that he had the Vatican barricaded and commanded Jofré to return at once.*

On the 20th February, 1503, the Pope advised the Cardinals to fortify their palaces, for there was fear of an attack from the Orsini.† Two days later Cardinal Orsini died after an illness of twelve days. The report that he was poisoned by the Borgia was widely circulated, but the truth of this is doubtful. Such was the death of the man who, next to Ascanio Sforza, had the greatest influence in procuring the election of Alexander VI.‡

Meanwhile Caesar had advanced against the Orsini from Umbria, and, devastating the country as he went along, had made himself master of all the places belonging to Giovanni Giordano Orsini with the exception of Cere and Bracciano, which last was their chief stronghold.§ A short time after,

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 342, 349; SANUTO, IV., 654 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 467 *seq.* (474 *seq.*, ed. 4).

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 237, and Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 403.

‡ L'ÉPINOIS is strongly against the hypothesis of poison. He says, p. 416 : Giustinian si attaché aux Orsini et si au fait de ce qui se passait à Rome, avait écrit, dès le 15 Février, 1503, que le Cardinal donnait des signes de frénésie : il parla bien des bruit émis sur cette maladie, en laissant à la sagesse du doge le soin de les apprécier ; mais, le 22 en annonçant que le Cardinal Orsini était à l'extrémité et que les médecins désespéraient de le sauver, il ne dit rien qui pût faire soupçonner un crime. Le 23 Février le Cardinal expira. L'ambassadeur de Florence, Soderini, dans se dépêche et Brancatalini dans son Diarium mentionnent simplement la mort du Cardinal sans dire un mot du poison. At the same time, the remark in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238 : ego nolens plus sapere quam oportet, non interfui (at the funeral) neque aliquo modo me intromisi, is certainly noteworthy. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER in the Grenzboten, III. (1879), 185.

§ *La Ex. del ducha sarà qua lo jovedi grasso perche tutte le terre di Jo. Jordano ha habuto d'accordo excepto Brazano che è lo capo dove è la molie, etc. Report of G. L. Cataneo, 21st Feb., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

it was said that the Duke had been seen in Rome; but no one could be sure, as he always wore a mask when he went out.*

Meanwhile the war against the Orsini dragged on. Cere did not fall until the beginning of April; 6000 cannon balls had been discharged at this fortress.† Upon this Giovanni Giordano Orsini concluded an armistice (4th April)‡ and betook himself to his protector, the King of France, for aid in the negotiation to follow. Louis at that moment was greatly disturbed at the unfavourable turn taken by events in Naples. In April the Spaniards, under Gonsalvo de Cordova, had opened the campaign with a brilliant victory over the French. On the 16th of May the Spanish General entered Naples in triumph. Louis XII., however, was not disposed to relinquish this noble possession without a struggle, and a new army was immediately equipped.§

The French reverses in Naples were of great advantage to Cæsar. He could now ask a high price for his assistance, and it was not necessary to consider France so much as heretofore in shaping his plans. The important point now was to get money so as to have as strong an army as possible wherewith to control the impending disturbances. Even on the 29th March the Venetian Ambassador reports that in the Consistory of that day it had been resolved by the Cardinals that a Bull should be issued to create eighty new offices in the Court; the price of each was to be 760 ducats. "I leave it to your highness to count how much money the Pope has secured."‖

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 412 *seq.*, and Beltrando's Report in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 473–474, ed. 3 (481, ed. 4).

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 266–267; *cf.* 450 *seq.*

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VII., 475, ed. 3; (482, ed. 4); and App. to SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 452.

§ HAVEMANN, II., 169 *seq.*, 178 *seq.*; REUMONT, Carafa, I., 38

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., 453.

These were innocent expedients in comparison with others adopted by the man before whom all Rome, not excepting the Pope himself, trembled. In the night of the 10th of April the wealthy Cardinal Michiel died after two days of violent vomiting. Recent investigations have had the effect of acquitting Cæsar of many crimes laid upon him by the hatred of his contemporaries, but the death of Cardinal Michiel is not one of these. It is extremely probable that Cæsar poisoned the Cardinal in order to obtain the money that he wanted.* Still, however, there was not enough. On May 31 the Venetian Envoy, A. Giustinian, writes: "To-day there was a Consistory. Instead of four new Cardinals, as people expected and as the Pope had said, nine were nominated. Five of these are Spaniards, Giovanni Castelar of Valencia, Francesco Remolino, Francesco Sprats, Jacopo Casanova, and Francesco Iloris; three are Italians, Niccolò

* Despatch of A. Giustinian of 11th April, 1503. VILLARI, I., 574: El ditto (Michiel's nephew) me ha riferito che da due zorni in qua li era zonto un destemperamento de stomego con gran vomito, et anche un poco di flusso: el sospetto è grande ch' el sia sta' avelenato e non mancano evidente conietture. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 259, and Tiara Veneta, 38; Michiel's Epitaph in FORCELLA, Iscriz., II., 304. It has been shewn, in Vol. V. of this work, p. 510, and *supra*, p. 68, that Cæsar was not the murderer either of the Duke of Gandia or of Juan Borgia; ALVISI, 53 *seq.*, has also disproved another false charge against Cæsar. Machiavelli asserts that Cæsar had had the Bishop Ferdinando d'Almeida killed because he had prematurely informed Louis XII. of the granting of the marriage dispensation mentioned *supra*, p. 57, for which the Duke had intended to have exacted a large sum from the King. Alvisi shews that the "murdered" Bishop died two years later, and that the dispensation had been made public some time before the date of his supposed indiscretion. P. Capello's dramatic narrative relating how Cæsar stabbed Pierotto in presence of the Pope, is another story that will not bear examination; see *supra*, p. 77, note ‡. The poisoning of the avaricious Cardinal Ferrari (*ob.* 20th July, 1502) by Cæsar is very doubtful. *Cf.* Atti Mod., VIII., 39 *seq.*, and TANGI., 388 *seq.*

Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, Francesco Soderini, and Adriano da Corneto; one is a German, Melchior Copis von Meckau, Bishop of Brixen. Most of them are men of doubtful reputation; all have paid handsomely for their elevation, some 20,000 ducats and more, so that from 120,000 to 130,000 ducats have been collected. If we add to this 64,000 ducats from the sale of the offices in the Court, and what Cardinal Michiel left behind him, we shall have a fine sum. Alexander VI. is shewing to the world that the amount of a Pope's income is just what he chooses."*

There was another side also to this creation of Cardinals on 31st May. It indicated a change in the Borgia politics, an inclination to draw nearer to Spain and retire from France consequent on the latter's humiliation. But no decision was come to as yet. "The reversal of a policy which had now been followed for some years was in itself a thing not to be done hastily, and the objections to it were heightened by the approach of a large French army destined for the reconquest of Naples, and which was now

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 29–30; *Despatch of G. L. Cataneo of 31st May, 1503: 5 spagnuli e alcuni a pena conoscite e tre taliani (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) *Cf.* PANVINIUS, 336, and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives in the Vatican), where are the names of the twenty-two Cardinals who consented to these nominations. Giustinian's statement that only four nominations were expected is not correct, and, generally, the accounts of this Venetian must be accepted with caution (*cf.* BROSCH in Sybels Zeitschr., XXXVII., 312, and ALVISI, *passim*); but the bribes given at this creation of Cardinals are corroborated from other sources. (*Cf.* BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, 313.) In regard to the simony practised at the nominations of Cardinals under Alexander VI., see the interesting documents in LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova, 130 *seq.* See also G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 6th March, 1503: *Al presente se parla de fare duodeci carli, otto ultramontani cioe sette spagnuoli e uno todescho e quatro taliani . . . *e tutti questi sono apti a pagar denari assai.* (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the nomination of Melchior von Meckau, see SINNACHER, Beiträge, 97 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*

close to the Papal frontier. Thus all was tension and uncertainty."* One thing, however, is clear, and that is, that at this time Alexander and Cæsar were preparing to fly at higher game. The Pope was in robust health and felt as young as ever; they both looked forward to a prolonged Pontificate.† Consequently Cæsar now began to look forward with confidence to the Lordship of the whole of Tuscany. The Ferrarese Envoy reports on the 10th of August that negotiations were going on between the Pope and the Emperor, to obtain for the Duke the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca. At the same time Cæsar's troops had occupied Perugia and there awaited his orders.‡ At this point a higher hand intervened; the forbearance of God had reached its appointed term.

* REUMONT, III., 1, 246. On the undecided plans and double-faced policy of the Borgia during the last months of Alexander's reign, see, in addition to A. Giustinian's Despatches, the Ferrarese *Report in the State Archives, Modena, portions of which are in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 479 *seq.*, ed. 3 (486 *seq.*, ed. 4), and BALAN, V., 422 *seq.* See also amongst recent authors, RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 168 *seq.*; CIPOLLA, 793; ULMANN, II., 87 *seq.*; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 106 *seq.*, ed. 3; Lord ACTON, 365; and VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 377 *seq.*, where also there are particulars about Troche, the favourite and secretary of Alexander VI., who was supposed to have betrayed the negotiations with Spain to the French. Troche fled on 19th May, 1503, but Cæsar succeeded in capturing him. He was brought back to Rome and executed on the 8th June, the Duke being secretly present. See the Ferrarese Envoy's Report of 11th June in VILLARI, I., 486.

† *Cf.* the quotation in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 476, note 2, ed. 3 (483, ed. 4), from Beltrando Costabili's Despatch of 17th April, 1503; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 267; and the *Report of an anonymous person, dat. Rome, May 1503: il papa sta benissimo, and Cesare the same. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 794; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 482, ed. 3 (489, ed. 4); RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 170; ULMANN, II., 89. See also SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 267.

The heat and drought of August had caused the malaria that year to be worse than usual, and it claimed a greater number of victims than was its wont. On the 5th of the month Juan Borgia, Cardinal of Monreale, died suddenly.* The Envoys mention a great deal of sickness, which was not, they say, caused by the Plague, but by a specially virulent form of Roman fever, which was very speedily fatal.† When the Venetian Ambassador was with the Pope on the 7th of August he found him in low spirits. Alexander told him that the sickness and many deaths in Rome alarmed him, and that he meant to take great care of himself. His depression was increased by the approach of the French troops.‡

The 11th of August was the anniversary of the Pope's election. Alexander appeared at the celebration in the chapel, and the Ambassador was again struck by his air of depression in contrast with the gaiety which was habitual to him on all such occasions. After Mass he conversed with the Ambassador on the critical situation in regard to politics. "See," he said, "how disastrous it has been that no understanding should have been arrived at between your Signoria and ourselves."§ Some days before, Alexander had watched from his window the funeral procession of Juan Borgia, who like himself had grown very corpulent. As it passed the Pope exclaimed, "This month is a bad one for fat people." The next moment an owl flew in and

* A. GIUSTINIAN in this case also ascribes the death to poisoning by Cæsar: Dispacci, II., 94. *Cf.* against this CREIGHTON, IV., 265.

† G. L. Cataneo, in reporting the death of Card. Juan Borgia, adds: *el era de anni 50, grasso; se ne morto in un subito et molti ge sonno infermi, ma non ge peste alcuna, solum febre qual spaciano presto. Despatch of 5th Aug., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 99, 102.

§ *Ibid.*, II., 103 *seq.*

fell at his feet. "A bad, bad omen," he cried out and hastily retired into his bed-room.*

On the morning of Saturday, 12th August, the Pope felt unwell; in the afternoon vomiting and fever came on and lasted throughout the night.† At the same time Cæsar, who was on the point of starting to join his troops at Perugia, also sickened.‡ "The cause," writes the Venetian Envoy on 13th August, "seems to have been that a week ago (therefore on the 5th or 6th of August) both Alexander and Cæsar dined at a villa belonging to Cardinal Adriano da Corneto and remained there till after nightfall. All who were there fell ill, Cardinal Adriano first, who on Friday had a severe attack of fever, which was repeated on the two following days." §

August is well known to be the most dangerous month in Rome, and at that season it is especially perilous to be out of doors about nightfall. The malignant form of ague, often brought on by an imprudence of this sort, is called *Malaria perniciosa:* in a few hours the temperature may rise to above 106 and the strongest constitution may succumb to the violence of the poison. The neighbourhood

* This is SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI'S story, II., 267, but there is some confusion in the dates.

† GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 107. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238. There are a great number of MS. copies of Burchard's narrative of the death of Alexander VI. and the election of his successor, in Latin (in many of the Vatican MSS. and Roman Libraries, and also in a Cod. of the Capelupi Lib. in Mantua), as well as in Italian (*cf.* Atti della R. Acad. dei Rozzi di Siena, I. [1871], 26 *seq.*). It was also in the hands of the author of the well-known book, Conclavi dei Pontefici Romani. A German translation in the Kathol. Schweizerbl. (1891) 496 *seq.*

‡ G. L. Cataneo, in a *Despatch of 8th Aug., 1503, announces: el ducha ogni modo parte questa notte. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 108. *Cf.* the Florentine Despatch in THUASNE, III., 449.

of the Vatican is one of the quarters in which malaria is especially prevalent. An Envoy on the 14th of August remarks that no one can be surprised that Alexander and Cæsar were ill, as the bad air in the Papal Palace had caused much sickness there.*

On the 13th of August † the physicians endeavoured to relieve the Pope by copious bleeding, a favourite remedy in those days. During all that day he was more comfortable and played at cards;‡ but after a fairly good night another attack of fever supervened on the 14th, resembling that of the 12th, so that those about him became very anxious. Although it seemed a risk to repeat the bleeding of a patient of seventy-three, this was done.§ The Pope felt somewhat better on the 15th and had no fever, but on the 16th it returned.‖

Cæsar also grew worse, the fever fits succeeded each other more and more rapidly. This, and his political anxieties, acted injuriously on the Pope's health.¶ The physicians considered his case very serious, but the details

* B. Costabili in GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459. G. L. Cataneo, in a *Despatch of 13th Aug., 1503, mentions the serious illness of two Cardinals. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† This date is given in Costabili's Despatch in GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459; in the latter, p. 108, we find the morning of 14th Aug.

‡ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 459.

§ *Ibid.*, 108, 459. (Despatch of Costabili of 14th Aug.) G. L. Cataneo reports on 14th Aug.: *El papa è alterato e se ha fatto cavar sangue il che in furia de questi tempi e in tal eta lassol iudicar ali medici. El ducha ha la febre cum vomito. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‖ Costabili's Despatch of 16th Aug., 1503: Yesterday the Pope was assai bene; hoggi è ritornato el parosismo; he is in bed with fever. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 111.

¶ GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 111, 112. BURCHARDI, on the contrary, says (Diarium, III., 239) that throughout his illness Alexander never once mentioned either Cæsar or Lucrezia. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 487, ed. 3 (494, ed. 4), unfairly lays much stress on this.

were kept as secret as possible; even Beltrando Costabili, the Ferrarese Envoy, could find out but little. According to a report of his the whole of the next day (17th) Alexander was more at ease and quieter, so that Costabili's agent hoped that the fever might not return the following day, or only slightly. Here the Pope's illness is distinctly designated as the well-known *Terzana;* it was feared that it might develop into a *Quartana.** On the 18th he had a bad night, the fever returned with greater violence than before, and the case was felt to be hopeless. Alexander made his confession to the Bishop of Carinola and received Holy Communion.† In the Palace the greatest excitement prevailed; many lost no time in removing their property to a place of security.‡ On the 18th Cæsar Borgia was better; the younger man had strength to battle against the malady, but for Alexander, at seventy-three, the last hour had struck. About 6 o'clock in the evening he had a fit of suffocation and became unconscious; for a moment he came to himself again, but immediately after passed away, about the hour of vespers.§

* See Appendix, N. 9 and 10, *Despatches of B. Costabili of 18th Aug., 1503 (State Archives, Modena), and of G. L. Cataneo of the same date. Also BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238, speaks of febris tertiana.

† See Appendix, N. 9, *Despatch from B. Costabili, of 18th Aug., 1503. SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 268, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 238. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 483–84, ed. 3 (490–91, ed. 4), following a clerical error, Culmensis, in RAYNALDUS, XXX., 391, speaks of a Bishop Peter of Culm who never existed.

‡ See Appendix, N. 9, 10, *Despatches of the Ferrarese and Mantuan Envoys of 18th Aug., 1503.

§ See GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 119 *seq.*; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 239; and in the Appendix, N. 11, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo of 19th Aug. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) According to JEAN D'AUTON (Chroniques, ed. Jacob, II., 357 Paris, 1834–1835), the news of Alexander's death was received by Louis XII. only four days after the event. That of the election of Pius III. reached him at the same time.

In consequence of the simultaneous illness of both the Pope and his son, and the rapid decomposition of the body, which, considering the heat of the weather, was perfectly natural, the cry of poison was raised at once; but on the 19th of August the Mantuan Envoy writes that there was no sort of ground for supposing this.* All the best informed contemporary writers are here agreed; neither the Venetian Ambassador Giustinian nor Jakob Burchard say anything of poison. These men were in Rome at the time of Alexander's death, which Guicciardini, Bembo, Jovius, Peter Martyr, and Sanuto were not. The narrative of the latter is self-contradictory in many places and must obviously be relegated to the realm of fiction.† It is clear

It appears that there was a regular post between Rome and the French camp. See KNUTH, 26.

* See Appendix, N. 11, *Despatch from G. L. Cataneo, of 19th Aug., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* GEBHARDT'S critical investigation in Adriano von Corneto, 11–14, which is specially directed against Ranke, who adheres with a strange pertinacity to the theory of poison. (Päpste, I., 35, ed. 7, and III., 6*-7*, ed. 7; and also Rom. und Germ. Völker, 170. In the 2nd edition the 17th of August is given as the date of Alexander's death.) Among recent historians very few of any note still maintain this untenable theory. CARO, V., 958, and LAMANSKY, Secrets d'État de Venise, Pt. 2, No. XI., where Alexander is said to have been poisoned by Adriano da Corneto, who had an understanding with the Venetian Government, may be mentioned. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 11, had already declared against this theory; later Voltaire, then MARINI, I., 250; NOVAES, VI., 119 *seq.*; ASCHBACH, I., 140; NEMEČ, 218 *seq.*; JORRY, 154 *seq.*; Rev. Hist., I., 310; REUMONT, III., 1, 247, Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 488, ed. 2; and Hist. Jahrb., V., 627 *seq.*; VILLARI and SALTINI in the Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, XXVI., 448; VILLARI in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, I., p. XLII., and Machiavelli, I., 386; ALVISI, 402 *seq.*; Lord ACTON, 367; MAURY in Rev. Hist., XIII., 101; GEBHARDT in Rev. des Deux Mondes, LXXXVI. (1886), 168 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 420; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 388; CIPOLLA, 794; CREIGHTON, IV., 43, 44. GARNETT, Engl. Hist. Rev., IX. (1894), 335–339, is the latest writer who

that Alexander succumbed to the well-known Roman fever; one of the physicians thought the actual death was caused by a fit of apoplexy.* The interval of seven or eight days between the dinner and the first appearances of illness, and the periodical character of the fever fits, quite excludes the hypothesis of poison.†

has dealt with this question. He thinks it possible that the Pope may have been poisoned by one of his enemies, but rejects, as unproved, the statement that Alexander died of a poison prepared by himself for another man. The reason that the English historian has been unable to come to a definite conclusion may be that he has not followed the story of the course of the malady in detail, as we have endeavoured, for the first time, to do. If he had, he would have apprehended the true explanation of what Jovius says about Cardinal Adriano Castellesi's skin coming off, which no doubt was that peeling which takes place in so many infectious diseases; and which is not one of the symptoms of any kind of poison.

* GIUSTINIAN, Dispacci, II., 119. On other physicians of Alexander, see HAESER, III., 240–243, ed. 3.

† HOFFMANN, Lehrbuch der gerichtlichen Medicin, 616 *seq.*, ed. 4, writes: "The first symptoms of poisoning by no means immediately follow in all cases on the swallowing of the noxious substance. Only the strongest corrosive poisons act instantaneously. . . . In regard to all others a certain time elapses, which varies between a few minutes and many hours. In acute poisons and those which kill by lethargy, as a rule the symptoms go on from the moment of their first appearance, steadily increasing in intensity until death supervenes. It is very exceptional that temporary relaxations of them are found to occur. In mineral poisoning such cases are very rarely observed, but more frequently where the poison is a narcotic." According to FLANDIN (Traité des poisons; *cf.* Rev. d. Deux Mondes, XX. [1877], 276), if the slow poison used by the Borgia were some form of acide arsénieux, its action would be, in its acute form, either a violent inflammation of the stomach resembling cholera, and causing death in from 5 to 26 hours, or else a cerebro-spinal affection (delirium, convulsions, paralysis), death ensuing in from 1 to 12 hours. In its sub-acute form it would manifest itself in general derangement of the digestion, with muscular weakness, icterus, inflammation of the kidneys; *cf* HOFFMANN, *loc. cit.*, 660 *seq.* Alexander's symptoms had no resemblance to any of these forms. I am

In accordance with Roman usage, Alexander was buried at the end of twenty-four hours in the Church of S. Andrea, then called S^ta^ Maria della Febbre, adjoining S. Peter's.* The funeral was of the simplest character; the enemies of the Borgia made no secret of their joy; they loaded the dead man with abuse, and circulated a story of the devil's having come to fetch his soul.†

Although some friends were not wanting who strove to draw attention to Alexander's better qualities,‡ the general judgment on the life and career of this unhappy man was a most unfavourable one.§ When Julius II., who was an implacable enemy of the Borgia, occupied the Papal Chair it became usual to speak of Alexander as a "Maraña" and

indebted to my esteemed friend, Dr. A. Tschermak of Vienna, for these particulars.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 243. In the year 1610 Alexander's remains were transferred to the Sacristy of the Church of S^ta^ Maria di Monserrato, where quite recently a marble monument has been placed at the end of the right aisle in memory of Alexander VI. and Calixtus III. NOVAES, V., 193, note c.; LEONETTI, III., 389; and Bolet. de la R. Acad. de la Hist. (1891), fasc. 2.

† *Cf.* MATARAZZO in the Arch. St. Ital., 1 Serie, XVI., 2, 222–223, and the Letter of the Marquess of Mantua, of 22nd Sept., 1503, in the App. to GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 122–123. See also a poem printed in Venice in 1508, in Arch. St. Lomb., II., 17 *seq.*

‡ See the Bishop of Gallipoli's address, 16th Sept., 1503, to the Cardinals before they entered the Conclave, from the only known copy, now in the British Museum, published by GARNETT in the Engl. Hist. Review, VII. (1892), 311 *seq.* Garnett, in his judgment of Alexander, allows far too much weight to this speech.

§ *Cf.* CAMBI, XXI., 195 *seq.*; NOTAR GIACOMO, 261. A contemporary in Bologna, on receiving the news of Alexander's decease, wrote: et sepultus in inferno. Atti d. Romagna, VIII. (1890), 179. GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 320 *seq.*, points out how, as time went on, Sigismondo de' Conti's opinion of Alexander grew steadily worse, and we equally find the judgment of Peter Martyr growing more and more severe. See BERNAYS, 99.

the impersonation of all that was horrible and bad. The noble Marcantonio Altieri openly expressed his satisfaction that now "all the Borgia had been uprooted from the soil and cast out as poisonous plants, hated by God and noxious to man," and this was by no means the worst of the things that were said.* He was universally described as a monster and every sort of foul crime attributed to him.†

Modern critical research has in many points judged him more fairly and rejected some of the worst of the accusations against him.‡ But even though we must beware of accepting without examination all the tales told of Alexander by his contemporaries, "even serious and honest historians are not wholly free from bias"; and though the bitter wit of the Romans found its favourite exercise in tearing him to pieces without mercy, and attributing to him in popular pasquinades and scholarly epigrams a life of incredible foulness,§ still so much against him has been clearly proved,‖ that we are forced to reject the modern attempts at whitewashing him as an unworthy tampering with truth.¶ "The reign of this Pope, which lasted eleven

* See Li Nuptiali di Marco Antonio Altieri, ed. Narducci (Rome, 1873). This work was begun between 1506 and 1509, and probably finished during the first years of Leo X. See REUMONT in the Allg. Zeitg. (1874), N. 358, Supp.

† *Cf.* Vol. V. of this work, p. 522, and *supra*, p. 115. On Guicciardini's verdict in regard to him, see RANKE, Zur Kritik, 55*. Vettori's judgment, in REUMONT, III., 1, 498, though extremely severe, contains the remark: "When a Prince has got himself thoroughly hated, every one casts a stone at him, and there is no crime with which he is not charged."

‡ *Cf.* specially *supra*, p. 110, note, and *infra*, p. 174.

§ REUMONT in the Bonner Theol. Literaturbl., V. (1870), 686.

‖ See *supra*, p. 104 *seq.*

¶ This applies especially to the writings of Ollivier and Nemeč. See

years, was a serious disaster, on account of its worldliness, openly proclaimed with the most amazing effrontery, on account of its equally unconcealed nepotism, lastly, on account of his utter absence of all moral sense both in public and private life, which made every sort of accusation credible, and brought the Papacy into utter discredit, while its authority still seemed unimpaired. Those better qualities which Alexander undoubtedly did possess shrink into nothing in the balance when weighed with all this." *

From a Catholic point of view, it is impossible to blame Alexander VI. too severely, and, indeed, he has met with his deserts from Ægidius of Viterbo in his reign of Leo X., and later, from the Annalists of the Church, Raynaldus and Mansi.† It was the very first duty of a Pope in those days of growing worldliness to make every effort to stem the tide of corruption; but Alexander, like any secular Prince, cared for nothing but the advancement of his

Vol. II. of this work, p. 452, note *. Chantrel's attempts to deny Alexander's immoralities both before and after his elevation to the Papal throne are no better. Bernacchi follows Chantrel in the Arch. dell. Ecclesiastico, III., 483 (Trento, 1865). Leonetti also goes often too far, and Tachy with him, in the Rev. des Sciences Ecclés. Amiens, 1882.

* REUMONT in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, I., 488 *seq.*, ed. 2. *Cf.* Gesch. der Stadt Rom, III., 1, 247 *seq.*, and the Bonner Theol. Lit.-Bl., V. (1870), 477 *seq.* On the discredit brought on the Papacy in the eyes of many of the Germans, see *infra*, p. 151, note ‡.

† Aegidius of Viterbo's judgment is in GREGOROVIUS, VII., 494, ed. 3 (501–502, ed. 4). That of Raynaldus has been already quoted. See Vol. V. of this work, p. 385. MANSI expresses himself still more energetically in a note to Raynaldus, XI., 415. The Jesuit KOLB in Series Roman. Pontif., p. 296 (Aug. Vind., 1739) makes no attempt to defend Alexander from a moral point of view, nor does DAMBERGER in his Fürstenbuch, 340 (Regensburg, 1831). Equally against modern apologists, the Jesuits in the Civ. Catt., 3 Serie, IX., 722, 727, are in accordance with Matagne (see Vol. II. of this work, p. 452 *seq.*, note *, as to the impossibility of rehabilitating this Pope.

family.* Even when the shock of his son's death recalled him for a moment to the sense of his true vocation, his repentance was of the shortest duration, and he very soon returned to his old ways and lived the immoral life of the secular sovereigns of his day.

Thus he who should have been the guardian of his time, saving all that could be saved, contributed more than any other man to steep the Church in corruption. His life of unrestrained sensuality was in direct contradiction with the precepts of Him whose representative on earth he was;† and to this he gave himself up to the very end of his days, but it is noteworthy that in matters purely concerning the Church, Alexander never did anything that justly deserves blame; even his bitterest enemies are unable to formulate any accusation against him in this respect.‡ Her doctrines were maintained in all their purity. It seemed as though his reign were meant by Providence to demonstrate the truth that though men may hurt the Church they cannot harm her.

In the Church there have always been unworthy priests as well as bad Christians; and that no one might be scandalised by this, our Lord Himself has foretold it. He likens her to a field in which the tares grow up with the wheat; to a net in which are both good and bad fish; even amongst His disciples he endured a Judas.

Just as the intrinsic worth of a jewel is not lessened by an inferior setting, so the sins of a priest cannot essentially affect his power of offering sacrifice or administering Sacra-

* HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 15. See also his treatise on the Aera der Bastarden, 56 *seq.*

† Even his contemporaries pointed out this. See the satirical letter of 1502 in SANUTO, IV., 220–221.

‡ REUMONT, III., 1, 247 *seq.* *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 424 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 389. See also CREIGHTON, IV., 45.

ments or transmitting doctrine. The personal holiness of the priest is, of course, of the highest importance for the lives of the faithful, inasmuch as he constitutes a living example for them to follow, and compels the respect and esteem of those who are outside. Still the goodness or badness of the temporary minister can exercise no substantial influence on the being, the divine character, or the holiness of the Church; on the word of revelation; on the graces and spiritual powers with which she is endowed. Thus, even the supreme high priest can in no way diminish the value of that heavenly treasure which he controls and dispenses, but only as a steward. The gold remains gold in impure as in pure hands. "The Papal office belongs to a higher sphere than the personality of its occupant for the time being, and can neither gain nor lose in its essential dignity by his saintliness on one side, or his unworthiness on the other."* Even the first Pope, S. Peter, had sinned deeply in denying his Lord and Master; and yet the office of Supreme Pastor was given to him. In the words of the great S. Leo: *Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit.*†

* Kirche und Protestantismus, 136–137.

† Sermo de Nat. ips., III.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VI.'S ACTION IN THE CHURCH.—THE GREAT JUBILEE OF THE YEAR 1500.—EDICT FOR CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA AND AFRICA.—PAPAL DECISION IN REGARD TO THE COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the predominance of secular interests throughout the whole of the reign of Alexander VI., this Pope was not inactive in matters regarding the Church. In all essentials, in spite of abuses, the government of the Church was steadily carried on; no doubt, however, this was partly owing to the marvellous perfection of her organisation.

Like his predecessors, Alexander gave a hearty support to the monastic orders, enriched them with many privileges and did all he could to secure and promote their well-being and their work. Innocent VIII. had in 1490 granted to the Church of the Augustinians the same indulgences as could formerly only be gained by visiting the stations in Rome. Alexander VI. in 1497 bestowed on this order, permanently and exclusively, the office of Sacristan of the Chapel of the Papal Palace. From that time a special prayer for the Pope was ordered to be said in all Augustinian Churches and Convents.* Thus the Order,

* EMPOLI, Bull. Ord. Erem. Aug., 37, and KOLDE, Die Deutsche Augustinercongregation, 207. See also Cod. dipl. Sax., II., Vol. IX., 348 *seq.*

from which the most violent and powerful foe of Rome was to proceed, was bound to the Holy See by the closest ties.

The Dominicans were not only confirmed in their inquisitorial powers, but also favoured in many other ways. The Pope punished those who laid hands on the property of the Order, encouraged devotion to S. Thomas Aquinas, promoted the reform and foundation of Dominican convents, and granted to the Dominicans equal privileges with those of the other mendicant orders, and the right of establishing confraternities of the Rosary.* The old and very extensive privileges of the Franciscans were also confirmed afresh by him.† Substantial favours were bestowed upon the Congregation of Canons Regular of S. Saviour by Alexander ‡ and on the Gesuati.§ The protection of the Pope was also extended to the Congregation of Augustinian Hermits in Italy, who were known by the name of Apostolic Brothers. Innocent VIII. in 1484 had bestowed on this body a more solid organisation by binding them to observe the rule of the Hermits of S. Augustine and giving them a habit. Alexander VI. completed the work of his predecessor in a Bull of the year 1496. Among other things it was ordained that in future they might take solemn vows according to the rule of the Augustinian Hermits, and enjoy all their privileges. Their General resided at S. Rocco in Genoa.‖ In the year 1497 he united the Cistercian convents of Upper

* These authorisations are to be found in the Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 44, 99, 101, 115, 116, 120, 122, 133, 166, 190.

† In a Bull dat. Rome, 5th Feb., 1501, which is to be found in MS. in the Library of the Order at S. Gall, but doubtless has also been printed.

‡ Bull. Canonic. regul. Cong. s. Salvatoris (Romae, 1733), f. 105 *seq.*

§ Bull., V., 376 *seq.*

‖ *Ibid.*, 366 *seq.*; TAMBURINI, De jure abbat., II., 338; WETZER und WELTE'S Kirchenlexikon, I., 1111, 1112, ed. 2.

and Central Italy into one congregation, to which he gave the name of the Congregation of S. Bernard.*

In 1494 the Order of the Knights of S. George, and in 1501 the Order of Nuns founded by S. Jane of Valois for the closer imitation of the Blessed Virgin, received the Papal approbation.† A more important approbation was that bestowed by him on the Order of S. Francis of Paula in 1493, and in 1505 on his Tertiaries, to whom he granted many privileges.‡ In the year 1496 the Pope reconstituted the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.§ Alexander VI. frequently came forward as the protector of convents against their oppressors, whether ecclesiastical or secular,‖ and energetically withstood encroachments on the liberties of the Church.

In this respect Alexander's attitude in regard to the absolutist pretensions of the authorities in the Netherlands is especially interesting. In spite of the supineness of the clergy in that country, who took no notice of the infringements of their privileges and immunities, the Pope acted with the greatest decision. Quite at the beginning of his reign he threatened the magistrates of Brabant with excommunication, but they refused to desist from their encroachments on the rights of the Church. Immediately he addressed himself to Duke Philip of Burgundy, point-

* Bull., V., 371 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1494, n. 41 ; 1501, n. 24 *seq.*

‡ Bull., V., 352 *seq.*, 380 *seq.* Application had already been made under Innocent VIII. to obtain the approval of the Holy See for the Order. This appears from *Lib. brev. 18, f. 214. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ MISLIN, Heilige Orte, II., 309, and "Das Heilige Land," the organ of the Verein vom H. Grabe, XII., 33. Köln, 1868.

‖ The *Bulls of 16th Aug., 1497, in the State Archives at Florence (S. Chiara di Cortona), and of 15th Dec., 1497, in the Archives of the Prince-Bishop of Brixen, are instances of this.

ing out how the liberties of the Church were violated in his dominion, especially in Brabant, and calling upon him to put a stop at once to these proceedings. A Brief was despatched to the Bishop of Liège, sharply rebuking him for having neglected the defence of the rights of the Church, and for not having informed the Holy See, and commanding him, under pain of suspension and Interdict, to repair his negligence without delay. Similar letters were written to many other persons who were in a position to have influence in the Netherlands.*

Alexander took pains on many occasions to promote devotion to S. Anne † and the Blessed Virgin. In regard to the latter, the ordinance restoring the ringing of the Angelus in August 1500, was an act of wide and lasting importance.‡ No canonisations took place during this Pope's reign, but several causes were introduced, and the investigations in regard to conduct and miracles were conducted with great care and circumspection. Papal instructions on these points are to be found in connection with Bishop Benno,§ Henry VI. of

* Particulars are to be found in CAUCHIE, Mission aux Archives Vaticanes, 18–23. Bruxelles, 1892.

† See SCHAUMKELL, Der Cultus der hl. Anna, 21, 25, though it contains serious misapprehensions. *Cf.* SCHMITZ in the Katholik (1893), II., 251 *seq.*, and the Sonntagsblatt of the Berlin Germania (1893), No. 10. On the veneration of S. Anne in the 15th Century, see also FALK in the Katholik (1878), I., 60 *seq.*

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 72. See *supra*, p. 79.

§ *Cf.* the Brief of Alexander VI. to the Bishop of Naumburg and the Abbots of Altzelle and Buch in Cod. Dipl. Sax., 2 H. th., Vol. III., 288–289. The editor, Gersdorf, misplaces this Brief, dating it 4th Apl., 1492, before the election of Alexander VI. But the title in the copy used by Gersdorf is : die 4 Aprilis, MCCCCLXXXXII p. n. anno septimo, which would carry it on to the year 1499, and this agrees admirably with the following extract in the *Acta Consist.: Romae, 4 Martii, 1499. R. D. Senen legit summam quarundam litterarum ducum Saxonie, prelator., v. episcoporum

England,* and S. Frances of Rome.† Amongst other ecclesiastical acts of Alexander VI. should be mentioned his confirmation of the Bull of Sixtus IV. on the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady,‡ and in the year 1501, his affirmative decision of the question as to whether it was allowable for the Bishop Albert of Wilna to take up arms to defend himself against the Tartars. On the 20th of August of the same year, he declared the form of baptism in which the passive mood is used (which is customary amongst the Ruthenes in Lithuania and others of the Greek rite) to be valid, and forbade the reiteration of the Sacrament; grounding his decision on that of Eugenius IV.§ On the 8th of June, 1451, he wrote to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, admonishing him to do everything in his power to persuade his consort to "abjure the Russian religion, and accept the Christian Faith."‖ In the year 1496 Constantine, Prince of Georgia, sent the Basilian monk Nilus to Rome with overtures for a reunion in religion and an alliance against the Turks.

et abbat. et nobil. illar. partium quemadmodum alias frequenter scrip serunt pro canonizatione beati Bennonis quondam episcopi Misnens. quem dicunt miraculis corruscare. Et cum semper remissi fuerint ad partes pro interponenda mora, prout in similibus arduis causis fit, novissime omnes rescripserunt instantissime supplicantes ut causa canonizationis vel saltem informationis rerum illarum committeretur. S. D. N. omnibus intellectis statuit quod fieret commissio per breve duobus episcopis et duobus abbatibus pro gravitate rei ut illi de narratis se informarent et suis litteris S^e S^ti postea referrent. Liber relat. Consistorii, fig. C. 303, f. 38. Consistorial Archives in the Vatican.

* WILKINS, III., 640; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 364.

† The examination of the cause was entrusted to three Cardinals on 4th March, 1499. See Cod. in Consistorial Archives cited in previous note.

‡ LEA, III., 602.

§ For documents on this point, see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 391.

‖ THEINER, Mon. Pol., II., 289; PICHLER, II., 58.

Alexander in reply sent him the Decree of the Council of Florence and other information on the subject.*

In accordance with the decree of Paul II., that each twenty-fifth year should be a Jubilee, the year 1500 was so kept under Alexander VI., and preparations for it were begun in 1498.†

On the 28th March, 1499, the Jubilee Bull was discussed in Consistory, and it was decided that all other indulgences and faculties should be suspended during this year.‡ All the Cardinals gave their assent to this last resolution, which in many places, and especially in Germany, gave considerable dissatisfaction,§ and on the same day the Bull was published‖. On the 22nd December a similar Bull was brought out in Rome in Latin and Italian, granting special

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1496, n. 21, 22 ; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 390.

† The first thing that was done was to attend to the improvement and putting in order of the streets and bridges in Rome. For particulars, see the following Chapter.

‡ *Romae in die jovis sancti XXVIII. Martii, 1499 : Cum S. D. N. fecisset verbum de publicatione bulle pro anno jubilaei centesimo proxime futuro cum suspensione omnium aliarum indulgentiarum plenariarum, facultatum et concessionum quibusvis locis et personis ubique terrarum quibusvis causis et rationibus ante hac concessarum ac etiam litterarum desuper confectarum usque ad annum finitum ipsius jubilaei ut magna cum frequentia undecunque personaliter christifideles ad ipsum celebrandum accedant, fuit ab omnibus commendatum ut fieret. Lib. relat. Consist. tempore pontif. Alexandri VI. in die XII. Nov. 1498. usque in diem V. Iulii 1499, fig. C. 303, f. 48. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ Geiler von Kaisersberg was one of those who were displeased at this, on account of his great devotion to Indulgences ; *cf.* Hist.-Pol. Bl., XLVIII., 394 *seq.* The writer of this article says he is unable to say whether or not Alexander VI. was the first to decree this suspension. It will be seen from PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 481, ed. 2 (German ed.) that it was not a new thing. Venice endeavoured to obtain an exemption from its operation. See SANUTO, I., 490 *seq.*

‖ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 518, 591 *seq.*

privileges to the Penitentiary of S. Peter; and all the clergy of the city were invited to the opening of the Jubilee.*

The Pope himself performed this ceremony on Christmas Eve, 1499, having taken pains to settle all the details beforehand with his Master of Ceremonies. The ceremonial observed on these occasions was no modern invention, but, as the Bull of indiction expressly says, was founded on ancient rites and full of symbolic meaning. The Pope was carried to S. Peter's arrayed in full pontificals, holding a gilt lighted candle in one hand and blessing the people with the other. All the Cardinals and Prelates who accompanied him also carried lighted candles. The procession stopped in front of the Church, and the Papal Choir began the usual Antiphons. Then the Pope proceeded on foot to the so-called sacred door, where a hammer was put into his hand in token of the power entrusted to him, in virtue of which he "openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth" (Apoc. iii. 7). With a few blows of the hammer he made a breach in the wall with which this door is closed, the bricks having already been loosened, and the rest was cleared away by workmen. This part of the ceremony occupied about half an hour. Then the Pope, holding the lighted candle in his left hand, entered first, the rest following, while the Te Deum was intoned; after which Vespers were sung immediately.†

On the 14th of April the Pope visited the four principal churches in order to gain the Jubilee Indulgence. On Easter Day he celebrated the High Mass in S. Peter's, and afterwards gave the solemn blessing and absolution.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 584 *seq.* *Cf.* *Despatch of G. L. Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua, Rome, 25th Dec., 1499. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 598 *seq.*

According to Burchard, the crowd which assisted at these solemnities numbered 200,000 persons.* Although this may be an exaggeration,† still it is certain that, in spite of the troubles of the times and the insecurity in Rome itself, the numbers attending this Jubilee were very large. Even in December a vast crowd of pilgrims passed through Florence.‡ A Bull to provide for the safety of the wayfarers on their journey was issued in February;§ and many precautionary measures were adopted to maintain order in Rome,‖ though they failed to prove completely effectual. Nevertheless visitors still continued to arrive. A pious Camaldolese monk was greatly consoled by the sight of so many thousands who had not perished in Sodom. "God be praised," he exclaimed, "who has brought hither so many witnesses to the Faith."¶ "All the world was in Rome" (orbis in urbe), writes Sigismondo de' Conti.** No difficulties or dangers seemed capable of checking the inflow of pilgrims, shewing how deeply rooted the Faith still was in the hearts of the various nations. Not a few succumbed to the Plague which was raging in many parts of the States of the Church.†† Those who came by sea were in danger of being captured by pirates, and Alexander stationed a cruiser at Ostia for their protection. By land, the Italians especially suffered much from the hated French troops, nevertheless a great number appeared.‡‡

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 34, 37.

† This seems probable, as BURCHARD, III., 36, only mentions 100,000 pilgrims.

‡ LANDUCCI, 205.

§ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 16 *seq.*

‖ *Ibid.*, III., 42 *seq.*

¶ Petrus Delphinus in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 1.

** SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 218.

†† *Cf.* Diario di Ser Tommaso di Silvestro, 235 *seq.*

‡‡ GUGLIELMOTTI, Marina, II., 496; MAULDE, Origines, 52-54.

Thousands arrived from Germany, the Netherlands, and Hungary. "Men and women, widows and maidens, monks and nuns," says Trithemius, "came flocking to Rome to gain the Indulgence."* In the Confraternity-book of the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito in Rome in the month of January, 1500, not less than 150 Hungarian pilgrims are entered, and in the course of the year they numbered more than 500.† Nor were the Italians behindhand. The Neapolitans had a procession of their own, in which the venerated picture of S^ta^ Maria del Carmine was carried, many scourging themselves as they walked till the blood came.‡ The fact that the deaths of foreigners in Rome between Christmas and S. John's Day were estimated at 30,800, shews how large the number of pilgrims must have been.§

Amongst the celebrities who made this pilgrimage, the first to be mentioned is Nicholas Copernicus, who arrived in Rome about Easter, and remained there a whole year. He lectured then, but not, as is almost universally supposed,

* TRITHEMII, Chronicon Hirsaug., II., 579 (S. Galli, 1690). *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 135. Many undertook the pilgrimage for the benefit of the Souls in Purgatory. A large number of sums left in wills to defray the expenses of pilgrimages to Rome are mentioned in the **Testamentarbuch* of the Imperial free city of Pressburg, Vol. I. (1427–1529). There is hardly a Will which does not contain a bequest for this purpose. In 1493 there are 7 such; in 1494, 1; 1495, 2; 1496, 2; 1498, 1; 1499, 1; 1500, 1; 1501, 3; 1502, 3; 1503, 2; 1504, 3; 1505, 1; 1506, 3; 1508, 1; 1511, 3; 1512, 2; 1513, 2; 1515, 2; 1516, 1; 1517, 3; 1518, 2; 1519, 2; 1520, 1; 1523, 1. After this they disappear, owing to the rise of Lutheranism. State Archives, Pressburg.

† Mon. Vatican. hist. regni Hungarici illustrancia, Series prima, t. V. Liber Conf. S. Spiritus de urbe (Budapestini, 1889). *Cf.* SANUTO, III., 135.

‡ LANDUCCI, 210. *Cf.* Arch. St. Napolit., VII., 105; VIII., 530.

§ STUMPF, 452; HAVEMANN, II., 104. An aged pilgrim, Lucas of Thorn, apparently a relative of Coppernicus, died in the Hospital del Anima in 1500. See HIPLER, Anal. Warm., 169.

in the capacity of a mathematical professor at the High-school, but as a private teacher, giving the lectures freely, according to the custom of the time. Amongst his hearers were many distinguished and learned men. Michael Angelo and Alessandro Farnese (afterwards Paul III.) are supposed to have been amongst them.* Of Italian pilgrims one of the most notable was Elizabetta Gonzaga, the wife of Guidobaldo of Urbino. It was a perilous enterprise, as at that time Cæsar Borgia was planning his attack on Urbino, but in spite of the dissuasions of her brother she insisted on undertaking it. She went incognita with one or two attendants, and only remained a few days, merely long enough to gain the Indulgence.† This lady, and numbers of other women, were only brought to Rome, where they must have seen so much to grieve them, by genuine piety.‡

* PROWE, Coppernicus I., 279 *seq.* (Berlin, 1883); HIPLER in the Lit. Rundschau (1884), p. 205; LOHMEYER in Sybels Zeitschr., LVII., 20 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 129 *seq.*; PASOLINI, II., 246; LUZIO-RENIER, Mantova e Urbino, 104 *seq.* Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, was also purposing to come to Rome for the Jubilee, but was prevented by a fall from his horse. See *Letter from the Duke to G. B. Ferrari of 12th Jan., 1500. State Archives, Modena.

‡ What the German knight, A. von Harff, thought, in the year 1497, of the Rome of the Borgias has already been told. A similar impression is conveyed in the words of a Rhinelander who had been in Card Briçonnet's service, retailed by Vettori. "If you ask me why I left Rome, I answer that we Rhinelanders are good Christians, and have read and heard that the Christian faith has been founded on the blood of the martyrs, and good morals, and many miracles, so that it would be impossible for any one who lived here to become an unbeliever. But I spent several years in Rome and saw the lives led by the Prelates and dignitaries, and had I stayed there any longer I should have been in danger not only of losing my faith, but of becoming an Epicurean and doubting the immortality of my soul." See VETTORI, Viaggio in Alemagna, 25–26 (Paris, 1837). The following, being derived from the narratives of the Jubilee pilgrims themselves, is still more interesting: "In that same golden year (1500), on SS. Peter and Paul's day (June 29),

Even those who, like Sigismondo de' Conti, were far from being hostile to the Borgia, could not conceal their disapproval of Alexander's unrestrained nepotism. Cæsar was incessantly asking for money to carry out his enterprises in the Romagna, and his father, without another thought, handed over to him all the receipts from the Jubilee, which, as Sigismondo says, former Popes, such as Nicholas V. and Sixtus V., had employed in restoring and adorning the churches of Rome.*

Towards the end of the Jubilee year Rome was visited by a great calamity. On the 1st November, an eye-witness writes, after several days of rain the Tiber began to overflow, and the houses along its banks were flooded. In two more days the Vatican was cut off from the rest of the city, and on the 4th the waters rose to such a height that many churches and houses were flooded. This high water

there was a fearful storm in Rome, so terrible that people thought the city and all its inhabitants would be destroyed; and the Pope's palace was struck by lightning and he himself wounded in the arm. This same Pope had at that time a daughter (Lucrezia Borgia) in Rome, who lived in great pomp and was seen by the pilgrims, and they could tell many things of her. He had allowed her to take, and had himself given her to, a third husband (Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara), although her two first husbands (Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, and Alfonso of Aragon, natural son of the King of Naples) were still alive; if one does not please her she asks for another. One of these forsaken former husbands of hers revenged himself on the Pope's son, who, being gone out on a love adventure, the other watched for him and cruelly stabbed him, and threw him into the Tiber. It was commonly said amongst the pilgrims that this Pope was not in great favour with the citizens of Rome." Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen, XV., 1. (Halle, 1880.) (V. Chronicalische Aufzeichnungen zur Gesch. der Stadt Halle vom Jahre 1464–1512. Von Dr. WACHTER in Breslau), pp. 122–123.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 218. On Jubilee coins, see NÖTHEN, 81; on the Pilgrimage literature, see FALK, Druckkunst, 57–107.

lasted fifteen hours, after which the inundation subsided; but the streets were smothered in mud and hardly passable. People consoled themselves as best they could by saying it was not as bad as that of five years before.*

In December the Jubilee in Rome was prolonged until the Feast of the Epiphany and extended first to the whole of Italy and then to the whole of Christendom. According to these Bulls, all Christians living at a distance from Rome might, in the following year, gain the great Indulgence without visiting the city, by fulfilling certain conditions and paying a certain sum.† The Pope left all moneys collected in Venetian territory in the hands of the Republic for the war against the Turks.‡ The same thing was done in Poland, though there the money was not employed for the purpose specified.§ In Italy, Cæsar had the effrontery to appropriate the Jubilee moneys on his own authority. The Florentine historian Nardi relates how his emissaries appeared in Florence and demanded the money in the Jubilee chest, "to enable him to pay the soldiers who were plundering us, and it was no small sum."‖ The knowledge that these things were done goes a good way towards

* Letter from Brandolino in BROM, 195 *seq.* *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 84 *seq.*, and SANUTO, III., 1048, 1063. The date in REUMONT, III., 1, 234, is inaccurate.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 88 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*; Diario di Tommaso di Silvestro, 249; LANDUCCI, 218; NOTAR GIACOMO, 237; Atti Mod., 8 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*; NÖTHEN, 80 *seq.* In *Alex. VI. Secret. lib. V. (Regest. 871), f. 1, is a Bull dat. Romae, 1501, Id. Iuli A° 9°, which grants a prolongation of the Jubilee to the city of Faenza. Also *ibid.*, f. 146, is a Bull omnibus Franciae regnis de renovatione indulgentiar. Jubilei, dat. Romae, 1501, quartodecimo Cal. Febr. A° 10°. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ COPPI, Discorso sopra le finanze di Roma nei secoli di mezzo, 23. Roma, 1847.

§ CARO, V., 2, 813 *seq.*

‖ NARDI, Ist. Fior., lib. IV.

explaining the resistance which those who were commissioned to preach the Jubilee Indulgences met with in Switzerland* as well as in Germany. Cardinal Peraudi had to put up with all sorts of harassing restrictions in the empire, and to undertake that all the money there collected should be handed over untouched to the administration for the Crusade.†

This Cardinal took advantage of his visit to Germany to endeavour to do something for the revival of religion amongst the people, taking up to some extent the work of Nicholas of Cusa. He himself preached to the common people, though he had to employ an interpreter. He devoted himself especially to the reform of the convents, many of which had become sadly relaxed. He also laboured to put down concubinage amongst the clergy, and, on the other hand, to defend their privileges and the liberty of the Church.‡

If Alexander VI. did nothing towards the reform of the Church, yet he was not wanting in earnest care to preserve the purity of her doctrine. His Censorial edict for Germany, dated 1st June, 1501, is a very important document in this respect.

In this, which is the first Papal pronouncement on the printing of books, it is declared that the art of printing is extremely valuable in providing means for the multiplication of approved and useful books; but may be most mischievous if it is abused for the dissemination of bad

* *Cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 104. Cæsar's remark on this subject, given there on Reisner's authority, is a later story.

† See *supra*, p. 97.

‡ Particulars in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 361. Card. Peraudi issued a proclamation which, as far as I know, has never been printed, dat. 25th March, 1503, announcing that Alexander VI. had empowered him to undertake a general visitation of the Convents in his Legation. Frankf. City Archives, Crypt. A. Urk., n. 30.

ones. Therefore measures must be taken to restrain printers from reproducing writings directed against the Catholic Faith or calculated to give scandal to Catholics. The Pope has been credibly informed, that in many places, especially in the Dioceses of Cologne, Mayence, Trèves, and Magdeburg, many books and pamphlets have been, and still continue to be, printed, containing various errors and perverted doctrines. "Since," the Bull goes on to say, "we desire to put a stop to so detestable an evil without any delay, in accordance with the duty imposed upon us by our pastoral office, we hereby, in virtue of our apostolical authority, forbid all printers and their assistants residing in the above named Dioceses, under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, and a fine to be imposed by the Archbishops of Cologne or their Vicars-General or other officials, and paid into the Apostolic Chancery, from henceforth either to print or cause to be printed, any book, pamphlet, or work of any sort, without first submitting the same to the above named Archbishops or their Vicars-General or officials, and obtaining their express permission, gratuitously given. Further, we lay it upon the Archbishops and their Vicars and officials as a duty of conscience, not to grant this permission without examining the books in question, or causing them to be examined by capable and Catholic persons, so as to prevent anything from being printed that is contrary to the Catholic Faith or ungodly or capable of causing scandal. And because it is not enough to guard against the future printing of bad books without providing that those already printed shall be suppressed, in virtue of our authority we charge the said Archbishops, Vicars and officials to command all printers and other persons residing in their respective Dioceses, whatever may be their dignity, position or condition, within a certain fixed time, to notify all printed books in their

possession to the said Archbishops, Vicars or officials, and without prevarication of any kind, to deliver up whatever books or treatises shall be judged by them to contain anything contrary to the Catholic Faith, or ungodly, or capable of causing scandal, or ill-sounding in any way, equally under pain of excommunication and a fine to be determined as aforesaid."*

In Italy Alexander VI. energetically repressed the heretical tendencies which were especially prevalent in Lombardy.† On the 31st of January, 1500, two inquisitors were sent by him with letters of recommendation to the Bishop of Olmütz, to proceed against the very numerous Picards and Waldensians in Bohemia and Moravia, who led extremely immoral lives.‡ Ever since the year 1493 Alexander had been taking great pains to win back the Bohemian Utraquists; but these efforts had failed completely.§ When in the year 1499 some of the more moderate Utraquists shewed an inclination to be reconciled with the Church, Alexander had the matter discussed in Consistory and bestowed special powers on the clergy in Prague.‖

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 36; REUSCH, Index, I., 54–55. *Cf.* FESSLER, Vermischte Schriften, 147 *seq.*; KAPP, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Buchhandels, 530 *seq.* (Leipzig, 1886); Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Buchhandels, XIII., 246.

† *Cf.* Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 102, 190; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1501, n. 42; BERNINO, IV., 216 *seq.* On Alexander's action in regard to S. Patrick's "Purgatory," see MOLL in the Studien en Bydrogen ap't gebied der hist. Theologie, II., 361 *seq.* Amsterdam, 1871.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1500, n. 60 *seq.* *Cf.* LANGE, Papstesel, 62 *seq.*, 68 *seq.*, 72–74, on the Waldensians in Rome. *Cf.* also CANTÙ, Storia di Como, I., 106.

§ PALACKY, V., 1, 381 *seq.*

‖ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1499, n. 30. This was dealt with in the Consistory of 5th July, 1499. See *Liber relat. Consistorii, Sig. C. 303, f. 70. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

In common with most other Popes of the 15th Century, Alexander VI. shewed great toleration to the Jews; he protected them both in Rome and Avignon.* At the same time, he forbade the Spanish Dominicans to receive converted Jews into their Order.†

The indulgence shewn to the Jews was, however, in a great measure connected with politics; and the concessions granted by Alexander VI. to the Spanish Monarchs in regard to the Inquisition, which went far beyond what was allowable, were equally due to political motives.‡

The judicial proceedings against the crypto-Jews or Maraña in the States of the Church, instituted by Alexander VI. in 1493, were also motived by Spanish influence.§ When, later, he discovered that they had made their way into the Court he was unsparing in his determination to root them out. Peter d'Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, and his bastard son, who had obtained the office of Protonotary, were tried in the year 1498, degraded, and imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. They were accused of denying the doctrines of the Trinity, the sufferings of Christ, Hell, Purgatory, and Indulgences. Forty crypto-Jews in all were brought before the Court, the majority of whom abjured their errors.‖

Alexander exerted himself not only to maintain the purity of the Christian faith, but also to provide for its

* See Revue des Études Juives, VI., 21; VII., 228; and LÉMANN, L'entrée des Israélites dans la Société Franç. et les états Chrétiens, 193, Paris, 1886.

† Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 125.

‡ *Cf.* GAMS, III., 2, 50 *seq.*, 56 *seq.* See also RODRIGO, I., 409 *seq.*; II., 99, 104.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an 1493, n. 32.

‖ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1498, n. 22; SANUTO, I., 949 *seq.*, 1014; *Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Carissimi, dat. Rome, 21st April, 1498 (State Archives, Modena); HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 345.

propagation. The magnificent discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards offered a wide field to the Church in this direction. It is consoling to note how much, even under Alexander VI., was done in the way of spreading the knowledge of the Gospel amongst the heathen.

Greenland, being that part of America which was in earliest communication with Europe, was naturally also the first to profit by the pastoral care of the Popes. According to the Scandinavian Sagas, Christianity was introduced into Greenland by S. Olaf II., King of Norway, between A.D. 1015–30. This account is confirmed by a letter of Nicholas V. of 22nd September, 1448, addressed to the Bishop of Skalholt and Holar in Iceland.*

The occasion of this letter was a request from the Greenlanders to the Pope to send them new priests and a Bishop. In the first decade of the 15th Century the heathen pirates from the neighbouring coast had swooped down upon their country, slaughtered the greater part of the Christian inhabitants and carried off the rest into slavery. The churches were all destroyed excepting nine, which were situated in remote places, difficult of access. In the course of time some of the captives managed to make their escape and return to their homes, where they now found themselves destitute of all spiritual aids, as the churches that still remained were in places inaccessible to many of them, and now the few priests who were left had all died. Nicholas V. desired the Bishops to supply their needs.

His letter, however, does not seem to have reached its

* Published by L. JELIČ, L'Évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb, in Compte rendu du Congrès Scientif. international des Catholiques, 182–183 (Paris, 1891). PESCHEL-RUGE, Gesch. der Erdkunde, 162, note, ed. 2 (München, 1877), give a wrong date—20th Sept.

destination, and in the reign of Innocent VIII. the Greenlanders again addressed Rome. They described their sad plight in touching words. The sea surrounding their inhospitable coast was so blocked with ice that in the course of eighty years no foreign vessel had anchored there. Left without a Bishop and without priests, many had forgotten the Faith of their fathers and relapsed into heathenism. The only relic which remained to those who still cherished it was the corporal with which the last priest had celebrated his last Mass. This was brought out once a year and publicly venerated. In response to this appeal Innocent VIII., at the close of his reign, appointed the zealous and self-sacrificing Benedictine monk Mathias, Bishop of Gardar or Greenland. Alexander in the year 1492 or 1493 confirmed this appointment, and commanded that the Bishop should receive all his nomination papers tax free.*

Just at the time that the Bishop of Greenland was receiving his powers at Rome an event had occurred which was destined to make large demands on the pastoral care of the successor of S. Peter: Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World. A hot dispute arose almost immediately between Spain and Portugal as to the possession of the newly-found territory, and the Pope was called upon to mediate between them. The Holy See was still regarded by all Christian Princes and nations as the international arbiter, the highest tribunal for the decision of all national rights and important political questions. Acting

* See JELIČ, *loc. cit.*, 183-184. *Cf.* HEYWOOD, Documenta selecta e tabulario secreto Vaticano, quae Romanorum Pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paullo post insulas a Christ. Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta. Typis. Vatic., 1893, n. 10, pp. 12, 13; and EHRLE, Der hist. Gehalt der päpstl. Abtheilung auf d. Weltausstellung von Chicago in den Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, XLVI. (1894), 367.

on this principle, the Portuguese had turned to the Popes to obtain security in their rights over their discoveries along the West Coast of Africa. It was Calixtus III. who, in one of these most useful decisions, granted to Portugal the exclusive rights of trading and founding colonies on the coast between Cape Bojador and Guinea. In the year 1479 Spain had acquiesced in this award at the peace of Alcacevas. No sooner had Columbus, who had been rejected by Portugal, returned from his famous voyage than King Emmanuel set up a claim to the newly-found lands on the ground of this treaty. The relations between the two countries soon became such that war seemed imminent. Justly estimating the importance of obtaining a decision from the Holy See, the astute King Ferdinand at once addressed himself to Rome. His confidential agent there was the Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal, who, in a very short time, achieved a marked success. On the 3rd and 4th May, 1493, Alexander put his signature to three highly important documents. The first, dated 3rd May, confers on Spain an exclusive right of possession over all the islands and countries now discovered by Columbus and all future discoveries of his, on condition of propagating the Christian Faith in them, and provided such lands are not already occupied by a Christian power. Thus Spain received exactly the same rights and privileges as those which had been bestowed upon Portugal for her colonies on the West Coast of Africa. The second, dated the same day, described these rights in detail; while the third, dated 4th May, defined the limits of what we should now call the spheres of influence of Spain and Portugal. The boundary line between the two powers was drawn from the North to the South Pole, 100 Spanish leagues to the West of the most westerly island of the Azores: all that was East of the line belonged to Portugal, and all that was West of it

to Spain.* A later document of 28th September, 1493, added some further complementary details, amongst other things, granting all new discoveries, consequent on westerly or southerly voyages, to Spain.†

The line of demarcation fixed by Alexander VI., which was pushed 270 leagues further to the West by the Treaty of Tordesillas on 7th June, 1494, formed the basis of all negotiations and agreements between the two great colonising powers in regard to the partition of the New World. The peaceful settlement of a number of thorny boundary questions between Spain and Portugal was entirely due to Papal decisions, and should therefore justly be regarded as one of the glories of the Papacy. Nothing but complete misunderstanding and blind party spirit could turn it into a ground of accusation against Rome.

It is simply absurd to speak of Alexander VI. as having given away what did not belong to him, and taken no account of the liberties of the Americans.‡ The word "grant" here

* NAVARETTE, II., 29 *seq.*; Bull., V., 361–364; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1493, n. 18 *seq.*; and HEYWOOD, *loc. cit.* Navarette has some incorrect readings; thus in the Bull of 4th May, p. 38, nobis evidently *should be* vobis, and the same mistake occurs in the Bull of 3rd May. The account given above is chiefly taken from EHRLE'S very able paper in the Stimmen aus Maria-Laach of 1894. Amongst other works should be mentioned: PESCHEL, Die Theilung der Erde unter Alexander VI. und Julius II. (Leipzig, 1871); BAUM, Die Demarcationslinie Alexanders VI. (Köln, 1890); E. G. BOURNE, The Demarcation line of Alexander VI. (Extract from the Yale Review, 1892). *Cf.* Engl. Hist. Review, VII., 766 *seq.*

† NAVARETTE, II., 449 *seq.*, in Spanish. Against KOHL'S view as to the interpretation of the document (Die beiden altesten Generalkarten von America [Weimar, 1860]), see KUNSTMANN in the Hist.-Polit. Bl., XLVII., 768 *seq.* BAUM, p. 10, has overlooked this treatise.

‡ ROBERTSON, Hist. America, II.; BUSCHING, Erdbeschreibung, XXXI.; MARMONTEL, Les Incas, préf., p. XXVII. *seq.*; Allg. Zeitung (1870), No. 9 Suppl.

signifies nothing more than the confirmation of a title legitimately acquired; and was understood in that sense by contemporary and later theologians, and by the Spaniards themselves.* How little such grants were looked upon as controlling the liberties of even heathen nations is shewn by the fact that, in a similar concession to Portugal in 1497 the same word "grant" is used, with the condition appended of the free consent of the inhabitants.† If this formula is wanting in the document of 1493, it is merely because it was understood as included in the title itself. In all these deeds the grant refers to the other European Princes and not to the populations of the New World. "These privileges conferred on the monarchs who received them a right of priority in regard to the territories discovered by them. As nowadays patents are given for inventions and copyrights for literary productions and works of art, so in former times a Papal Bull, enforced by the censures of the Church, protected the laborious discoverer from having the hard won fruits of his toil wrested from him by a stronger hand."

As the choice by the Catholic Sovereigns of Alexander as arbiter was grounded in the first instance on the authority which he possessed as Pope, and their respect for the dignity of the Head of the Church, he was empowered to add to the perfect freedom of his decision, grounded on a full knowledge of the facts, the sanction of that apostolic authority which was their reason for selecting him as umpire in these important matters.‡ He had power, and indeed was bound, to decide with the authority of the

* See HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 341.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1497, n. 33.

‡ HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche und Staat, 337–344, who also exposes the absurdity of fixing on the Papal Briefs the responsibility for the tyranny of the Spaniards in their dealings with the American nations.

Church on these questions, which concerned the avoidance of bloodshed between Christian powers and the propagation of the Christian religion in those newly-discovered countries. All grants were accompanied by the condition that the Spanish monarchs should bind themselves to promote the spread of Christianity.

In the preparations for Columbus' second voyage, both Ferdinand and Isabella and Alexander took pains to provide missionary priests for the evangelisation of the native races. Their choice of a leader for the band of preachers shews with what care the selection was made. A friend of S. Francis of Paula, the Benedictine Bernard Boyl, was the first apostle of the New World.* In a Brief of 25th June, 1493, Alexander VI. conferred upon this distinguished and in every way most competent man and his twelve companions, all the powers and privileges which they needed for the success of their holy enterprise.† Amongst his companions may be mentioned the celebrated Bartolomeo Las Casas, Fray Jorge, Commander of the Knights of Santiago, and Pedro de Arenas, who is supposed to have said the first Mass ever celebrated on the newly-discovered islands.‡ In the Instruction which Columbus received from the Spanish monarchs for his second and third voyages, the conversion of the new countries to Christianity is put before him as the consideration which should lie nearest to his heart. How rapidly the numbers of religious and converted Indians

* P. FITA has the merit of being the first to give a clear account of Boyl's life. See his paper in the Bolet. de l. R. Acad. de la Historia (Madrid, 1891–1892), XIX., 173-233, 234–237, 354-357, 377-446, 557-561; XX., 160–177, 179–205, 261-300, 573-615. *Cf.* also QUADRADO in the same periodical, XX., 113–123, and EHRLE, *loc. cit.*

† The Brief is in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1493, n. 24, and, corrected, in the Bolet., XIX. (1891), 187 *seq.*

‡ FITA, La primera misa en América, in the Bolet., XVIII. (1891), 551 *seq.*

increased in Española (Hayti) may be seen from the fact that in 1501 negotiations were already begun in Rome for the establishment there of a separate hierarchy.* At the instigation of the great Cardinal Ximenes in 1502 a number of Franciscan missionaries were sent to America.†

Alexander equally exerted himself to promote the spread of Christianity in the countries beyond the sea which had been discovered by the Portuguese;‡ their enterprises were regarded in Rome as Crusades for the Propagation of the Faith.§

* EHRLE, *loc. cit.*

† WADDING, XV., 247. *Cf.* HEFELE, Ximenes, 483 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* SCHÄFER, Gesch. v. Portugal, III., 83; SANTAREM, X., 120.

§ A **Bull of Alexander VI., beginning with the words Catholice fidei propagationem, and dated Romae, Dec. 1501. Cal. Nov. A° 10°, Regest. 868, f. 117b, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, which, as far as I know, has not as yet been printed, is very interesting from this point of view.

CHAPTER VII.

Alexander VI. as a Patron of Art.

It is with a sense of relief that the historian now turns from all the moral miseries of the reign of Alexander VI. to another region in which some things that were really great and beautiful were achieved.

Judging from the magnificent palace which he built for himself, while yet a Cardinal only, we should expect to find in Alexander a liberal patron of Art; and in fact, in spite of all the turmoil and confusion of his reign, his name is immortalised by its association with many splendid monuments in this domain.*

The Pope's attention was especially directed to the Trastevere, the northern half of Rome, the Leonine city, which had grown up out of ecclesiastical foundations and the various national hospitals, and become the most important division of the city. Containing the Church of S. Peter and the Castle of St. Angelo, and being, in the 15th

* Setting aside the rebuilding of the University, which will be mentioned later, Alexander, though as Cardinal he had made some essays in literature (*cf.* Bibl. Pontif., 13 *seq.*; Schulte, Quellen, II., 407 *seq.*), did little or nothing for learning. He accepted dedications of any number of poems; there was even a "Borjade" in hexameters; but, as Burckhardt, I., 268, ed. 3, says, he was too occupied with other things to bestow much attention on poetical philologists. Nor did he make any additions to the Vatican Library. See Müntz-Favre, 311 *seq.* On Alexander's Court-poets see Yriarte, Autour des Borgia, 64 *seq.*

Century, the principal seat of the Court and of the Cardinals, it became the central point of the city, and by him was transformed into the handsomest quarter of Rome, a distinction which it retained until the reign of Clement VII. "These were the days of pageants, of ecclesiastical and secular processions and cavalcades, carnival-races, tournaments and bull-fights, the days in which the retinues of Lucrezia and Cæsar Borgia were numbered by hundreds when they rode forth in state, and Cardinals, the scions of royal houses, vied with Princes in the splendour of their equipages when they went to the Vatican, days in which ecclesiastical decorum was trampled under foot by worldly vanity and profane pomp." *

The great increase of street traffic in the Leonine city owing to the numbers of Cardinals, Prelates, and members of the Court who lived there, had already induced Sixtus IV. to make a wide street, originally called by his name (now Borgo St. Angelo), running from the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo to the gate of the Papal Palace.† Alexander VI. added a second one parallel with this and called it the Via Alessandrina (now Borgo Nuovo and the main thoroughfare of this quarter).

This street was planned primarily on account of the Jubilee. In the Consistory of 26th November, 1498, the Pope spoke of the necessity of making room in the streets for the concourse of pilgrims that was to be expected, and desired Cardinal Raffaele Riario, who understood architecture, to confer with other experts in these matters and see what would be required in the way of thoroughfares and bridges.‡ In January 1499, this Cardinal was put in

* REUMONT, Die Leostadt, in the Allg. Zeit. (1870), n. 286 Suppl.

† See Vol. IV., 455, of this work.

‡ *Romae die lunae XXVI. Nov., 1498: [S. D. N.] fecit etiam verbum de anno jubilei proxime instantis et de viis et de corsicis. Multa super

charge of the new approaches to the Vatican.* In April the work was begun † and carried through so rapidly that the new street was opened with the Jubilee year on the 24th of December, 1499.‡ Unfortunately, one result of the Via Alessandrina was the complete destruction of an interesting ancient monument, the so-called Meta. Mediæval antiquarians thought it to be the tomb of Scipio Africanus; some went so far as to say it was that of Romulus. Some time before it had been divested of its marbles and transformed into an outwork of the Castle of St. Angelo, and now was done away with altogether to make room for the opening of the new street.§

his fuerunt dicta. Sua Stas mandavit r. d. Sti Georgii ut haberet apud se conservatores vel alios qui sunt consueti huiusmodi rerum curam habere et se diligenter informarent quid facto opus esse tam circa vias et pontes quam reliqua necessaria ut peregrini et viatores commode et tute ire ac redire possent, ut re bene cognita possit oportuna provideri. *Lib. relat. Consistorii tempore pontif. Alexandri VI. a die XII. Nov., 1498, usque in diem V. Julii, 1499. Sig. C. 303, f. 9. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* *Romae die veneris XVIII. Jan., 1499: Cum facta esset mentio de nova via fienda al palatium dixissetque r. d. de Ursinis ambas illas vias vid. sanctam et equorum dum esset in minoribus dispositas fuisse impensa ut plurimum officialium; tum S. D. N. commisit r. d. S. Georgii ut invenirit taxam illam et intelligeret quid alias factum sit dicens pro rata et portione sua se libenter expositurum. Romae die merc. XX. Feb., 1499: Mandavit S. D. N. r. d. Sti Georgii ut a magistris viarum et architectis quantum foret impense ad dirigendam viam a porta castri ad palatium usque intelligeret ac sibi postea referret. *Lib. Consistorii, f. 29, 35.

† *Despatch of the Ferrarese Envoy Manfredi, dat. Rome, 8th April, 1499. *El papa ha facto dare principio ad una strata che da la porta del palacio se ne va a filo a la porta del castello che sera una bella cosa, quando sera fornita. State Archives, Modena.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 601.

§ REUMONT, III., 1, 415 *seq.*; GREGOROVIUS, VII., 642 *seq.*, ed. 3 (656 *seq.*, ed. 4); ADINOLFI, Portica, 48 *seq.* A Brief of Julius II. of

The completion of the Via Alessandrina entailed other changes in its neighbourhood, and especially in the portion of the Castle of St. Angelo nearest the bridge.

During the course of his reign Alexander VI. made extensive alterations in the Castle. The whole building was completely fortified in the best style of the day with parapets and towers, and surrounded by a wall and ditch.* These works were begun immediately after his accession, and hurried on in consequence of the approach of the French, and afterwards prosecuted with energy and more methodically. This is proved by inscriptions as well as by the entries of disbursements in the account-books. Antonio da Sangallo, Giuliano's brother, was the architect and master of works. Substantial changes were made in the edifice, both internally and in its exterior. The old Porta Aenea in the wall of St. Angelo was thought too small and closed up, and a new gate built. The adjoining houses and vineyards were removed and the Piazza enlarged and paved to form the opening of the Via Alessandrina. A strong tower made of blocks of Travertine was erected by Sangallo, to command the bridge, which remained standing till

July 1512 (in MÜNTZ, Antiquités de Rome, 21), shews that it was at this time that the last remnant of the Meta disappeared. On the reckless destruction of ancient monuments by Alexander, see also MÜNTZ, Les Monuments Antiques de Rome au 15me siècle, p. 18, and BERTOLOTTI, Artisti Lombardi, I., 33. In the *Divers. Alex. VI., 1501-1503 (Bullet., IV.), I found, f. 69b, an entry of a payment from Raphael, tit. S. Georgii mag. Stephano muratori duc. 50 pro aptanda via a palatio usque ad castrum S. Angeli, dat. Romae, XXII. Oct., 1501, Ao 10o. State Archives, Rome.

* *Cf.* BORGATI, 100 *seq.* (whose description, however, is not perfectly clear); GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 100; and MÜNTZ'S important contribution in Antiquités, 59 *seq.*, 62. Müntz has ignored Borgati, and in consequence made several mistakes. *Cf.* also LANGE, Papstesel, 28-29.

the reign of Urban VIII. The outworks of the Castle were considerably strengthened and the ditch made broader and deeper. It was thought that the main stream of the Tiber was to be diverted so as to flow through it. Sanuto reports in January 1496, that the cost of the works was estimated at 80,000 florins. The Pope frequently inspected them in person. He also secured to himself, by a special agreement, the possession of whatever might be found in the course of the excavations.*

This precaution, which bears witness to the growing interest in the relics of antiquity, proved well-judged. In constructing the earthworks the colossal bust of Hadrian which now adorns the Rotunda in the Vatican was disinterred. In the interior a new staircase with shallow steps was put in, and a military magazine, water tanks, and five subterranean dungeons were constructed. Coins were struck to commemorate these works.† After the gunpowder explosion of 1497, the upper rooms which had been destroyed, were rebuilt and decorated by Pinturicchio in the antiquated style then in vogue (the so-called *grotesque*). According to Vasari, the same master painted in a lower tower (probably that adjoining the bridge) a series of pictures representing the principal events in the first years of Alexander's reign and containing many portraits. Unfortunately, not a trace remains of these paintings. The only indications of their existence are to be found in the inscriptions of the frescoes: these were written by the German, Laurent Behaim, who for twenty-two years was Maggiordomo to Rodrigo Borgia; they are in Hartmann Schedel's collection. They included the meeting between Alexander VI. and Charles VIII.,

* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 64 *seq.* BORGATI'S statements, 207 *seq.*, are incorrect.

† ARMAND, Médailleurs, II., 63; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*

and the profession of obedience and departure of this monarch.*

The prison of Torre di Nona on the left bank of the Tiber was also fortified anew.† These two strongholds completely commanded the stream, and, by their artillery, the greater part of the city.

The Arcade, which leads from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, was not built by Alexander as has been supposed by many ; it was already in existence ; but the Borgia arms affixed in many places shew that it was extensively restored by him. One of these shields over the door of the court of the Swiss Guards bears the date 1492, and shews in what direction the Pope's earliest apprehensions lay.‡ We learn, from a report of the Ferrarese Envoy of 8th April, 1499, that work was going on in the Arcade at that date.§

A Bull of the year 1500 bestowed certain privileges on all who assisted in building the houses in the new Via Alessandrina.‖

The Porta Settimiana which closes the Via della Lungara was rebuilt and has remained unaltered up to the present day. Cardinal Juan Lopez de Valencia, a former secretary of Alexander, was commissioned by him to erect a fountain in the Piazza of S^ta^ Maria in Trastevere. That of Innocent VIII. in the Piazza of S. Peter's, which had also been newly paved, was adorned by Alexander with four gilt Bulls, the Borgia arms. Nor was the Vatican itself and

* ALVISI, 14 ; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 63 *seq.*

† BORGATI, 100.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 220; ADINOLFI, Portica, 219 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Les Arts, III., 172, and Antiquités, 59; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 34.

§ Original in the State Archives, Modena.

‖ Bull., V., 377 *seq.* *Cf.* MARINI, I., 317, N. e.

its surroundings neglected. The Loggia used for the Papal Blessing was completed in the form depicted in Raphael's fresco of the "Fire in the Borgo." Within the Vatican a large number of nobly conceived works were executed.* The architectural designs of Nicholas V. were carried out and the decoration of the Pope's private apartments was entrusted to Pinturicchio, who had already before that time been painting in Rome. Till quite lately these rooms had been used for keeping the engravings in the Vatican Library and were only accessible to a few privileged persons.† In the year 1889 the present Pope ordered this part of the Vatican to be restored, and when this is completed it is to be turned into a museum for objects of art of the mediæval and Renaissance periods.‡

The dwelling rooms of Alexander VI. (Appartamento Borgia) are on the ground floor of that part of the Vatican which lies between the Court of the Belvedere

* REUMONT, III., 1, 416, and FERRI, L'Architettura in Roma, II., 31. On the decoration of the fountain of Innocent VIII., *cf.* Registro delle fabbriche di P. Alessandro VI. in the Cod. Barb., XXXII., 242; in GORI'S Arch. St., IV., 141, and the disbursements in *Divers. Alex. VI., 1501–1503 (IV. Bull.), f. 71, vouchers of payment made by Raphael tit. S. Georgii, etc., Magistro Alberto de Placentia prefati S. D. N. comestabili et architecto . . . pro opere fontis platee S. Petri de urbe, XIII. Octob., 1501, A° 10°; *cf.* f. 79, 83ᵇ, 93ᵇ, etc.; entries of payments made to the same for the fountain on the Piazza of S. Peter's, 23rd Nov., 1501, and 1st and 23rd Dec.; 20th Jan., 1502 (Alb. de Placentia qui confecit fontem platee S. Petri de urbe); these entries go on into the month of Feb. State Archives, Rome.

† I saw them for the first time in the Spring of 1883, through the kindness of P. Bollig, who has since died, and once again in April, 1893. They were assigned to the use of the Library in the time of Gregory XVI., who did not care about keeping up the Borgia apartments. *Cf.* the Viennese Abendpost (1892), N. 262.

‡ Professor L. Seitz (not Zeit as YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 75 *seq.*, persistently writes the name) has the charge of this restoration.

and the little Cortile del Papagallo. This portion was built by Nicholas III., and restored and enlarged by Nicholas V. It contains six rooms, the first is a spacious hall into which three nearly square smaller chambers open; these apartments are exactly under the famous Stanze which contain Raphael's frescoes. The new part built by Alexander consists of a square tower (Torre Borgia), the upper storey of which, where the frescoes in memory of Pius IX. now are, was the Pope's private chapel, while the lower floor, divided into two rooms and connected with the older part by a short staircase, closes the Appartamento Borgia on that side.*

Almost immediately after his accession Alexander set to work at the renovation of these rooms and the erection of the Tower. Their decoration was intrusted to Pinturicchio. He accomplished his task with a celerity which could only be explained by supposing that he largely availed himself of the help of others. A close inspection of the paintings makes it only too clear that this was the case. Pinturicchio by no means overworked himself; in fact in 1494 he slipped away to Orvieto and had to be recalled by a Brief from the Pope! However, both in their drawing and still more in their composition, the greater part of these paintings are certainly his work. "As a whole the work should justly be ascribed to him, and deserves the highest praise for the evenness of its execution, and the careful schooling and sagacious selection in regard to the parts assigned to them, of the pupils whom he evidently employed."†

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 34 *seq.*; WOODHOUSE in the "Builder" of Jan. 1887; YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 33 *seq.* (with engravings); VOLPINI, L'Appartamento Borgia nel Vaticino. Rome, 1887.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 61.

The large hall through which the apartments were entered was used as an audience chamber, and called, on account of the portraits which it contained, the hall of the Popes. It was here that in the Summer of 1500 Alexander so narrowly escaped being killed by the falling in of the roof.* Pinturicchio's share in the paintings in this hall cannot be ascertained, as Leo X. caused the whole of it to be decorated afresh in the style of the antique frescoes in the baths of Titus, by two pupils of Raphael, Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine.†

The three rooms which open into the Sala dei Papi remain in all essentials exactly as they were in the time of Alexander. Each of these chambers is lighted by one window looking into the Belvedere Court. The ceiling, consisting of a double-cross vault, was intersected lengthwise by a broad arch resting on two pillars, thus forming two spans on the side-walls bounded by pointed arches; and on those facing, and containing the window, lunettes double the breadth of these. On these spans, paintings were executed under Pinturicchio's direction, and all the rest was richly decorated with gold and stucco-work in which the Borgia arms, the Bull, repeatedly appears.

The subjects of the pictures in the first of these rooms are exclusively religious, taken from the lives of Christ and of the Blessed Virgin. In the arches of the ceiling the Kings David and Solomon, and the prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Malachias, Sophonias, Micheas, and Joel are represented in half-length figures.‡ The most striking of

* *Cf. supra*, p. 78.

† PLATTNER, II., 1, 298 *seq.*

‡ PLATTNER, II., 1, 300; SCHMARSOW, 51 *seq.*; and YRIARTE, 53 *seq.*, with some, but unsatisfactory, illustrations. A good reproduction of the ceiling paintings in the room is given in DOLMETCH, Der Ornamentschatz (Stuttgardt, 1881), Part 49, No. 5.

the wall-paintings is the one of the Resurrection of Christ, before whom a Pope, unmistakeably Alexander VI., kneels in adoration, in full pontificals, but bare-headed, with the Tiara on the ground beside him. This admirable portrait and that of another ecclesiastic in the picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, are evidently from the hand of Pinturicchio himself, while the other paintings were probably executed by his pupils.*

This picture is not only highly interesting as a portrait of the Pope in his prime, as his contemporaries knew him, but is noteworthy also because it explodes a story which, first set afloat by Vasari, has been repeated again and again. Vasari says that Pinturicchio painted over the door of one of the rooms in the palace a picture of the Virgin Mary, which was a portrait of Giulia Farnese, and in the same painting a likeness of Pope Alexander adoring her. In reality the only picture in which Alexander appears is that of the Resurrection of our Lord. There is a representation of the Madonna, but it is in the next room, and the Pope is not in it, nor is there any other picture in any of the rooms which corresponds with Vasari's description. Evidently he had never been inside the Appartamento Borgia.†

* SCHMARSOW, 53 *seq.* The coloured copy of the portrait of Alexander VI. in YRIARTE, 73, is unsatisfactory. The photograph in Heywood's work, see Vol. V., p. 387, note †, is much better, but is unfortunately not on sale, having been privately printed.

† YRIARTE, 35, 72. HUBER in Hist. Taschenbuch (1875), p. 53; and even GREGOROVIUS, VII., 669, ed. 3 (685, ed. 4), repeat Vasari's fable without examination (and Gregorovius adds that the Pope is worshipping the Madonna!). They have evidently never seen the picture. For criticism of Vasari see generally FREY, Vita di Michelangelo (Berlin, 1887), XXI. *seq.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 301, tries to save Vasari's story by hazarding the conjecture that "the head of the Pope, now no longer there, was for obvious reasons painted out of the picture."

The next room contains scenes taken from the lives of S. Catherine of Alexandria, S. Antony, and S. Sebastian, a picture of the Visitation and the story of Susanna. On the ceiling there are curious mythological representations of the history of Osiris and Io, probably plays on the Borgia arms, which a study of the poems of the Humanists of Alexander's Court might elucidate. It is overloaded with small figures and arabesques in stucco gilt, but many of the details are strikingly beautiful, and the pomp and richness of the decorations in this room have caused it to be looked upon as the masterpiece of the whole. The third room, like the first, is simpler. In the lunettes, personifications of Mathematics, Dialectics, Jurisprudence, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astronomy are painted, each accompanied by charming subsidiary figures. This room was probably the Pope's study. Perugino is supposed to have had a hand in the painting of the frescoes.* From this room the chambers in the Borgia Tower are reached by a marble staircase. According to the inscription the

The present Prefect of the Vatican Library, my esteemed friend P. Ehrle, had the kindness to make a thorough examination of the picture of the Madonna for me. He was assisted by Prof. Seitz and the painter Fringoelli (custodian of the Lateran Museum), who are executing the restoration of the Appartamento, and who removed, wherever it seemed desirable, any later washes that had been applied. The following is the conclusion arrived at:—"*It is utterly impossible that the picture of the Madonna could have included a figure of Pope Alexander. The attitude of the Virgin and the direction in which she and the Divine Child are looking, the circular pasteboard mount, and the ornamentation and lines surrounding it absolutely exclude such a supposition.*" It is to be hoped that for the future this fable will cease to appear in books of history.

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 300 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 36, 39 *seq.*, 45 *seq.* (Schmarsow has not observed that Plattner had already, p. 301, recognised the one picture as Susanna). YRIARTE, 56 *seq.*, here gives better illustrations than Pistolesi, to whom hitherto students have been referred.

Tower was finished in 1494. The first room contains the figures of the twelve apostles and twelve prophets; each carries a scroll on which a sentence from the Creed or one of the prophets is written. The last, which is almost square and was probably the Pope's bed-chamber, has mythological representations of the planets on the ceiling. In each of the twelve lunettes a prophet and a sybil converse together. As in the former chamber, they carry scrolls containing prophecies of the kingdom of Christ.*

In spite of the many faults that may be found with the separate paintings, the decoration of the Appartamento Borgia is, as a whole, an eminently harmonious and pleasing work.†

Pinturicchio left Rome on account of the disturbances there caused by the invasion of Charles VIII.; later he returned and painted the series of historical pictures of the events of the Pope's life in the Castle of St. Angelo, which have already been mentioned,‡ and executed the decorations in the grotesque style there which have also been mentioned before, and by which this new form of Art was

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 301 *seq.*; SCHMARSOW, 35 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*, 58; YRIARTE, 66 *seq.* The tradition is that Alexander died in the "Liberal Arts" room.

† SCHMARSOW, 95. H. GRIMM (Fifteen Essays, 4th Series [Gütersloh, 1890]), p. 274, praises the bright and agreeable effects of the paintings, and pronounces this to be the "most beautiful of all Pinturicchio's productions." See also BEISSEL in the Zeitschr. f. Christl. Kunst, V., 69, who, however, praises the App. Borgia beyond their deserts. On Pinturicchio's honorarium, see GORI, Arch. St., IV., 18 *seq.*

‡ See *supra*, p. 169. *Cf.* VERMIGLIOLI, App., XII.; SCHMARSOW, 63. Pinturicchio was employed also by Cæsar Borgia; see Kunstbl. (1850), p. 374. On the assistance given by Cæsar towards the building of the Church of the Madonna del Piratello at Imola, see GRAUS in the Grazer Kirchenschmuck, XXI. (1890), 114 *seq.*

introduced in Rome.* This bright and fantastic style of Art was especially congenial to the taste of the age of Alexander VI. The serious and sculpturesque manner which belongs to fresco painting jarred on the sensuous frivolous habit of mind of the Borgia and their courtiers, in whom the æsthetic sense was so largely bound up with vanity and display. Continued development in this direction would have been fatal to Art.† Thus it was most fortunate that the stern influence of Julius II. recalled the painters whom he employed to a severer style.

In Rome itself Alexander completed the roof of S^ta^ Maria Maggiore which had been commenced by his uncle Calixtus. Tradition says that the first gold brought from America was used for the decoration of the panels there, which are the most charming of all Roman works of this kind. In April 1498, the Pope visited this church to inspect the work on its completion.‡

Restorations were executed by this Pope in S. Peter's, in his own former titular Church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, in that of the SS. Apostoli § and on the city walls.‖ Gratitude is due to Alexander for the rebuilding of the University; in its present form it dates from Alexander VII., who belonged to the Chigi family.¶

* On the "grotesque" see CIAN, Cortegiano, III., and SCHNEEGANS, 29.

† SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 87; see p. 78 *seq.*, for particulars of Pinturicchio's work in Siena for Card. Piccolomini. *Cf.* Raffaele und Pinturicchio in Siena (Stuttgart, 1880), by the same writer.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, II., 459; REUMONT, III., 1, 416; ARMELLINI, 387; engraving in MÜNTZ, L'Art, II., 333.

§ ARMELLINI, 476; Arch. d. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 178; REUMONT, III., 1, 416.

‖ Rev. Archéol., VII., 132; NIBBY, Le Mura, 290, 374.

¶ See ZAHN in Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 178; RENAZZI, I., 281, and *Divers. Alex. VI., III., Nov. 1502, A° XI° ; 400 duc. gub. et rector

For jewellery and metal work but little was done by Alexander beyond the regular necessary orders for the golden roses, swords of honour for princes, chalices for churches, and medals. Beyond these the only large order for goldsmith's work was that for the statues of the twelve Apostles in silver gilt, which were destined for his private chapel.* Outside as well as inside Rome, Alexander did a great deal in the way of building. He spent 9000 ducats on the Castle of Subiaco, and extensive works were executed in the citadels of Tivoli, Civitella, Civita Castellana, Nepi, Osimo, and Civita Vecchia;† the erection of a tower at Viterbo,‡ and of dwelling-rooms in the citadel at Ostia.§ He also contributed to the building of the Cathedral at Perugia,‖ and helped in the erection of the shrine of S. Anthony at Padua.¶

studii almae urbis pro reparatione ipsius studii. Further payments for the same object follow. State Archives, Rome.

* PÉRATÉ, 519. On the sword given by Alexander VI. to the Duke Boguslaw X. of Pomerania, see LESSING in the Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, XVI., 121 *seq.* On Alexander's Livre d'heures (containing fifty-eight miniatures by a Flemish painter), see PAWLOWSKI in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 3rd Series, V., 511 *seq.*

† *Cf.* the Registro delle fabbriche di P. Alessandro VI. in GORI'S Arch. St., IV., 141; GREGOROVIUS, Wanderjahre, II., 17 *seq.*; GORI, Viaggio da Roma a Tivoli, I., 17 (Roma, 1855); Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, VI., 1, 177, 178; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., VII., 436; REDTENBACHER, 103. On the building done at Subiaco while Alexander was still a Cardinal, see Cronaca Sublac., 519.

‡ See the *Document of 6th November, 1497, in *Lib. brev. 17, f. 194. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Despatch of Stefano Taberna, dat. Rom, 14th Oct., 1497. The Pope is going to Ostia to see Alchune habitatione quale fa fare in quella fortezza. State Archives, Milan.

‖ *Bull of Alexander VI. of 28th Jan., 1500, in the Capitular Archives at Perugia.

¶ MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, Il Romano Pontificato, II., 725. Firenze, 1886.

The architectural energy displayed by Alexander had a stimulating effect upon the rest of Rome. New churches and palaces arose in all directions and quite changed the aspect of the city. The two greatest patrons of Art were the wealthy Cardinals Riario and Giuliano della Rovere.* The latter built a palace for himself close to S. Pietro in Vincoli; his architect was Giuliano da Sangallo. Riario's palace, the famous Cancellaria which had been begun by Alexander VI., was finished in his reign. This magnificent building, with its exquisite pillared halls, was for a long time attributed to Bramante. Recent research has shewn that this view is untenable. The Cancellaria is, on the contrary, one of the last productions of the Tuscan style which was superseded by Bramante. For the same reason Cardinal Castellesi's splendid palace in the Borgo (now Giraud—Torlonia), the architecture of which is similar in character, cannot be the work of the author of the revival of the classical style in Rome.†

Bramante came to Rome in the year 1499, and is supposed to have been employed by Alexander VI. in the erection of the fountains mentioned in the beginning of this chapter.‡ The remains of the ancient city which he then saw, inspired him with such enthusiastic admiration that, though already in his fifty-sixth year, he succeeded in an amazingly short time, in making the spirit of classical architecture completely his own. The result appeared in the famous Tempietto in the court of the Franciscan

* *Cf.* WOLTMANN, II., 239, on Perugino's work for Giuliano. Pinturicchio painted for Card. Piccolomini in Siena from the year 1502. See *loc. cit.*, II., 252 *seq.*, 623.

† GNOLI, La Cancellaria, 11 *seq.* The present Pope is thinking of having the Cancellaria restored. On the fate of Card. Castellesi's palace, see M. BRADY, Anglo-Roman Papers. London, 1890.

‡ *Cf.* GEYMÜLLER, 68 *seq.*, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 380.

Convent near S. Pietro in Montorio, erected by him for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Prince of the Apostles. It was finished in the year 1502, and marks the change from the Lombard to the Roman Bramante, and the division between the arts of two centuries. It was no longer a mere imitation of classical forms, but a new creation so completely in the spirit of the old architecture that nothing in the building indicated its recent origin, and it was studied and measured by the architects of the day as though it had been a newly-discovered monument of classical times.*

There are equally no grounds for connecting Bramante's name with the Church of the German Hospice of S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Matthæus Lang, the Ambassador of the German Emperor, on the 11th of April, 1500. The church was consecrated in 1511, and, according to the inscription, the façade completed in 1514.† The somewhat Gothic interior must undoubtedly be ascribed to a German architect.‡

The list of churches erected in the reign of Alexander VI. includes, besides the German National Church, that of SS. Trinità de' Monti on the Pincio, founded by Cardinal

* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 18. On the Tempietto, *cf.* especially GEYMÜLLER, 65 *seq.*

† KERSCHBAUMER, 22 *seq.*; GRAUS, S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima, in the Grazer Kirchenschmuch (1881), No. 3 *seq.* GEYMÜLLER writes, p. 68, "Bramante's influence may possibly be traceable in the ground-plan of S^ta^ Maria dell' Anima but only in that. To us it seems very probable that the graceful tower was built by a German architect after a drawing by Bramante. Certainly Bramante, and probably G. da Sangallo, are quite guiltless of the somewhat incoherent façade which was added in 1514." In the Archives of the Anima I found an interesting note in which Burkardus Arg. Magist. caeremon. 1499, is said to have been praefectus fabricae.

‡ REDTENBACHER, 179.

Briçonnet at the instigation of S. Francis of Paula, S. Rocco on the quay of the Ripetta, S. Maria di Loreto, a Confraternity-church not completed until the 17th Century, the Church of the Guild of the Bakers of Rome, and S^ta^ Maria di Monserrato, the Spanish National Church.*

* REUMONT, III., 1, 420, 438 ; ARMELLINI, 412, 578.

BOOK II.

PIUS III. 1503.

JULIUS II. Restorer of the States of the Church and Patron of the Fine Arts. 1503–1513.

CHAPTER I.

The Conclaves of September and November, 1503.—Pius III. and Julius II.

In a Despatch of 15th August, 1503, when the condition of Alexander VI. was rapidly becoming hopeless, the Venetian Ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, reports that Cardinal Caraffa had said to him in conversation, "There is every prospect of war. I greatly fear that the coming Conclave will result in an appeal to arms, and prove most disastrous for the Church."* A sonnet, published in Florence about that time, describes the divisions in the Sacred College, the machinations of the Kings of France and Spain to secure the election of their respective candidates, and the probability of a simoniacal election, and even of a schism.†

The situation was, indeed, fraught with peril on all sides. In the North the French army under Francesco Gonzaga lay at Viterbo, the Spaniards under Gonsalvo de Cordova were advancing from the South, Rome resounded with party cries, Orsini, Colonna, and Borgia. Cardinal Aegidius of Viterbo says "the whole city was in a ferment: the confusion was such, that it seemed as if everything was going to pieces."‡ Under such circumstances it was obvious that

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 110.

† Sonnet, "Antequam creatur novus Pontifex," printed in the Docum. intorno Pio II. e III., 29-30, and in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XVII., 296 *Cf.* Nuova Antologia (1894), Vol. 135, 93-94.

‡ Gregorovius, VIII., 7, ed. 3.

Cæsar's presence in Rome could not be a matter of trifling importance. The Spanish Cardinals were as absolutely subservient to him "as if they had been his chaplains," and he had under his command an army of not less than 12,000 strong. It was certainly quite in his power to force another Rodrigo Borgia on the Church.

One cannot but regard it as a direct interposition of Providence that precisely at this critical time he was crippled by a serious illness, from which he was only beginning to recover. He said himself afterwards to Machiavelli, "I had counted on the death of my father, and had made every preparation for it, but it never occurred to me that I should have at the same time to fight with death myself." *

But the fact that both France and Spain, who had quarrelled with each other over the Neapolitan spoils, were trying to secure his friendship, shews what was the strength of Cæsar's influence in spite of his bodily weakness. They evidently thought that the result of the coming election depended largely upon him. It was only natural that the Duke should exert himself to the utmost to control it. The unexpected death of Alexander VI. had been the signal for a general uprising of all the enemies of the Borgia family, and his very existence depended upon the outcome of the election. The Venetian Ambassador writes on 21st August: "I am assured on the best authority that last Sunday no less than eleven Cardinals swore to Cæsar to have Cardinal Giovanni Vera elected, or else to bring about a schism. They are also trying to win over the Cardinals Caraffa, Raffaele Riario, and Pallavicino to their side, and I myself know for certain that the Duke has taken precautions to prevent the arrival of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, either by sea or land."†

* MACHIAVELLI, Principe, cap. 7.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 138; *cf.* 130, 137. See also Atti

However, it soon became evident that Cæsar's power was over-estimated. He himself felt his inability to withstand the popular hatred, or to make headway against the Barons, who were threatening him with vengeance, while all his efforts to obtain possession of the Castle of St. Angelo by bribery failed to overcome the integrity of its custodian, Francesco Roccamura.*

Hitherto he had but to command and be obeyed, but now he found himself obliged to enter into a treaty with the Colonna faction and with the Cardinals. Burchard notes with surprise his submissiveness towards the Sacred College, to whom he swore obedience on the 22nd of August. In consequence, he was allowed to retain his appointment as a Captain-General of the Church until the new Pope had been elected; but the unanimous decision of the Cardinals to hold the Conclave in the Castle of St. Angelo plainly shews how little they trusted him.† Even there, however, many did not consider themselves safe, for Cæsar continued to exert himself to the utmost to secure the election of a Spanish Pope who would be favourable to him.‡

If the election was to be free, it was absolutely necessary to get the Duke out of Rome. The Cardinals, especially

dell' Emilia, VII., 2, 169; M. LEOPARDI, Vita di Niccolò Bonafede, 49 *seq.*; and CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 134.

* *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 289, and the MS. in THUASNE, III., 449. RANKE in Rom. und Germ. Völker, 171, says erroneously that Cæsar had possession of the Castle of St. Angelo. The letters quoted by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 7, ed. 3, from the Gaetani Archives, as hitherto unprinted, and which confirm Guicciardini's statements about Cæsar's treaty with the Colonna, were printed long ago by CARINCI, Lettere di O. Gaetani, 133-134.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 245 *seq.*

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 157; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 442

the Italian Cardinals, laboured assiduously to effect this, and were supported by the Ambassadors of Germany, France, Spain, and Venice. The negotiations lasted from the 25th August to the 31st September, when Cæsar finally consented to withdraw from Rome within three days, the Cardinals on their side engaging to protect him against all attacks, and granting him a free passage through the States of the Church. They also promised to warn Venice against any attempts to get hold of his possessions in the Romagna. The Ambassadors of Maximilian and Ferdinand pledged themselves that neither Cæsar, the Spanish army, nor the Colonna should approach from within 8 to 10 miles of Rome as long as the Papal Chair remained vacant, and those of France and Venice entered into a similar engagement in regard to the French army and the Orsini.*

On the following day a part of the Duke's artillery left Rome by the Trastevere; the news had just reached him that Piombino, Rimini, and Pesaro had thrown off his yoke. He himself was carried in a litter from the Vatican to Monte Mario; at the Porta Viridaria, Cardinal Cesarini wished to speak to him, but was told that "the Duke gave no audiences."†

It soon became known that Cæsar had placed himself under the protection of the French army at Nepi. He had already, on the 1st of September, entered into a secret agreement with the representatives of Louis XII., in which he promised to place his troops at the disposal of the King, and to behave towards him as an obedient vassal and help him against all his enemies, the Church

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 255.

† *Ibid.*, III., 257. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 171; SANUTO, V., 80–81; and the *Despatch of the Mantuan Envoy, dat. Rome, 2nd Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

only excepted; Louis on his part guaranteed to Cæsar all his present possessions and engaged to assist him to recover those which he had lost at the death of Alexander VI.*

The maintenance of order having been already secured by the hire of a sufficient force in the pay of the College of Cardinals, they could now proceed to make arrangements for the Conclave. Under these more favourable circumstances it was decided that it should be held in the Vatican.

Public opinion was very much divided as to the probable result of the election. Antonio Giustinian writes on 19th August: "The better minded would like to have Caraffa or Piccolomini, though Costa would make an excellent Pope; only his age and his Spanish name are against him." A few days later Pallavicino and Podocatharo were also mentioned; of the latter it was said that he would have the votes of all the Spaniards.†

On the 4th September‡ the obsequies of the late Pope began and lasted nine days. Meanwhile many of the absent Cardinals had arrived in Rome. Soderini came on the 30th of August, Cornaro on the 1st of September, Trivulzi and Giuliano della Rovere on the 3rd (the latter had been an exile for nearly ten years). On the 6th Colonna arrived, on the 9th Riario, and on the 10th George S. d'Amboise, Luigi d'Aragona, and Ascanio Sforza.§

* App. to the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 462-463.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 126; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 447; and the Sonnet quoted *supra*, p. 185, note †: "Antequam," etc.

‡ Not on the 3rd Sept., as stated by VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 387, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 10, ed. 3. See *Acta Consist., f. 14, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

§ Cardinal d'Este had broken his leg in the hurry of the journey and

The latter had led Louis XII. to believe that if he would allow him to take part in the Conclave he would vote for the French candidate, Cardinal d'Amboise.*

Through their treaty with Cæsar Borgia the French party thought they could count on the support of the eleven Spanish Cardinals,† and d'Amboise himself did not scruple to use every means in his power, flattery, promises, and even covert threats, in order to win over the remainder.‡ In employing the latter he counted, of course, on the influence which the proximity of the French troops must exert. In case of need, as the Mantuan Ambassador said, it had been decided to have recourse to arms.§ No means were to be rejected that could possibly obtain the Tiara for the favourite of the King of France, and thus secure French ascendency in Italy and the world.

in consequence did not arrive in time. SANUTO, V, 77; *cf. ibid.*, 81, on the very hurried journey of Cardinal d'Amboise.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 290.

† *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 449.

‡ *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 175, 190, 196. As in the whole College of Cardinals there were only two who were Frenchmen by birth, it seemed to the French party that they could not afford to neglect any means of ensuring success; they could really only count upon six votes. See SANUTO, V., 82. The Mantuan agent, Ghivizano, in writing to the Marquess of Mantua from Rome on 12th Sept., 1503, reports of Cardinal d'Amboise: Hieri ale 22 hore parlai cum mons. de Rohano . . . me dise io dovesse in nome vostro parlare al rev^mo^ card. S. Prassede et pregarlo a darli la voce sua promettendoli che tuto quelo li sarà promiso li sarà atteso et retificato per la Ch^ma^ M^ta^ e di questo vole la Ex V^a^ li facia piena segurta, il che a me non ha parso fare senza licentia di quela, la quale sapia come a le XX. hore hoe lordine de andare a parlare a S. Prassede; al. card. de Rohano ho promeso fare quanto la Sua S^ria^ me a comandato e cosi farò non havendo altro in contrario. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Appendix, N. 12, the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 12th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Ferdinand of Spain was naturally the chief opponent of these plans. From the very beginning his Ambassadors were doing their utmost to secure the election of a Spanish Pope. His candidates were Piccolomini, Castro, and Carvajal; the one whom above all he wished to exclude was Giuliano della Rovere, whom he regarded as a partisan of France.*

As long as Cæsar Borgia had remained in Rome he had exercised a strong influence on the Spanish Cardinals. As soon as he had left the city and was known to have gone to the French camp, this was of course at an end. Bernardino Carvajal became the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, and they held together as closely as possible, knowing that they had all the detestation which the Borgia had brought upon themselves on their shoulders.† In the face of the storm of hatred which had burst forth from the populace of Rome on the death of Alexander the election of a Spaniard was out of the question.‡ The reaction against the late Pope was too strong. This made the loss of the eleven Spanish votes all the more vexatious for the French. Their prospects declined at once. The Mantuan Ambassador, writing on the 12th of September, to a vivid description of the excitement amongst the electors, "who are running hither and thither like bees and intriguing in all directions," adds significantly, "but d'Amboise will not be Pope."§

* *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 150 *seq.*; ZURITA, V., c. 47; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 446; BERGENROTH, Calendar, I., n. 372; SÄGMÜLLER, 127 *seq.*; HÄBLER, Streit Ferdinands d. Kathol. und Philipps, I., 19; ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 59 *seq.* (incorrect in places).

† *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 179-180; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 450.

‡ See SANUTO, V., 81-83.

§ See Appendix, N. 12, *Despatch of Ghivizano, 12th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Giuliano della Rovere, however, was for the French the most dangerous of all their opponents. It was he who made it plain to all the world how disastrous would be the consequences if the man who was Louis' all powerful minister, and had been Cæsar Borgia's friend, were elected.*

Giuliano's arrival in Rome completely changed the whole state of affairs. He was as outspoken as if his election were already an accomplished fact. On the 5th September he said to the Venetian Ambassador: "I have come here on my own account and not on other people's. I shall not vote for d'Amboise. If I fail to obtain the Tiara myself, I hope whoever succeeds will strive to maintain peace in Italy, and to promote the interests of religion." He took pains to point out to the Cardinals that if a French Pope were elected it was extremely probable that the seat of the Papacy would again be transferred to France. These representations naturally carried great weight with the Spanish and Italian members of the College.† As the Italians were largely in the majority (they were twenty-two out of thirty-seven) they could easily have made Giuliano Pope had they been unanimous. This, however, was far from being the case. Some were for Caraffa, others for Pallavicino, others again for Giuliano. Cardinal Giovanni Colonna held with the Spaniards, while the Florentine Cardinals, Medici and Soderini, were on the French side.‡

The divisions among the Italian Cardinals threw the casting vote into the hands of the united Spanish party. Giuliano saw this at once and consequently from the first

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 200.

† *Ibid.*, II., 180–182.

‡ ZURITA, 299; GUICCIARDINI, Opere inediti, III., 306; SÄGMÜLLER, 126.

devoted himself to the work of winning the Spaniards.* On the 12th September the Mantuan Envoy writes: "Neither d'Amboise, Giuliano, Caraffa, nor Riario will be Pope; Podocatharo, Piccolomini, or Pallavicino have the best chance, for they are favoured by the Spaniards; but the common opinion is that the Cardinals will not be able to agree."†

Thus, from the very beginning of the Conclave, the representatives of the three great Latin nations stood opposed to each other. Not one of the few representatives of the non-Latin nationalities was in Rome,‡ when, after the Chair of S. Peter had been vacant for thirty days, the Conclave at last began on 16th September. The number of Cardinals§ who took part in it, thirty-seven,‖ was much

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 185.

† See Appendix, N. 12, *Despatch of Ghivizano, 12th Sept., 1503, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ These latter could only act through their Envoys. See ULMANN, II., 135, on the proceedings of Maximilian's Ambassador. *Cf.* also Ghivizano's *Despatch of 15th Sept., 1503 (Gonzaga Arch., Mantua), in Appendix, N. 13.

§ At former elections the number was much smaller. At the Conclave of Nicholas V. there were 18, for Calixtus III. 15, for Pius II. 18, for Paul II. 20, for Sixtus IV. 18, for Innocent VIII. 25, for Alexander VI. 23. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 11, 320; III., 5; IV., 4, n. 3, 201 (Engl. trans.).

‖ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 269 *seq.*; SANUTO, V., p. 100 *seq.*; and the *Despatch of Costabili, dated Rome, 16th Sept., 1503, in the State Archives, Modena. Both ancient and modern writers vary very much in their statements as to the number that took part in the Conclave. Raphael Volaterranus, Raynaldus, REUMONT. III., 2, 7, and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 285, give the number as 36; while GUICCIARDINI, VI., cap. 1, the epitaph of Pius III., and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 12, ed. 3, say 38. Both numbers are erroneous. Thirty-seven electors took part in it, as stated by Burchard, the Mantuan Ambassador, in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 16th Sept., 1503, as also an *Account of the beginning of the Conclave by Ghivizano, dated 17th Sept., and, what is

larger than had been present at any former Conclave. Even as late as the 12th of September there had been protracted discussions whether it should not be held in S. Marco under the protection of the Roman people, but the final decision was in favour of the Vatican. Immediately before the opening of the Conclave, d'Amboise decided to pay visits to his two rivals, Caraffa and Giuliano della Rovere. The Mantuan Envoy, who reports this, adds, there was no exchange of visits between d'Amboise and Piccolomini, Pallavicino, and Podocatharo. The Tiara will fall to one of these three; if to the last, because he is a good man, if to either of the others, because they are neutral and favoured by the Spaniards. Four days later the Venetian Ambassador says that Piccolomini or Pallavicino will probably be elected.*

The first thing the Cardinals did, was to draw up a new Election-capitulation to supersede that of 1484. One of its provisions was that the Pope should summon a Council for the reform of the Church within two years after his election, and that then a General Council should be held every three years.†

On the 17th of September d'Amboise had proclaimed, in his usual swaggering manner, that either he or another Frenchman would certainly be chosen. Five days earlier he had told the Venetian Envoy what he really thought. He said, "I have heard that several Cardinals have bound themselves by an oath not to elect any Cardinal who is a Frenchman or a friend of the King of

quite decisive, the *Acta Consist., fol. 14. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 196–198, and in Appendix, N. 13, Ghivizano's *Despatch of 15th Sept., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 272 *seq.*; ZURITA, 202; GATTICUS, 287, n. 1; BERGENROTH, I., p. LVIII., n. 371.

France. This has greatly incensed me. I see no reason why the French nation should be shut out from the Papacy, and if my King, who is the first-born son of the Church, and has done more than any other Prince for the Apostolic See, is trying to promote the election of a French Pope, I do not think he can be blamed, when he has seen how unworthily one Spaniard and two Italians have ruled her. Our generals are aware of these intrigues, and will not patiently endure such a slight to their King." Then he complained of various simoniacal negotiations, and added: "If I perceive anything of this kind you may be sure that I shall not let it pass; and my protest will be such that none shall fail to hear it." "Evidently," the Envoy continues, "the Cardinal sees that his cause is lost. He already says that he has been betrayed. He has just found out that Ascanio Sforza, far from troubling himself about him, is working hard to secure his own election."*

Such indeed was the case. On the 13th of September the Venetian Ambassador writes, "Ascanio Sforza makes no secret of his intentions; he says he had promised his vote to d'Amboise and he shall have that, but nothing else."† The acclamations with which Ascanio had been greeted when he entered Rome had naturally encouraged him to think well of his chances. Burchard, after narrating the hearty welcome he had received, adds in his Diary, "God alone knows what these cries were to Ascanio."‡

The hopes which d'Amboise had built on Cardinal d'Aragona were equally doomed to disappointment. He,

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 195–196, 198.

† *Ibid.*, II., 193. *Cf.* PRATO, 256. It is interesting to find from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 274, that Ascanio did vote for d'Amboise.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 263.

like Ascanio, was not disposed to seal the ruin of his house by forwarding the election of a French Pope.*

But, though forced to give up all hopes for himself, d'Amboise none the less did his best to secure the election of one or other of the French candidates. All his efforts, however, were in vain, owing to the firm front presented by the Spanish Cardinals, none of whom could be won over.†

The prospects of Giuliano della Rovere rose in proportion as those of d'Amboise declined. At first we are told he wanted but two votes to make up the two-thirds majority. But at the last moment he found himself foiled by his old enemy Ascanio.‡

The strength of the various parties, and also their inability to bring matters to a conclusion, were manifested in the vote that was taken on the 21st September.§ Giuliano della Rovere had the highest vote, fifteen (still far below the requisite majority of two-thirds); Caraffa came next with

* So says GUICCIARDINI, VI., c. 1.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 196, 197-201.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 200; SANUTO, V., 92; ZURITA, V., c. 47; and Costabili's *Despatch to Card. d'Este of 28th Sept., 1503: Et per Ascanio se he facto grande opera per questa electione. Prima S. Praxede se aproximo al pallio e fu disconcio per S. Petro in vincula. Dopoi corendo molto S. Petro in vincula fu disconcio per Ascanio. State Archives, Modena.

§ According to Roman letters quoted by SANUTO, V., 92, there were three scrutinies. Burchard speaks only of two. Sanuto says: non fu fato scrutinio fino el zuoba (*i.e.*, 21st Sept.) e fu fato uno e S. Praxede fo mejo e S. Piero in vincula li manchava do voti. Ghivizano, the Mantuan Ambassador, says on the contrary that the first scrutiny took place on the 18th; he refers to a communication from the English Ambassador who professed to have had his information from Venice; but Giustinian says nothing about it, at any rate nothing in those of his despatches which reached their destination, and this throws doubt upon the point. Ghivizano's *Despatch of 19th Sept. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Appendix, N. 14.

fourteen, d'Amboise had thirteen, Carvajal twelve, Riario eight.*

Thus no party was in a position to carry the election, and yet the situation was one that demanded a speedy settlement. Both Burchard and the Venetian Ambassador agree in saying that, under these circumstances, Cardinal d'Amboise preferred a candidate whose age and weakness marked him out as a temporary Pope. Antonio Giustinian writes, "As soon as d'Amboise perceived that his own election was out of the question, he determined at any rate to prevent the election of any one not of his choice." Like a prudent man, he swam with the stream,† and on 21st September, acting in concert with Ascanio Sforza, Soderini, and Medici, he proposed the name of the old and ailing Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini.

As the Spanish Cardinals agreed to support him, the matter was decided at once. On the following morning

* There are two lists of the vote taken on 21st Sept. in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 273 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*, and one in SANUTO, V., 93-94, to which may be added that in the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 201. It has not hitherto been noticed that the two lists given by Burchard, the second of which is evidently derived from the first, do not agree with one another, either in the names or the number of votes. There are discrepancies also in the accounts of Sanuto and Giustinian. In BURCHARD, I., Caraffa has fourteen votes; in BURCHARD, II., thirteen. Sanuto and Giustinian give him fourteen. Giuliano della Rovere had, according to BURCHARD, I., fourteen votes; according to BURCHARD, II., Sanuto, and Giustinian, fifteen. All four lists coincide in regard to Carvajal and d'Amboise. Giustinian and Sanuto agree in giving Castro thirteen votes. It is remarkable that Burchard's first list gives Castro eleven votes, and the second none at all! It is possible that the second list given by Burchard is a later interpolation, and this is the more probable, since there is no such second list given for the scrutiny of 22nd Sept., or, later, for the election of Julius II.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 201; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 276.

(22nd September) the election took place,* and Piccolomini was made Pope, taking the name of Pius III. in honour of his uncle.†

"It is impossible to express the joy of the people of Rome at Piccolomini's election," writes the Mantuan Envoy on the 22nd September, and the representative of Venice says, "The previous life of the new Pope, marked by numerous deeds of kindness and charity, lead the people to hope that his Pontificate will be the exact opposite to that of Alexander VI., and thus they are beside themselves with joy."‡ This general rejoicing was fully justified. All his contemporaries agree in saying that the personal character and abilities of the new Pope were of the highest order. He was made a member of the Sacred College in 1460, at an early age, by his uncle Pius II., and the Cardinal of Siena, as Piccolomini was then called, had always distinguished himself by his cultivation of mind, his great ability, and his blameless life. Under Pius II. he had successfully governed the March of Placentia, and in the time of Paul II. had filled the difficult post of Legate in Germany with consummate tact, to the great satisfaction of the then

* The charge of simony is unfounded. *Cf.* CAMBI, XXI., 197; also PICCOLOMINI, Doc. intorno a Pio II. e III., 19, and SÄGMÜLLER, 129.

† See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 276–277; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 199 *seq.*; *cf.* p. 204 on the influence of the Spanish Cardinals in the election. SANUTO, V., 93; ZURITA, 302; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 452; *Report of Ghivizano, dated Rome, 22nd Sept. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The Ferrarese Ambassador, Costabili, in his *Account of the election, makes the remark: "It is to be hoped that the new Pope will prove as satisfactory as we have reason to think." See also *P. S.*: El suo nome è Clemento sexto. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 200, and the *Report of Ghivizano, dated Rome, 22nd Sept., 1503: Quanto sia stata la universale alegreza di tuto questo popolo e corte non saria possibile a dirlo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Pope; the knowledge of German which he had acquired while living in the household of Pius II. being naturally of great assistance to him there. Afterwards, when, owing to the influence of the nephews of Sixtus IV., a worldly spirit predominated at the Court, he, like others of a pious and serious turn of mind, kept away from Rome as much as possible, and still more so in the time of Alexander VI. Like his uncle Pius II., Cardinal Piccolomini was tormented with gout, and was prematurely old and decrepit, although he had led a very regular life. Sigismondo de' Conti especially praises his scrupulous love of order. "He left no moment in the day unoccupied; his time for study was before day-break, he spent his morning in prayer, and his mid-day hours in giving audiences to which the humblest had easy access. He was so temperate in food and drink, that he only allowed himself an evening meal every other day."*

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 291–292. *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 295; IV., 4, 180–181, 414 (Engl. transl.). On the taste for Art displayed by Cardinal Piccolomini, see *supra*, p. 179, note *. As all contemporary authorities agree in representing Pius III. as universally held in the highest esteem as a rule, no modern writer has attempted to impugn his character (for example, see the favourable opinions of historians who do not readily praise a Pope, *e.g.*, SCHRÖCKH, XXXII., 444, and VOIGT, Pius II., I., 531). To his own discredit GREGOROVIUS alone, in Lucrezia Borgia, 270, states that Pius III. is "the happy father of no fewer than twelve children, boys and girls," but he gives no vestige of proof for his assertion. Against Gregorovius, G. PALMIERI NUTI, Lettera di Sigismondo Tizio, remarks in 1877: à propos of Tizio's observation that Pius III. had not squandered the patrimony of S. Peter on war or bastards: E a proposito di questi non so astenermi dallo esternare il dubbio che, forse prestando troppa fede a dicerie referite da cronisti, l'illustre Gregorovius nella sua recente pubblicazione intorno a Lucrezia Borgia abbia attribuito addirittura una dozzina di figli a questo cardinale Piccolomini, assicurando che di ingrandirli e arrhichirli mancò a lui, fatto pontefice, il tempo, non

It is therefore not surprising that all good men were filled with the brightest hopes. "A new light has shone upon us," writes Peter Delphinus, the General of the Camaldolese, "our hearts rejoice, and our eyes are filled with tears because God our Lord has had mercy on His people and has given them a Chief Shepherd who is a holy man, innocent, and of untarnished name. Our deep sorrow has been turned to joy, and a day of sunshine has followed a night of storm. We are all filled with the highest hopes

l'intenzione. Il Tizio, contemporaneo, intimo della famiglia, un po' gattiva lingua (as he says of himself) e certo non troppo parziale di papa Pio, perchè, lo dice da sè, dovè partirsi di casa Piccolomini per suo respecto, qui gli dà lode di non essersi tinto di tal pece, a quei tempi, con scandalo universale, pur troppo commune. In spite of this, BROSCH, Julius II., 93, and, following him, CREIGHTON, IV., 57, disregarding altogether the testimony of Tizio, have no scruple in repeating the serious charges made by Gregorovius without troubling themselves about evidence at all! In the face of such injustice it will not appear superfluous to refer the reader to the numerous passages testifying in favour of Cardinal Piccolomini that are to be found in AMMANATI'S letters (Epist. 462, in Pii II. Comment. [Francof., 1614], pp. 776-777); in SENAREGA, 578, and in the words used by GASPAR VERONENSIS (1030), who certainly is not behindhand as a rule in bringing charges against Cardinals, but speaks of Cardinal Piccolomini as *moribus senex*. *Cf.* also the expressions of his contemporaries, cited on opposite p., as well as the testimony of the Venetian Envoy, H. Donato, in the year 1499 in SANUTO, II., 836. The stern moralist, CAMBI, XXI., 197, calls him, "Uomo di bona fama." So GUICCIARDINI in his St. Fiorentini (Op. ined., III., 306), calls the Pope "uomo vecchio e di buoni costumi qualità." Aegidius of Viterbo, the stern censor of all worldliness, says of Pius III.: Sacri senatus lux et gloria diu habitus. Hist viginti saecul. (Cod., c. 8, 19, fol. 312, in the Angelica Library in Rome). In order to be sure on this point I have, through my friend A. Giorgetti, asked the opinion of M. Bandinelli Piccolomini at Siena, the best authority on the family history of the Piccolomini. He assures me there is no evidence whatever for the assertion of Gregorovius; on the contrary, he has found in the State Archives of Siena numberless letters of contemporary writers all attesting the blameless reputation of Pius III.

for the reform of the Church, and the return of peace." "God be thanked that the government of the Church has been entrusted to such a man, who is so manifestly a storehouse of all virtues and the abode of the Holy Spirit of God. Under his care the Lord's vineyard will no more bring forth thorns and thistles, but will stretch out its fruitful branches to the ends of the earth."*

"The misery of the past, the marred countenance of the Church, the scourge of God's righteous anger, are still before my eyes," writes Cosimo de' Pozzi, Bishop of Arezzo, on the 28th of September, 1502, to the newly-elected Pontiff. "When all hope of release seemed shut away, God has given us in you a Pope whose wisdom, culture, and learning, whose religious education and virtuous life, has filled all good and God-fearing men with consolation. Now we can all hope for a new era in the history of the Church."†

The earliest acts of Pius III. corresponded with these expectations. In an assembly of the Cardinals, which took place on the 25th of September, he made it clear that his chief aim was to be the reform of the Church and the restoration of the peace of Christendom. He said the reform must extend to the Pope himself, the Cardinals, the whole Court and all the Papal officials, and that the Council must be summoned to meet at the earliest date possible. The news soon spread through all the countries of Europe, and in Germany encouraged the Archbishop of Mayence, Berthold von Henneberg, to draw up a memorial, setting forth the reforms that he considered necessary for the Church in that country.‡ The Pope also made excellent regulations

* *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, and P. DELPHINI, Oratiunculae, p. XI.

† See Appendix, N. 15, for the original of this letter, which I found in the Library of S. Mark at Venice.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, 208; ZURITA, V., c. 47; BURCHARD

for the better government of the immediate possessions of the Holy See, and was extremely economical in his expenditure.*

Pius III. was eager to secure peace at any cost, and precisely for that reason he did not succeed in doing so. The inheritance bequeathed to him by the Borgia was of a nature to frustrate all his endeavours. On the 26th of September the Pope said to the Venetian Envoy, "In consequence of the pressure put upon me by the Spanish Cardinals, I have been compelled to issue some Briefs in favour of Cæsar Borgia, but I will not give him any further help. I do not intend to be a warlike, but a peace-loving Pope."† He certainly had no sympathy for the Borgia family, especially for Cæsar, and he found that the Vatican had been robbed on all sides, and that the Apostolic Treasury was grievously in debt. But hatred was utterly foreign to his mild and gentle temper. "I wish no harm to the Duke," he said, "for it is the duty of a Pope to have loving-kindness for all, but I foresee that he will come to a bad end by the judgment of God."‡

He was not wrong in his forecast. The whole power of the Borgia family, built up by cunning, treachery, and bloodshed, which threatened at one time to swallow up the States of the Church, came to an untimely end.

With the departure of the French army for Naples, Cæsar lost his last refuge. Bartolomeo d'Alviano was hurrying from Venice with fierce threats of vengeance,

Diarium, III., 279. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 17, and WEISS, Berthold von Henneberg, 20.

* See *Despatches of the Mantuan Envoy, dated Rome, 5th and 9th Oct., 1503. In the first of these he says: "Alla Sta di N. S. è a core che le cita e terre quale sono restate alla Sede Ap. siano bene gubernate et con justitia et integritate." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 208–209; *cf.* ULMANN, II., 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 207.

and the Orsini and Savelli were preparing to close upon him at once. He saw that it was impossible for him to remain at Nepi. Not yet completely recovered from his illness, he entreated the gentle Pius to allow him to return to Rome. "I never thought," said the Pope to the Ferrarese Envoy, "that I should feel any pity for the Duke, and yet I do most deeply pity him. The Spanish Cardinals have interceded for him. They tell me he is very ill, and wishes to come and die in Rome, and I have given him permission."* When Cæsar arrived there on the 3rd of October his entire army had dwindled down to 650 men. The state of his health was certainly not satisfactory, but by no means so bad as had been represented to the Pope. Many people in Rome, especially the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Riario, were exceedingly dissatisfied with Pius for having allowed him to come back. On the 7th of October, speaking to the Venetian Envoy, the Pope apologised for his leniency by saying, "I am neither a saint nor an angel, but only a man, and liable to err. I have been deceived."†

The date of the Coronation of the new Pope was fixed for the 8th of October; it was attended by a vast concourse of people.‡ Before the Coronation, Pius, who hitherto had only been a deacon, received priestly and episcopal Orders. The long ceremonies were a great strain on the strength of the Pope, who was suffering from gout, and had only lately undergone a painful operation on his leg. He said Mass sitting, and on account

* Despatch of Costabili of 2nd Oct. in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 13, ed. 3. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 218.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 226; *cf.* 219, 221, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 279.

‡ So Costabili reports in his *Letter of 8th Oct., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

of his weakness the formal entry into the Lateran was put off till later.*

Although the state of the Pope's health in the next few days got rather worse than better, he still held numerous audiences, took counsel on the 9th of October with the various Ambassadors, as to the measures to be adopted in case of an invasion of the States of the Church by Bartolomeo d'Alviano, and held a long Consistory on the 11th of October, in which he went carefully into the questions of the appointment of new Cardinals and the unquiet state of the city.† Bartolomeo d'Alviano, Giampaolo Baglione, and many of the Orsini were there, and, together with the Cardinals Giuliano della Rovere and Riario, were insisting on the disbandment of Cæsar's army; otherwise, they said, they would take up arms themselves.‡ Overtures to the Orsini were made both by the French and the Spaniards. With the single exception of Giovanni Giordano they decided, out of hatred to the Duke, to treat with the Spanish party, and allied themselves with the Colonna. On the 12th of October the reconciliation between these two houses, hitherto always at enmity, was openly announced.§ Cæsar was now at the end of all his resources. It was rumoured that he had fled with Cardinal d'Amboise, but the latter shewed no inclination to

* On the idealised coronation of Pius III., represented later in a fresco by Pinturicchio in Siena (*cf.* the inscription by FALUSCHI, 15), *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 280 *seq.*; *Despatch of Costabili, 10th Oct., 1503 (State Archives, Modena); *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives. On the operation that the Pope had undergone, see Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 212, and SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 292.

† See Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 226, 228, and 251, and the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 11th Oct. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 237.

§ *Ibid.*, III., 237, and BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 284.

draw down on himself the hatred attached to the Borgia family, and on the 15th of October, forsaken by all, he attempted to flee from Rome to escape the vengeance of the Orsini. Hardly, however, had he left the precincts of the Vatican when the greater part of his men deserted him, and with a following of not more than seventy he had to return to his house. The Orsini demanded that the Pope should have him arrested, in order that he might not elude the results of the legal proceedings about to be instituted against him. The Venetian Ambassador describes Bartolomeo d'Alviano as raging like a mad dog; he had set a guard at every gate that the Duke might not escape him.*

But the Pope was not in a state to comply with the demands of the Orsini, for on the 13th of October he was lying on his death-bed.† Hence the Orsini determined to take the matter into their own hands, and arrest him themselves. Cæsar fled, by means of the secret passage, to the Castle of St. Angelo as they were storming the Borgo. The Spanish Cardinals had planned his escape disguised as a monk, but the Orsini had completely invested the Castle. Here where once his enemies had trembled before him, sat the man whose hand, a few months earlier, had been almost within grasp of the crown of Central Italy, cowering in hopeless terror with only two or three servants by his side.‡

In the meantime the Pope's end was approaching. On the 15th of October the doctors had thought his case serious, on account of his weakness and his great age. As the fever never for an instant left him, by the 17th his condition was hopeless.§

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 237, 244–245.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 284; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 240.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 249.

§ In addition to Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 243, 249, *cf.* the

His faculties remained clear, and his mind calm. Although he did not himself believe the end to be so near, yet he received the Viaticum on the 17th of October for the second time during his illness, and on the following night the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. All who surrounded him were touched and edified by his devotion.* Tranquil and resigned, he fell asleep on the evening of the 18th of October.†

*Reports of Costabili of Oct. 16th (la febre non lascia el papa da veneri in qua in modo che della vita di S. S^ta^ se ne dubita per le medici grandemente) and 17th (State Archives, Modena), and G. L. Cataneo's *Report of 16th Oct. (El papa è pegiorato), as well as two *Despatches from him of the 17th Oct. (El papa è abandonato in tuto de salute, and El papa è abandonato da tuti de la vita sua). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 252; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 285.

† Authorities differ as to the exact hour of his death. Ghivizano and G. L. Cataneo in their *Despatches of 18th Oct. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) say eight o'clock. Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 253; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 285, and the Notar de Masiis in GORI, Archivio, IV., 244 (with a wrong date), say ten o'clock. The statement of MALAVOLTI, Istoria de' Sanesi, VIII., 3, that Pope Pius III. was poisoned by Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena, is given also in a contemporary Chronicle, Cod., LIII., 12, in the Barberini Library in Rome, but without the name of the murderer. NOVAES, VI., 130, is inclined to give credit to this, but against it we have the fact that none of the Ambassadors who were in Rome at the time mention it. *Cf.* PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 455. Pius III. was buried next to Pius II., near the Chapel of S. Andrew in S. Peter's. His brothers Giacomo and Andrea had a dispute about the funeral expenses. (*Cf.* the document in PICCOLOMINI, Documenti, 39-43.) When the Basilica was rebuilt under Paul V., Cardinal Alessandro Montalto had the tomb removed to S. Andrea della Valle, where it was placed opposite to that of Pius II. (SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 293-325; MAI, Spicil., IX., 263.) The pompous inscription is of a later date. In his will Piccolomini had left a very simple and modest epitaph. See PICCOLOMINI, Documenti, 41, n. 2. Also see p. 20 about the beautiful ring possessed by Pius III. which now belongs to Prince Corsini and is preserved in the National Museum at Florence.

"The death of this Pope," wrote the Ambassador of Ferrara on 19th October, "will be lamented at all the courts of Europe, for he was by universal consent held to be good, prudent, and pious. In spite of the rainy weather at the time all Rome hastened to kiss the feet of the dead Pope, whose features were quite unaltered. People think that he died of the labours of the Pontificate, which were too heavy for his already enfeebled health. The night before his election he did not sleep at all, and since then he has had no rest. He was continually giving audience to the Cardinals; then came the fatiguing ceremonies of his consecration and coronation. On the previous Wednesday a long Consistory was held, the Pope remaining conscientiously to the end. On the Friday he gave some very long audiences; kept the abstinence and ate fish, although he had taken medicine only the day before. Then he got the fever, which never left him till he died."* As the Siennese, Sigismondo Tizio, says, "The death of Pius III. was a great loss to the Church, to the city of Rome, and to us all, but perhaps we deserved no less for our sins."†

"We hear of nothing but the election of the new Pope," wrote the Mantuan Ambassador on the day of Pius III.'s death, "but it is very difficult to say which name will come out of the urn."‡ Eight days later the question was decided.

He left 100 ducats, 300 volumes of his library, and the chalice which when Pope he had used every day, to the German Hospice del Anima. KIRCHBAUMER, 19–20.

* See Appendix, N. 16, the *Report of Costabili of 19th Oct., 1503, in the State Archives, Modena. *Cf.* also the *Despatch of Ghivizano of 15th Oct., 1503. Every one at the Court lamented la morte e perdita de un tanto homo dal quale si sperava grand^m bene per s^ta chiesa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† NUTI, Lettera di Sigismondi Tizio, 15.

‡ Qui non si attende altro cha a le pratiche del nuovo pontefice; mal

Burchard relates that one Sunday, the 29th of October, 1503, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere and the other Spanish Cardinals with Cæsar Borgia assembled in the Papal Palace, and drew up an Election-capitulation in which, among other things, Cardinal Giuliano undertook if he were made Pope to appoint Cæsar standard-bearer to the Church, and to allow him to retain all his possessions, Cæsar on his part undertaking to support the Pope in all things. All the Spanish Cardinals promised to vote for Giuliano at the election.*

Thus, by means of Cæsar's help, against whom the Orsini now no longer dared to attempt anything, and supported by the Spanish Cardinals, Giuliano, according to the best informed diplomatists, was nearer than ever to attaining the highest dignity.† All that was now needed was to

se po indicare in che mon il debba caschare. Hozi questi rev^mi^ cardinal fanno congregatione in S. Petro; se extima se afrezarano presto per far un novo papa. Despatch of Ghivizano, Rome, 18th Oct., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 293. See also the Despatch of Machiavelli of 4th Nov., 1503. *Cf.* Opere ed. Passerini, II., 214; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 271; and LEOPARDI, Bonafede, p. 58 *seq.* The *Despatches of the Ferrarese Envoy Costabili are also interesting. On 21st Oct., 1503, he writes: "The Spanish Cardinals do not intend to be poor when they come out of the Conclave." On 24th Oct.: "Va crescendo la opinione per S. Petro in vincula il quale fa ogni cosa per havere per se Spagnoli. Napoli anchora è in miglior opinione al presente del solito. De Ascanio ancora se judica bene. Tutta volta qui se dice per proverbio: Chi intra in conclavi papa, ne esce cardinale." On 26th Oct.: Attendono ale pratiche del papato maxime Rohano, Napoli. S. Petro, S. Praxede Ascanio. (State Archives, Modena.) Ghivizano writes on 29th Oct., 1503: *Il rev. S. Petro ad vincula me pare anchor lui esser in bonissima disposition, ma starsene pare piu sobrio e cum animo piu altero secondo il solito suo. And in a second letter on the same day, *Domani intrano in conclavi; extimase S. Petro ad vincula intrarli papa, se non lui S. Praxedia. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 271. Costabili also says in a

secure the majority of two-thirds. Giuliano, whom the popular voice seemed to indicate as the only possible Pope, was as unscrupulous as any of his colleagues in the means which he employed.* Where promises and persuasions were unavailing, he did not hesitate to have recourse to bribery.†

Before the Conclave began Giuliano already had on his side the majority of the Italian Cardinals, the Venetians in compliance with the wishes of their government, Cæsar Borgia, and the Spaniards, and, what was still more important,‡ the French party and d'Amboise with them, who before had threatened to create a schism, yet now, like Ascanio Sforza, turned to adore the rising sun.§

*Despatch of 30th Oct., 1503, "Giuliano will certainly be Pope, for he has gained the Spaniards." State Archives, Modena.

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 255, 262, and Machiavelli's Despatch of 30th Oct. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, 14.

† SÄGMÜLLER, 133, says it seems probable that the election of Julius II. was simoniacal; I should say rather it was certain. The Ferrarese Envoy Costabili, in his *Despatch of 1st Nov., 1503 (State Archives, Modena, French translation in PETRUCELLI, I., 464), makes this more clear than A. Giustinian and Machiavelli, as he furnishes the exact amounts of the bribes given to the different electors. *Cf.* also the *Despatch of Costabili of 30th Oct., cited *supra*. There is no doubt that what Priuli says of the bribing of the Spanish Cardinals is true. See GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 17, ed. 3, also *supra*. But the report of Cardinal Adriano da Corneto to Henry VII., 4th Jan., 1504 (GAIRDNER, II., 112), which says that very few of the electors were quite unimpeachable in the matter, is more universally received. Of the innumerable promises made by Giuliano, Costabili writes in a *Despatch (partly in cypher) of 8th Nov., 1503, (Rohano) poi me subiunse formaliter credo che S. S^ta^ (in cypher) habi promesso tanto in questa sua electione (cypher) che h' haria da fare asai ad observalo. State Archives, Modena.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 276. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, 288.

§ *Cf. Ibid.*, II., 258, 271, and, corroborating him, Machiavelli. See HEIDENHEIMER, 12.

When, on the 30th of October, the Orsini and Savelli had been induced to withdraw from Rome, the preparations for the Conclave were complete and it began on the following day. On the 31st of October, Giuliano, with thirty-seven other Cardinals,* entered it, practically as Pope-elect.† Not many hours later his election was an accomplished fact, and on the following morning, 1st November, the decision of the Conclave, which had been the shortest known in all the long history of the Papacy, was formally announced.‡

Contemporary writers without exception express the greatest astonishment at the almost unanimous election of one who, like Giuliano, was hated by many and feared by all.§ Sigismondo de' Conti notices as a curious fact that the second successor of Alexander VI. was a Cardinal who had been persecuted by the Borgia.‖ The Roman people accorded a hearty welcome to the new Pope, who took the title of Julius II., and still greater was the rejoicing

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 291. According to this, REUMONT, II., 8, and VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 388, who give thirty-five, are in error, as also CIPOLLA, 796, and BROSCH, 97, who give thirty-six as the number.

† Tommaso Foschi writes in a *Letter, dated 31st Oct., 1503: Quella si tegno per firmo che sel conclavi dura oltra dui di le cose del Vincula haveranno garbuglio perche del mo[mento] che lo è intrato in conclavi ogni homo tenue per certo che al primo scrutinio lo habbia ad esser electo et bene valeat Ex. V. State Archives, Modena.

‡ BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 294 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 294 *seq.*; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 273–275; and *Acta Consist., f. 16. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) All the Envoys forwarded their reports on 31st Oct.; both Giustinian and Ghivizano wrote to the Marquess of Mantua. The latter says: *A questhora che sono cinque S. Petro in vincula he stato publicato papa Julio secondo el quale intro fato in conclavi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ P. DELPHINI, Oratiunculae, XVIII., should be added to the list in HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 13–14.

‖ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 293.

in Liguria, his native province.* Francesco Guidiccioni, writing on 2nd November, 1503, from Rome to Ferrara, says: "People here expect the reign of Julius II. to be glorious, peaceful, genial, and free-handed. The Roman people, usually so addicted to plunder, are behaving so quietly that every one is in astonishment. We have a Pope who will be both loved and feared."†

After his election the Pope confirmed once more the Election-capitulation. Amongst its conditions were the prosecution of the war against the Turks, and the restoration of discipline in the Church. To this end it stipulated that a General Council should be summoned within two years, that the Pope should not make war against any of the Powers without the consent of two-thirds of the Cardinals, and that the Sacred College should be consulted on all important occasions, especially in the choice of new Cardinals. In order to secure the freedom and safety of the next Council the place of meeting was to be determined by the Pope and two-thirds of the Cardinals, and in case any hindrance to its meeting should be alleged, this must be proved to the satisfaction of a similar majority.‡

The motives of the Cardinals in framing this capitulation, which so unduly and unlawfully limited the rights of the

* SENAREGA, 578; OLIVIERI, Carte, p. 1, Stor. Genovese, 9; Atti di Soc. Savon., I., 437 *seq.*, 452. See also p. 434 *seq.*, 440 *seq.*, 448 on the Pope's affection for his native province.

† *Vienne extimato sara lo suo pontificato molto glorioso, pacifico et ameno et non meno liberale. Questo populo assueto ad latrocinii et rubarie tanto modificatemente se ne è deputato che è una maraviglia. Lo ameranno et temeranno parimente. State Archives, Modena.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 3-9; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 306. SCHEUERL, in his Chronicle, states that the Election-capitulation was communicated to all the Princes of Christendom. HÖFLER, Zur Kritik, II., 59.

Pope, were no purer than formerly.* Certain of its provisions, as for example the one requiring the consent of two-thirds of the Cardinals before a declaration of war, were utterly unreasonable and impracticable, as a glance at the political state of Italy at the time will shew. In the South, Spain had taken possession of Naples and Sicily; in the North, France was constantly struggling to extend her influence, while Venice at the same time was attacking the possessions of the Holy See in the Romagna. "Both as a Pope and as an Italian, Julius II. found himself in a most difficult position. To remain a passive spectator of this scene of seething confusion would have been a clear dereliction of duty in a ruler and still more in a Pope. To prevent himself from being overwhelmed by circumstances and falling helplessly into the clutches of one or other of the great Powers, it was indispensable that Julius should act at once and with decision, and if necessary take the sword into his own hands;" † and for this he was admirably fitted.

The Pope's countrymen were wont to say that he had the soul of an Emperor,‡ and his outward appearance was distinguished, grave, and dignified. The deep-set eager eyes, compressed lips, pronounced nose, and massive, rather than handsome head, denoted a strongly-marked and powerful personality.§ His scanty hair was nearly white, but the fire of youth glowed beneath the snows of age. From his florid complexion and erect carriage, no

* *Cf.* Vol. IV., 9–10, of this work.

† ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287.

‡ Caesareus animus, he is called, in the Letter of congratulation on his election from Genoa, printed in the Atti d. Soc. Sav., I., 437.

§ On the medal portraits of Julius II., see Jahrb. der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, II., 8-9; III., 140. There are excellent reproductions of the medal of Caradosso in "Le Vatican." On the portrait by Raphael, see *infra*, Chap. 10.

one would have guessed that the new Pope was already on the threshold of old age. Still less was there any trace of declining years in his general demeanour. Restless, and ever in motion,* ceaselessly active and perpetually occupied with some great design, self-willed and passionate† to the highest degree, he was often extremely trying to those who were brought in contact with him.

The Venetian Ambassadors speak of the Pope as extremely acute, but terribly violent and difficult to deal with. "He has not the patience to listen quietly to what you say to him, and to take men as he finds them. But those who know how to manage him, and whom he trusts, say that his *will* is always good. No one has any influence over him, and he consults few, or none.‡ One cannot count upon him, for he changes his mind from hour to hour. Anything that he has been thinking of overnight has to be carried out immediately the next morning, and he insists on doing everything himself. It is almost impossible to describe how strong and violent and difficult to manage he is. In body and soul he has the nature of a giant.§ Everything about him is on a magnified scale,

* See Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 38.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, II., 730; VII., 32; PARIS DE GRASSIS, 280, ed Frati. Ariosto, who was in danger of being included in the wrath of Pope Julius II. against the Duke of Ferrara, playfully alludes to this in the well-known verses of his first satire:—

> Andar più a Roma in posta non accade,
> A placar la grand' ira di Secondo.

‡ P. Capello in his narrative of the year 1510 in SANUTO, X., 73. *Cf.* GRUMELLO, 130.

§ See the extracts from the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador, G. Lippomano, and of P. Capello in SANUTO, XI., 722, 725, 729, 730, 741, 746, 772-773, 781, 843; XII., 12, 32; XIV., 482. *Cf.* the Report of the Orvieto Envoy in FUMI, Carteggio, 151, and D. Trevizano's

both his undertakings and passions. His impetuosity and his temper annoy those who live with him, but he inspires fear rather than hatred, for there is nothing in him that is small or meanly selfish."* Everything had to bow to his iron will, even his own poor gout-tormented body. "He had no moderation either in will or conception; whatever was in his mind must be carried through, even if he himself were to perish in the attempt."†

The impression produced on his contemporaries by this mighty scion of the Renaissance is summarised by them in the Italian word "terribile," which could only be rendered in English by a string of adjectives.‡ Julius II. applied

narrative of the year 1510, modernised and not always quite accurate, in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 29 *seq.* It is better given in SANUTO, X., 77 *seq.* The description of Julius II. here is: "Il papa è sagaze, gran pratichon, a anni 65, a mal vechio, e gote tamen è prosperoso, fa gran faticha, niun pol con lui, alde tutti, ma far quello li par. È venuto (*sic*) e di la bocha e di altro per voler viver piu moderato. Instead of è venuto Alberi writes, *è ritenuto*; RANKE (Lives of the Popes, Vol. III., App. 8, ed. 6). *È tenuto*, as he remarks, "I understand that people think it would be better if he were more moderate in eating and drinking and in every other respect."

* SPRINGER, Rafael und Michelangelo, 101. *Cf.* Inghirami in FEA, Notizie, 54.

† MOCENIGO, Lib. IV.; HAVEMANN, II., 349. On his gout see PARIS DE GRASSIS, 369, ed. Döllinger.

‡ The common translation of "terribile," "fearful" (given in REUMONT, III., 2, 388) is not correct. GRIMM, Michaelangelo, II., 532, ed. 5, says truly that Vasari in the adjective *fiero* means to give the impression of something out of the common; "there is no question of good or bad in the matter, but just as with the word *terribile* used by him with the same meaning, and really as the superlative of *fiero*, he intends to imply that which creates astonishment by its mighty individuality." *Cf.* VISCHER, Signorelli, 200 *seq.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 110, ed. 3, had already remarked, "This Pope is, as a man, one of the most original figures in the Renaissance period, so rich in powerful personalities." "The word Italians have for such natures is *terribile.* It is *magnanimo* with the

this term himself to Michael Angelo, but it suits the Pope quite as well as the painter. Both were extraordinary and Titanic natures, in stature beyond that of ordinary men, and such as no other age has produced. Both possessed an unusual strength of will, indomitable courage and perseverance, and great strategic abilities.

The life of Julius II. had hitherto been one of incessant combat and hard work, and these things had become necessary to him. He belonged to that class of men who cannot rest, whose natural element is perpetual activity. At the same time, he was by no means unsusceptible to feelings of a gentler kind. He was deeply affected and shed tears as he watched the funeral procession of his sister Lucchina in May, 1509.*

Julius II. can only be called a diplomatist by using the word in a very restricted sense. If he did not altogether despise the arts of statecraft so universally practised in his day, and could at a pinch resort to dissimulation,† he was by nature sincere and plain-spoken, and often his language overstepped all due bounds in its rudeness and violence. This fault increased perceptibly as he grew older.‡ In the beginning of his Pontificate he was able to restrain his expressions within the limits of diplomatic form; later on, in speaking of the Emperor Maximilian, he permitted himself to use the most contemptuous and injurious terms without the least reserve.§ Disguise of any kind was

added meaning of strong personality." I found the expression *terribile* used of Julius II., and most frequently in the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador, G. Lippomano, in SANUTO, XI., 725 (a cuor e animo terribile). 772 (a cuor terribile in ogni casso), 778 (non stima ni fredo ni neve; natura terribile).

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, 390, ed. Döllinger; *cf.* 386.

† *Cf. infra*, Chaps. 2 and 7.

‡ MAULDE, La Diplomatie, III., 21 *seq.*

§ See the Venetian Reports in SANUTO, X., 79 (l'imperador lo stima

contrary to his nature. Any idea which laid hold of his mind engrossed him entirely; you could see it in his face, his lips quivered to utter it. "It will kill me," he would say, "if I don't let it out."*

Paris de Grassis, his Master of Ceremonies, who has handed on to us so many characteristic features of his master's life, says that he hardly ever jested.† He was generally absorbed in deep and silent thought, and thus Raphael has painted him. The plans concocted in these uncommunicative hours were announced with volcanic abruptness and carried out with iron determination. His bitterest opponents could not deny his greatness—he was a man of spontaneous impulses carrying everything before them, himself and others, a true Roman.

Doubtless such a nature was in itself more suited to be a King or a warrior, than a priest, "but he was the right Pope for that time, to save Rome from becoming a second Avignon with all its disastrous consequences for the Church."‡

To Julius II. the restoration, consolidation, and extension of the temporal possessions of the Church presented itself as the prime necessity of the moment, and to this he devoted himself with all the energy of his choleric temperament and strong practical genius. A new monarchy must be created which should command respect abroad, be the rallying point of the Italian States, and secure the freedom and independence of the Church. The Pope must no longer be dependent upon

infantem nudum) and p. 72 (dice è una bestia, merita piu presto esser recto e rezudo che rezer altri).

* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 214, to which we may add the powerful description of him by CARPESANUS, V., 19.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 261.

‡ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287.

the support of this Power or that, but must be able himself to control the political situation.*

The aim which he set before himself from the first was to revive the temporal power of the Papacy, and to establish the independence of the Holy See on a firm basis by the creation of a strong ecclesiastical State. Fearlessly confronting the hindrances which the evil rule of the Borgia had put in his way, shrinking from no sacrifices, and ready to employ any means, he threw the whole strength of his will into this one endeavour. This he pursued with unwearied persistence and clear insight to his very last breath, and thus became the "Saviour of the Papacy." †

Even Guicciardini, much as he hated the state policy of Julius II., is forced to admit that he had no private or selfish desires.‡ "Although in his youth he had lived very much as the other prelates of that day did, and was by no means scrupulous, he devoted himself to the exaltation and welfare of the Church with a whole-heartedness and courage which were very rare in the age in which he was born. Without neglecting his relations, he never sacrificed the interests of either the State or the Church to them, or carried his nepotism beyond due bounds. In all his ways and aims, as well as in his stormy and fervid character, he was the exact contrary of the Borgia." §

His dislike of this family was so strong that on the 26th of November, 1507, he announced that he would no longer inhabit the Appartamento Borgia, as he could not

* Il papa vol esser il dominus e maistro dil mondo, says Trevisano in his narrative of the year 1510 in SANUTO, X., 80.

† See BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 111, ed. 3.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, XI., c. 4.

§ VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 389. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 101.

bear to be constantly reminded by the fresco portraits of Alexander of "those Marañas of cursed memory."* The Bull in which, in the year 1504, Julius II. took the Duchy of Sermoneta away from Rodrigo Borgia and restored it to the Gaetani, contains even more severe language than this in condemnation of his predecessor. In the same year he reinvested Giovanni Sforza, who had returned to Pesaro immediately after Alexander's death, with the fiefdom of that place. He also gave back their castles to the Colonna and Orsini.†

The contrast between Julius II. and Alexander is equally manifest in the way in which the former treated his relations. He wholly repudiated the system of nepotism, and though he was not free from a natural partiality for his own blood, comparatively speaking he did very little for them. Even on his death-bed he steadily refused to admit a near kinsman to the College of Cardinals, whom he did not consider worthy. "His nephew Francesco Maria was heir presumptive of Urbino and to him he granted, with the consent of the College of Cardinals, the Vicariate of Pesaro, formerly a fief of the Sforzas (Giovanni Sforza died in 1510), and this was the only portion of the States which he ever withdrew from the immediate rule of the Holy See."‡ On the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, 383, ed. Döllinger. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Les Historiens de Raphael, 131-132. YRIARTE, Autour des Borgia, 72, thinks that De Grassis lays too much stress on this incident.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 397-398, ed. 3, with the correction in BALAN, V., 442. See also RATTI, I., 164.

‡ REUMONT, III., 2, 44; RATTI, I., 169 *seq.*; *cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 71. MACHIAVELLI says of Julius II. (Principe, c. 11): fece ogni cosa per acrescere la Chiesa, non alcun privato. Brosch does not altogether exonerate Julius II. from nepotism, but here again he exaggerates. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 323. Besides, Brosch admits in another place (p. 113) that Julius was more moderate in the favours shewn to his

2nd of March, 1505, Francesco Maria was married by procuration to Leonora, daughter of the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga. Julius took no part in the wedding festivities at the Vatican, excusing himself on the ground of decorum.*

Out of the twenty-seven Cardinals whom Julius II. created, only a very small number were relations of his own, and none of these had any influence, although the Pope was extremely fond of Galeotto della Rovere. This Cardinal was a man of refined culture, the son of the Pope's sister Lucchina by her first marriage with Franciotto of Lucca. He was raised to the Cardinalate on the 29th of November, 1503. At the same time François Guillaume de Clermont, Archbishop of Auch, Juan de Zuniga, and Clemente Grosso della Rovere were nominated.† Galeotto, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1505, held a large number of benefices in accordance with the evil custom of the times, "but he made a noble use of his large revenues." Artists and men of learning found in him a most generous patron.‡ "He understood

relations than was customary at the time. In contradiction to the exaggerations of Brosch, his critic in the article in the Allg. Zeitung (1878), No. 73, Suppl., remarks justly that Julius II. always acted primarily in the interests of the Papal Chair.

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 39, ed. 3; *cf.* LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 157, 164.

† On the creation of Cardinals of 29th Nov., 1503 (not 22nd Nov. as Paris de Grassis says in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 20), see *Acta Consist., f. 16 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 309, 311; CARDELLA, 307 *seq.* With the *Letter of Francesco Guidiccioni, dated Rome, 29th Nov., 1503, *cf.* the *Report of Costabili of 4th Dec., 1503, both in the State Archives, Modena. The Cardinal's hat was given to Zuniga on the 24th of Feb., 1504. See the *Brief of that date to him in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 25. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 40, ed. 3 *Cf.* CIACONIUS, III., 252 *seq.*;

how to soothe his uncle in his violent moods by his tact and gentleness." He was an intimate friend of Cardinal Medici (afterwards Leo X.), whose tastes were similar to his own, and who, even as Cardinal, was lavish in his liberality to artists and scholars.*

The second nomination of Cardinals under Julius II. was preceded by tedious negotiations, for the majority of the College, from self-interested motives, did not wish their number to be increased.† The Pope, however, insisted, and the Cardinals then endeavoured to persuade him at least to defer it.‡ But Julius held that it was absolutely necessary to fill up the vacancies, as in the year 1504 alone six had died.§ The College still continued its resistance, but the Envoys were convinced that the Pope would conquer. They thought the creation would take place on the 28th of November, 1505.‖

On the 1st December, after a long and stormy discussion, the Consistory having lasted eight hours, Julius carried his point so far as to have it arranged that in the approach-

L. DE VILLENEUVE, Recherches sur la famille de la Rovere. Contribution pour servir à l'histoire du P. Jules II., 42 *seq.*, 68 *seq.* (Rome, 1887); AMBROSIUS, B. Mantuanus, 78; CIAN, Cortegiano, 180; Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IX., 115. The lucrative and important office of Vice-Chancellor (see Vol. III. of this work, p. 459) was given to Galeotto after the death of Ascanio Sforza in June 1505. See *Lib. brev. 22, f. 330b. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Galeotto was also made Legate of Bologna. *Cf.* the *Letter of Julius II. to Bologna, dated Rome, 26th May, 1504. State Archives, Bologna.

* ALBERTINI, VIII.–IX., ed. Schmarsow. Further particulars of Leo X. as a patron of Art will be found in our forthcoming vol.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 287, 305, 309, 413, 462.

‡ See *Consistoralia Raph. Riarii Card. s. Georgii in Cod. J., III., 89, f. 77, in the Chigi Library.

§ PANVINIUS, 348, 349.

‖ Brognolo's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 28th Nov., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ing Ember week nine out of ten candidates whom he had proposed should receive the Red-hat.* The official nomination and publication took place in the Consistory of the 12th of November.†

The new Cardinals were: Marco Vigerio, Bishop of Sinigaglia; Robert Challand, Bishop of Rennes, and French Ambassador in Rome; Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, the brother of Cardinal Clementi; Antonio Ferreri, Bishop of Gubbio; Francesco Alidosi, Bishop of Pavia; Gabriello dei Gabrielli, Bishop of Urbino; Fazio Santori, Bishop of Cesena; Carlo Domenico di Carretto, Count of Finale; and Sigismondo Gonzaga. With the exception of the last

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 408 *seq.*; Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 41–42, and DÖLLINGER'S edition, 368 *seq.* See also, p. 371, the story of how J. Burchard tried by trickery to get made a Cardinal. Grassis is, however, so very bitter against Burchard (*ob.* 26th May, 1506), and speaks against him so much, that what he says is not to be trusted. See, further, *Acta Consist., f. 18, here the names are given of the twenty-five Cardinals who at last gave their consent to the new creation. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican); SANUTO, VI., 252, 262, 265 *seq.*, 268, 269; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 342 *seq.*; Report of the Ferrarese Embassy, Rome, 4th Dec., 1505 (State Archives, Modena); SCHEURL, Briefbuch,, 11 *seq.*; Alidosi's Letter in FANTI, Imola, 12–13. Girolamo Arsago in a *Letter dated Rome, 24th Nov., 1505, privately sent to F. Gonzaga a list of those who were to be made Cardinals at Christmas. Brognolo in a *Despatch of 1st Dec., mentions the nomination of Sigismondo Gonzaga. (Both letters are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) There is also a *Letter of congratulation from "Cardinal S. Praxedis" to the Marquess, dat. Romae in aedibus nostris Campi Martii, 1st Dec., 1505. The Pope himself, in a *Letter written on 1st Dec. to the Duke of Urbino, mentions the nomination of Sigismondo. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 410. *Cf.* also Appendix, Nos. 47, 48, the two *Briefs of 1st and 24th Dec., 1505, to Queen Anne of France. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 43; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 409 *seq.*; *Acta Consist., f. 18. CARDELLA, 311, says 11th of Dec.

named, they were all in Rome at the time, and on the 17th of December they each received their hats and titular churches.* The ascendency of Julius II. over the Cardinals was now secured, although all opposition was not wholly overcome till somewhat later.†

To the great grief of the Pope and the Roman people, Galeotto della Rovere died on the 11th September, 1508. Julius transferred his Cardinal's hat and all his benefices to Sixtus Gara della Rovere,‡ Galeotto's half-brother, who unhappily was far from resembling him in character, either intellectually or morally.§

Besides these three creations, Julius II. in the year 1507 nominated four Cardinals, eight in 1511, and one in 1512, but none of these were in any way related to him.‖ Thus the historian of the city of Rome only states the exact truth when he says, "Alexander VI. aimed at nothing but the aggrandisement of his children; the one care of Julius II. was to build up the States of the Church, he spent nothing on his nephews."¶ He was also moderate in his personal

* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 410 *seq.*; SANUTO, VI., 272; *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Undoubtedly, S. Gonzaga (see Vol. V. of this work, p. 171) and F. Alidosi were unworthy of the dignity conferred on them. G. de Gabrielli, on the contrary, was an excellent man. See AMIANI, II., 93 *seq.*

† Il papa si fa temer e la fa imperiose, writes the Venetian Ambassador. SANUTO, VI., 269.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, 385–386, Döllinger's edition; SANUTO, VII., 629, 632, 639; CARDELLA, 339 *seq.*; and in Appendix, N. 79, Costabili's Report of 11th Sept., 1508. State Archives, Modena.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 41, ed. 3.

‖ The particulars of these nominations will be found *infra*, in Chaps. 3 and 5. On the further development of the rights of option of the Cardinals since the time of Julius II., see O. PANVINIUS, De episcopalibus titulis et diaconiis cardinalium, 42 *seq.* Paris., 1609.

¶ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 41, ed. 3. *Cf.* ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 287–288.

expenditure, though he kept a better table than Alexander VI.; the monthly bill for this was between 2000 and 3000 ducats, that of his successor was 8000.* His expenditure for plate was by no means extravagant.†

Julius II. was so economical in his house-keeping ‡ that he was, quite unjustly, accused by many of being a miser.§ It is quite true that he was very careful to keep his treasury always well filled.‖ He quite realised the futility of any pretensions that had not physical force to back them, and knew that an efficient army meant plenty of money.¶ In the beginning of his reign, Julius II. had great financial difficulties to contend with, in consequence of the extravagance of his predecessor. He had to borrow money, and to pay Alexander's debts, even down to the medicine which he had required in his last illness.**

* For particulars on this point see GREGOROVIUS in SYBELS Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVI., 158, 162 *seq.*, founded on the account-books in the Roman State Archives. I found here disbursements for wine, which seldom appear in the household expenses of the earlier Popes. He preferred foreign wines, Levantine and Corsican. That he was addicted to drink is an invention of his political enemies.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 48.

‡ SANUTO, X., 80.

§ When it was a question of Art or of the dignity of his position, Julius II. never grudged expense. On his very costly mitre, see PARIS DE GRASSIS, 415, ed. Döllinger, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 21.

‖ On the financial policy of Julius II., *cf.* COPPI, Discorso sulle finanze dello stato ponteficio dal sec. XVI., etc. (Roma, 1855 [Opusculi, II.]), 1 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 47 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 276 *seq.*; RANKE, I., 268 *seq.*, ed. 6.

¶ CREIGHTON, IV., 73.

** Paulus Sauli (depositarius) lent to the Treasury sede vacante per obitum Pii III. on a bond from the notary of the treasury, Bonif. de Montefalco, endorsed by the Cardinals Neapolitanus, Alexandrinus, and the Treasurer, 7289 duc. de camera, 64 bol. *Introit. et exitus. vol. 535, f. 156. Heinricus Fucher (Fugger) et fratres mercatores alamanni had

Some of the means which he adopted for the replenishment of his treasury were of a very objectionable kind. His subjects were certainly not oppressed with taxation, but it cannot be denied that he not only sold offices,* but also benefices.† This formed a serious hindrance to the reform which was so much needed; for if that were carried out, it would mean the abolition of all such sales. It is true that under Julius II. the money was employed for the interests of the Church, and not for the enrichment of his family; but this is no justification for persistence in simony. The complaints of contemporaries both in Italy and abroad shew how strongly this abuse was resented.‡ Another great evil was that grants of occasional Indulgences were so often employed as a means of obtaining money. In the

lent in assumptione Pii III. universis conclavistis 2570 duc. auri. On 7th March, 1504, they received from the Apostolical Treasury, 3480 duc. de camera, 13 bol. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 167. Julius II. on the day of his Coronation gave to "diversis personis" 56 duc. 68 bol., and again 747 duc. 36 bol., which he borrowed from the Treasurer, Raffaele Riario. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 155b. "Pro suis et sedis apostolice necessitatibus," he took from the Treasury on 19th January, 1504, 5416 duc. 48 bol., on 1st February, 20,312 duc. 36 bol., on 29th June, 1814 duc. 42 bol., etc. (see *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 158b, 161, 201), and also in the following years large sums under the same title. At first there are many entries for the discharge of debts, later for troops. *Exitus, vol. 535, f. 182 : Dicta die (scil. 14 Mai, 1505) solvit (scil. thesaurius) floren. centum septuaginta sex Lucretie uxori Francisci de Montepulciano aromatario (!) pro diversis aromatis et medicis (!) datis fe. re. pape Alexandro, ut apparet ex computo dato in camera apostolica. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 250 *seq.*; RANKE, I., 263 *seq.*, ed. 6; Arch. d. Soc. Rom., IV., 263 *seq.*

† BROSCH, Julius II., 124. On the bribery which prevailed in the Roman Court under Julius II., see the Swiss Ambassadorial Report in the Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1892), 373.

‡ *Cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 157; Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad., X., 402.

case of the Jubilee Indulgences, powers for which were conceded by the Pope to the German Orders, the Chapter of Constance, and the Augsburg Dominicans, the half of the proceeds were to be handed over to Rome.*

The Pope's fixed income in the year 1510 was estimated by the Venetian Ambassador at 200,000 ducats, and his floating income at 150,000, a very small sum for one in the position of Head of the Church.† The accounts of the treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo during the reign of Julius II. are of such a nature that it is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion as to the exact amount; but we know that at his death it was more than had been left by any previous Pope since John XXII.‡

By his good management in matters of finance, Julius II. was enabled not only to carry on his wars for the reconstruction of the States of the Church, and to carry out many noble artistic undertakings, but also to be very generous in the matter of alms-giving,§ and amply to provide for all

* PAULUS in the Hist. Jahrb., XVI., 37 *seq.* Julius II.'s Brief of Indulgence for King Maximilian I., published in the Römisch. Quartalschrift, IV., 278, by Schlecht, is interesting, because it affords a clear definition of the doctrine of the Church in regard to Indulgences, shortly before the outbreak of the great theological disputes on that subject.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 282; RANKE, III., 8*, ed. 6.

‡ FEA, Notizie, 60; BROSCH, 273.

§ From the *Divers. Julii II., 1507-1513 (State Archives, Rome), we find that the Pope not only assisted the refugees from the East, but did a great deal for other needy persons, and especially for poor convents. In f. 66 we find in July 1512, an entry of alms pro monialibus S. Cosmatis, Turris pendentis, montis Magnanapoli, S. M. Annunc. di Firenze, S. Cath. de Senis; in f. 130, under the head of Subventiones, Januarii 1509, and f. 133, mensis Decemb. Aº Julii II. sexto, many of the same names recur, but with the addition of others. In f. 138 there is a payment on 23rd July, 1511, for the hospital of S. Maria in porticu de urbe. Also numerous disbursements for the Papal Swiss Guards; *cf. infra*, p. 226, note †. On the assistance given by Julius II. to the hospital of

necessary works in the city and in the States of the Church. Perfect order reigned in Rome under the strong hand of Niccolò de' Fieschi of the family of the Counts of Lavagna, who was Captain of the Watch. The murderous outrages which had become so frequent in the reigns of Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. had entirely ceased. The streets of Rome, which the Pope was constantly widening or embellishing, could now be traversed in peace and security.* Raphael's fresco of the Mass of Bolsena has made us familiar with the outward appearance of the Swiss Guards; they numbered 200 men, upon whom the Pope could absolutely depend. They also formed a permanent central body, serving as a nucleus for a larger army when more troops were needed, and their officers brought the best families in Switzerland into close and confidential relations with Rome.† The regulations of Julius II. defining the authority of the Judges of the Capitol, and also of the Vicar, Governor, and Senators, in cases of disputes and quarrels within the city, were of great service.‡ Still more valuable was the work of reorganising the coinage which he carried through,

S^to^ Spirito, see *Brief to Laur. de Anguillara, dat. 31st Octob., 1504. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 202. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 48. *Cf.* also *infra*, Chap. 8, on the embellishment of the streets. We see from the *Brief to Alex. de Neronio famil. et comiss., dat. 1505, Jan. 6, in which he is commanded to demolish the houses of some turbulent persons as an example to others, how severely Julius II. punished the disturbers of the peace. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 244. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† LÜTOLF, Die Schweizergarde zu Rom, 4 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1859). *Cf.* NOVAES, VI., 50, note. Caspar Sillinus, Capitaneus Elvetiorum custodie palatii apost., received, pro suo et suorum salariis, every month, 1151 duc. 63 bol. Kindly communicated to me by Dr. Gottlob out of *Introit. et exit. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Bull., V., 533 *seq.*, 511 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 536. On the Roman magistracy and Julius II., see Atti dei Lincei, Scienz. moral., 4 Serie, III., 169 *seq.*; X., 10.

correcting the discrepancies between the nominal and real value of the different kinds of money, and introducing into the currency the silver coins, originally called *Giuli*, but afterwards known as *Paoli*. Both trade and the revenue were immensely benefited by these operations.* The Jewish coiners of counterfeit money were put down by him with a strong hand.†

The misrule in the Campagna, where the turbulent Barons and landowners made it impossible for the farmers to cultivate their fields, repeatedly caused a great scarcity of corn in Rome, especially in the years 1504 and 1505. Julius II., always careful that the city should be well supplied with provisions, at once came energetically to the rescue. In 1504 the dearth was so great that he had not only to apply to Ferdinand of Spain for leave to import grain from Sicily, but also to obtain a similar permission from the Kings of France and England.‡ The purchaseable office of agent for the importation of grain was created by this Pope.§

* REUMONT, III., 2, 282. *Cf.* SENAREGA, 606; MORONI, XLVI., 117; NOVAES, VI., 152; RANKE, III., 8*, ed. 6; GARAMPI, App., 224 *seq.*, 230 *seq.* In MÜNTZ, L'Atelier monétaire de Rome, 12 *seq.* (Paris, 1884), there are interesting new documents relating to the coins of Julius II., and also particulars about the celebrated Caradosso. See also Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, III., 136 *seq.*

† *Cf.* his *Brief to the Marquess of Mantua, 28th Dec., 1505, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, on Jew coiners in the vicinity of Rome. Draft in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 43 *seq.* See *Brief Petro de Valentibus legum doctori, dat. 13th Nov., 1505: Jewish coiners in Benevento must be punished. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 391. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* *Lib. brev. 22, f. 116, to King Ferdinand of Spain, 19th July, 1504; f. 119 to the same, 13th July, 1504; f. 157^{b}: Regi Francorum, 13th Aug., 1504 (*cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 222). The *Brief to the Conservators of Rome in f. 281, 10th April, 1505, Secret Archives of the Vatican, is also worth noticing.

§ GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 251. On Julius II.'s operations in regard to

The dangers which in those days beset the channels of traffic, whether by land or sea, explain the anxiety of all the Popes to promote tillage in the Campagna, in spite of manifold hindrances, in order to depend as little as possible on imports for the necessaries of life. Julius II. achieved considerable success in this direction. Under him the conditions of life in the Campagna improved so much that agricultural operations could be carried on steadily and methodically. He found means to prevent the passage of large bodies of troops through the country in the neighbourhood of Rome, and greatly to moderate the feuds of the Barons. Under those more favourable circumstances, the ordinances of Sixtus IV. were revived with much better effect, and the amount of land under cultivation increased. He also inflicted severe penalties on all landowners who in any way hindered the cultivators from carrying whatever grain they could spare to the Roman market.*

The commencement of a stable and uniform system of administration in the States of the Church dates from the reign of Julius II., though, of course, it would not bear, at that early period, to be judged in these respects by a modern standard.† A Brief of 22nd July, 1506, dealing very severely with all malversations or acts of oppression on the part of either secular or ecclesiastical authorities within these provinces, and requiring all state or communal

the corn trade, and on his coinage, see, in general, PFEIFFER-RULAND, Pestilentia in nummis, 13 *seq.* (Tüb., 1882). See also LAURENT. PARMENIUS, 309, and RODOCANACHI, Corporations, I., 69, and, in regard to the Annona, the works cited in Vol. IV. of this work, 426, note *.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 289; HILLEBRAND, Italia, II., 162. *Cf.* also ARDANT, Papes et Paysans, 44 (Paris, 1891), and GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrbuch (1895), XVI., 131 *seq.*

† GOTTLOB in Bruders Staatslexikon, III., 795.

officials to submit their accounts annually to the Commissioners of the Roman Treasury for revision, was an important step in this direction.*

Constantly harassed as he was by political or ecclesiastical anxieties, Julius II. always found time to attend to the government of his States. In 1511, in spite of the war, and in detestable weather, he went to Cervia, to see for himself how the salt works there were going on.† Whenever he had the power he looked after the welfare of his subjects, put down abuses and oppression, and did all he could to improve the administration.‡ Nothing escaped his notice; he issued enactments against thefts of wood and cattle,§ against the exactions of the judges,‖ faction fights,¶ pirates,** robbers,†† and murderers;‡‡ he endeavoured to adjust long standing boundary disputes §§ and promoted public works,

* Bull., V., 418; see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 120 *seq.*, 145, 170, on other measures of reform.

† SANUTO, XII., 89, 93.

‡ *Cf.* Appendix, Nos. 55, 59, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, *Briefs of 10th Dec., 1506, and in 1507, January 1, 6, 23, and 27, February 21 and 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See *Briefs of 3rd and 4th Dec., 1506. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 31 and 33b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ See Appendix, No. 67.

¶ *Cf.* the **Brief to Ferdinand of Spain concerning Benevento, Bologna, 1st Feb., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 167c. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

** *Cf.* the *Brief of 20th Feb., 1507, in *Lib. brev. 25, f. 188b.

†† *Cf.* the *Warrant against Alexander Membrini de Corchiano, dated Rome, 22nd April, 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 280; *ibid.*, 273b, a Warrant, dated Rome, 31st May, 1507, against Augustinus Symonis de Fiano notorius homicida.

‡‡ *Brief to "Joh. Feltria de Ruvere," dated Rome, 10th Mar., 1505. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 274. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§§ As, for instance, in the Marches of Ancona; see *Brief to Thomas, Bishop of Forli, Vice-Legate of the Marches, Rome, 24th April, 1504. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 276b.

such as the building of bridges* and the control and utilisation of rivers.†

Like the great mediæval Popes, such as Gregory IX., whose last Brief was written for the protection of a poor Polish peasant, Julius II. was always on the alert to shield the humblest of his subjects from oppression. Thus, on the 7th January, 1507, a time when he was heavily burdened with political cares, we find him writing to the governor of Cesena and Bertinoro: "A citizen of Bertinoro has complained to the Pope that the Castellan has taken wood from him and injured him in other ways. Let the Castellan and his abettors be punished without fail, and take care that no harm comes to the complainant." ‡

In order to form a just estimate of the merits of Julius II. in regard to the government of the States of the Church, it is necessary to realise the state of utter confusion in which he found these provinces when they came into his hands. It required a man of first-rate powers to bring order into such a chaos. Julius II. has been justly likened to Virgil's Neptune overawing and calming the turbulent waves by his majestic countenance. § He won the devoted affection of the whole population. He granted large liberties to the municipalities in the towns. ‖ "The Pope," says Guicciar-

* *Cf.* the *Brief for Nicolaus Calcaneus provincie Marchie Anconitan. Thesaurarius et eius in officio successoribus. Grant of 250 ducats for the repairs of a bridge. Bologna, 30th Dec., 1506 (A° 4°). Lib. brev. 25, f. 15. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Brief to the Mayor and Council of Spoleto, dat. Bologna, 2nd Jan., 1507 : severe penalties, if within twenty days the banks of the river are not in proper order. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 81. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On the works for the improvement of the water-highway on the Tiber and the Anio, see ALBERTINI, 52.

‡ *Lib. brev. 25, f. 86^{b}.

§ T. Inghirami in FEA, Notizie, 57.

‖ RANKE, Päpste, I., 37, 251, ed. 6; FANTI, Imola, 3 *seq.* The

dini, "took pains to attach the people to the representatives of the Church, so that when the oath of fealty was taken at Bologna, the change was described as a passing out of the state of serfdom under the Bentivogli into that of a free commonwealth, in which the citizens had their share in the government, and in the revenues."* In spite of some mistakes which Julius made in the selection of his Legates,† the conditions of life in the States of the Church were such, that even such a bitter foe of the temporal power of the Papacy as Machiavelli is forced to admit that the inhabitants had no desire to throw off its yoke.‡

Original of the *Bull of Julius II., dat. Rom, 4th Nov., 1504, confirming the privileges and liberties of the town of Imola, is to be found in the Arch. Comunale of Imola, which is rich in interesting documents.

* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1; IX., c. 5; DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 530.

† For further particulars, see *infra*, 303 *seq.*

‡ Principe, c. 11; DÖLLINGER, *loc. cit.*, 531.

CHAPTER II.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE POSITION OF JULIUS II. ON HIS ACCESSION.—FALL AND DEATH OF CÆSAR BORGIA.—DISPUTES WITH VENICE.

THE position in which the new Pope found himself on his accession was one of singular difficulty. Disorder and confusion prevailed on all sides and he had no money and no army worth mentioning.*

In the Patrimony itself the state of things was so bad that on the 8th of November, 1503, Julius was obliged to issue a severe edict against Barons and municipalities who did not put down robbery and brigandage in their districts. The States of the Church were hardly anything more than a name.† On all sides the towns were in revolt, and the old dynasties which had been driven out by the Borgia were returning. In the South, war was raging between the Spaniards and the French, and in the North, where their policy had completely upset the relations hitherto subsisting, Venice was taking advantage of the confusion to enlarge her borders at the expense of the possessions of the Church.

Even during the short reign of the gentle Pius III., she had

* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 78. The Pope did not get possession of the Castle of St. Angelo until the 12th November, 1503; see Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 292. Costabili in a *Despatch of Nov. 11, 1503, mentions the joy of Julius when this was achieved. State Archives, Modena.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 10; *cf.* FEA, Notizie, 56 *seq.* The Edict of 8th Nov., 1503, is in Bull., V., 399-400

already contrived, partly by force and partly by diplomacy, to obtain possession of Bertinoro, Fano, Montefior, and other places. It soon became evident that the Venetians were forming connections in all quarters throughout the Romagna, with a view to getting the whole province under their power.* If they succeeded in this, Cæsar would soon be a landless Duke. Already things had gone so far that the only castles still remaining in the hands of his captains were those of Forli, Cesena, Forlimpopoli, and Bertinoro. Everything depended on the attitude taken up by the new Pope, whose coronation took place with great pomp on 28th November, 1503.†

* BROSCH, Julius II., 94.

† Ghivizano relates in two *Letters of 3rd November, 1503, that the preparations for the Coronation were begun during the public rejoicings over the election. The same authority tells us that the Pope had given orders that it was to cost from fifty to sixty thousand ducats. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) See also Appendix, N. 18, *Desp. of Nov. 20. On the Coronation itself, the day for which had been fixed in accordance with the horoscope taken by the astrologers (Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 295), *cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 307–309; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 312–314; Arch. St. Napolit., I., 75; *Acta Consist. in Consistorial Archives of the Vatican; *Report of F. Guidiccioni, Rome, 26th Nov., 1503; *Report of Costabili of the same date, which describes the illuminations (State Archives, Modena); and a characteristic *Letter from Ghivizano, dated Rome, 26th Nov., 1503. "Hogi se fata la Coronatione del Papa in S. Petro a la quale non he intervenuto molta gente, etc. Dat. ha tre hore senza mangare e senza bere in modo mai piu volio vedere Coronatione di Papa." A *Report, dated 27th Nov., from the same Envoy repeats that there were not many people present at the ceremony (probably on account of the previous rainy weather and the uncertain state of affairs), and adds: *Zobia se farà omnino la processione a Laterano la quale se stima deba esser pomposissima. (Both *Reports in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the inscriptions put up in Rome at that time, see Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, XXIII., 103. Most of the letters in which Julius II. announced the fact of his election are dated from the day of Coronation, *e.g.*, those to Florence (copy in the State Archives,

Unfortunately, Julius II. was greatly indebted to Cæsar Borgia and Cardinal d'Amboise, as well as to the Republic of Venice, for his election, and this still further complicated the situation.* He satisfied the claims of d'Amboise by bestowing on him, in spite of the opposition of many of the Cardinals and of the citizens of Rome,† the legations of Avignon, Venaissin, and France,‡ and a Cardinal's hat on one of his relations, François Guillaume de Clermont.§

Florence), to F. Gonzaga (original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), to the King of Poland (RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 12), to Fabrizio Colonna (original in the Colonna Archives, Rome, Bull, n. 58). He had already on the 6th of November sent a notice of his election to the Doge of Venice, and thanked him for the support that the Venetian Envoys had given him. See SANUTO, V., 292–293. He also sent a notice of his election to the Genoese, as his countrymen, before the Coronation. See Atti d. Soc. Savon., I., 438. The *Possesso*, which was separated from the Coronation for the first time by Julius II., did not take place until Dec. 5. *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 312 *seq.*; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 329 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 56 *seq.*; and NOVAES, VI., 135. See also the *Letter of Don Ferrante d'Este to the Duke of Ferrara, dated Rome, 6th Dec., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

* BROSCH, 105.

† Costabili relates in a *Report dated 27th Nov., 1503, that Cardinal S. Giorgio had instigated the Conservators to go to the Pope and entreat him not to give the French legation to d'Amboise : per lo interesse di questa cita. S. Sta ha risposto essere necessario compiacere Rohano et postponere tutti li altri rispecti a questi tempi che la Sta Sua ha bisogno del Re di Francia per li portamenti di Venetiani li quali quando Sua Sta non fusse adiutata dal Re di Francia se insegnoregiariano di tutta la Romagna el che la non ge vole comportare. (State Archives, Modena.) F. Guidiccioni, in a *Document of 27th Nov., 1503, also states that d'Amboise was certain to be made French Legate. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 23. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 276, 281, and FANTONI, 351.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 219.

The Pope hoped by this means to secure France as a reserve force against Venice.*

To shake off his connection with Cæsar Borgia was, however, a more difficult matter. Heartily as Julius II. hated the Borgia, he did not wish openly to break through the engagements he had made with the Duke, nor did it seem wise "to throw away, unused, so valuable a tool as Cæsar could be, while the Holy See in the Romagna was in such danger from her powerful neighbour, that the most unsatisfactory Vicariate would be preferable to the present situation."†

At first it seemed as if the Pope had quite forgiven the Borgia. "Cardinal Borgia," writes Costabili on November 1st, "has been given the Penitentiary. I understand, too, that one of the Rovere family is to marry Cardinal Borgia's sister. All the other Spanish Cardinals have been rewarded, and they seem for the moment to stand in higher favour than ever."‡ In his relations with Cæsar himself the Pope maintained considerable reserve, but in such a way as not to deprive him of all hope, while still allowing him to feel that his position was precarious.§

The first and greatest danger to the States of the Church

* *See* below, note ‡. See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 317, and *Report of Costabili, 8th Dec., 1503, on the departure of d'Amboise. State Archives, Modena.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 12.

‡ *Despatch of Costabili, 1st Nov., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also Ghivizano's Report of 3rd Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ See Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 283; *cf.* 286 *seq.*, and the *Report of Costabili, dated Rome, 6th Nov., 1506: El Duca spera multo in N. S. per haverlo multo servito ne la assumptione del ponteficato de S. Bne. (State Archives, Modena.) On the 17th Nov., Julius II. addressed a *Brief in favour of Jofré Borgia to F. Maria della Rovere. State Archives, Florence.

came, not from Cæsar, but from Venice, which was trying to obtain the same command of the Italian sea-board as she had of that of Dalmatia. The gravity of this danger was brought forcibly home to Julius II. by the tidings of Venetian intrigues which reached him on 7th November, 1503, through his old friend Gabriele da Fano. He at once sent a strong remonstrance to the Republic, and declared that he had no intention of permitting territories which were properly in immediate subjection to the Church, and had now returned to their obedience, to be filched away from her. On the 10th of November Machiavelli reports that Julius had said to Cardinal Soderini, "I always have been, and still am, a friend of the Venetians, as long as they do not hanker after things to which they have no right. But if they persist in robbing the Church of her property, I shall take the strongest measures, and call upon all the Princes of Christendom to help me in resisting them." On the following day, he spoke in a very friendly manner to the Venetian Ambassador and expressed great affection for the Republic, but at the same time repeated that he was determined to restore the dominion of the Church in the Romagna.*

On the 18th of November the Venetian Ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, had a long conversation with the Pope, chiefly about the Romagna. Julius, in language which left nothing to be desired in the way of directness, announced his firm determination to restore to the Church all the possessions there which she had lost; they must not remain under the power of Cæsar or of any one else, and it was for this purpose that he had on the previous day sent the

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 285–289 *seq.*; MACHIAVELLI, Letter XI., dat. 10th Nov., 1503. The Ferrarese Envoy and d'Amboise stirred up the Pope against Venice. *Cf.* Costabili's *Letter partly in cypher, dat. Rome, 8th Nov., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

Bishop of Tivoli, Angelo Leonini, as Nuncio, to Venice. "Words fail me," adds Giustinian, "to describe with what resolution he spoke, and that not once, but again and again." Nevertheless the Ambassador did not give up the attempt to change the Pope's mind. It was not from the Church, he represented, but from an enemy of hers, and a bitter enemy of the Pope and of the Republic, that Venice had taken these places. His Holiness must see that it would be impossible for the Church herself to administer this territory; he would have to give it to some one else. This would be hard upon Venice, and she had not deserved to be so treated. When the Pope was a Cardinal, he had himself encouraged the Republic to undertake an expedition against the Romagna. Julius replied that this was against Cæsar Borgia, not against the Church; with all his love for the Republic, he said, he could not in honour consent to any curtailment of the States of the Church.*

However strongly the Pope might feel about the Venetian encroachments, in his present helpless state, as Machiavelli well knew, he could only temporise.† This was equally the case in regard to Cæsar Borgia. He had sent the promised Briefs in the Duke's favour to the cities of the Romagna, but with a secret hope that they might arrive too late,‡ and did not bestow on him the coveted

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 297, 300. *Cf.* *Report of the Mantuan Envoy, Rome, 19th Nov., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the Nunciature of Leonini, *cf.* *Exitus, 535, f. 151[b]: 20th Nov., 1503. Solvit duc. 100 auri de camera domino Angelo episcopo Tiburtino nuntio apud Venetos pro eius porvisione unius mensis incep. 19 praesentis mensis Novembris. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† Letters from Machiavelli, 21st Nov. and 1st Dec., 1503. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 18 *seq.*, 32; ALVISI, App., 95; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 196.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 281; BROSCH, Julius II., 99 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 292.

post of Standard-bearer to the Church. This disappointment, together with the bad news from the Romagna, seem to have produced an extraordinary effect on Cæsar; he was completely altered. The Envoys found him utterly dispirited and broken. Machiavelli describes his vexation and despair. The Pope told the Venetian Ambassador that he had become so changeable and incomprehensible, that he could not say anything for certain about him. Cardinal Soderini found him irresolute, petulant, and feeble; he thought he had been stunned by the disasters of the last few weeks. The Spanish Cardinal Iloris, said the Duke, seemed to him to have lost his senses; he did not know what he wanted, and was confused and uncertain. In Rome all sorts of strange reports were current about him. Every one agreed that he was ruined; "not from any faithlessness on the part of the Pope, but by the force of circumstances which no one could alter." Julius would not do anything against Cæsar while the fate of the Romagna was still pending, but he was determined, when he could, to place these territories under the immediate government of the Church.* Cæsar held frequent conversations with Machiavelli, the representative of Florence in Rome; and on the 18th of November he despatched an Envoy to that city, offering his services as a captain, and begging them to supply him with troops for the conquest of the Romagna; he would come to Leghorn to complete the negotiations.† With the permission of the Pope, who was only too glad to get him out of Rome, he started for that place on the 19th November. He embarked before day-break, "to the joy of

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 281, 297; Letters from Machiavelli, 14th and 18th Nov., 1503. *Cf.* REUMONT in the Allg. Ztg. (1877), No. 277, Suppl., and in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 844.

† SANUTO, V., 482, 497–499. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 22 *seq.*

every one," in a boat on the Tiber, and went down to Ostia, whence he intended to sail.*

Shortly afterwards the news arrived that another important town, Faenza, had surrendered to the Venetians. Julius II., already unable to sleep from anxiety, became violently excited, and sent the Cardinals Soderini and Remolino to Cæsar, to require him to deliver up all the other strong places in the Romagna to him, so as to prevent any more from falling into the hands of the Venetians. This the Duke resolutely refused to do.†

Meanwhile, tidings reached Rome that Venice had also got possession of Rimini by an agreement with Malatesta.‡ Evidently the only chance of saving what remained lay in prompt action. The Venetians declared that their only object was to get rid of their enemy Cæsar.§ On this the Pope resolved to compel him to relinquish the forts of Forli and Cesena. He sent orders that the Duke should be arrested and brought to Rome.‖ Cæsar appeared utterly overwhelmed; the Mantuan Envoy reports that he wept.¶

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 302. *Cf.* Appendix, N. 18, Ghivizano's Report, 20th Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 305, 307–308; Letter from Machiavelli, 22nd Nov., 1503. *Cf.* HEIDENHEIMER, Machiavelli, 24 *seq.* In a *Brief of the 8th Dec., 1503, the Pope himself directly addressed Cæsar, commanding him to deliver up the fortresses. I found this Brief in *Lib. brev. 22, f. 2. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ ROMANIN, V., 165; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 310.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 14, says: "With every fortress that Cæsar lost in the Romagna the necessity for the Pope's intervention became more and more imperative." Even BROSCH, Julius II., 99, says that the Pope was obliged to proceed against Cæsar.

‖ *Cf.* ALVISI, 433 *seq.*, and Ghivizano's Report, Rome, 24th Nov., 1503. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¶ *Cf.* Cataneo's Despatches, 22nd Dec., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 152, where, however, the concluding words after "Torre Borgia fatta da so patre Alexandro: qual è

He "had every reason to expect a dungeon and death, and in fact Guidobaldi of Urbino and Giovanni Giordano Orsini advised the Pope to put an end to him."*

Julius II. scorned these counsels. Cæsar was treated with the greatest consideration, and apartments in the Vatican were assigned to him. The Pope hoped by this means to obtain the peaceable surrender of the keys from his governors. Cæsar apparently sent the requisite orders, but, according to Sigismondo de' Conti, this was only a feint. Though there is no proof of it, it seems very probable that he was endeavouring to hoodwink the Pope, who had broken his promises to him. At any rate the governor of Cesena declared that he would not take any orders from Cæsar while he was a prisoner, and detained the Papal messengers. When Julius heard this, his first thought was to throw the Duke into one of the dungeons in St. Angelo, but yielding to the Duke's urgent entreaties, he sent him to the Torre Borgia instead. All his property, however, was confiscated. A contemporary remarks that the Divine justice, no doubt, decreed that he should be imprisoned in that very chamber which he had stained with the blood of his brother-in-law Alfonso. All the adherents of the Borgia were filled with terror, expecting that the vials of the Pope's wrath would be poured out upon them also. The Cardinals Remolino and Lodovico Borgia fled from Rome on the night of the 20th December.†

in lo palatio a la parte retro confine a le camare dove dorme el Papa," are wanting.

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 24, ed. 2; Costabili's *Report. State Archives, Modena.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 336-337; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 318, 327-328, 332-333, 340 *seq.*, 350-351; BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 320-321; ROSSBACH, 69, 77; ALVISI, 442 *seq.*; GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 229, note. See also Cataneo's *Despatch, 22nd Dec., 1503. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) On the flight of the Cardinals and the Pope's

The succeeding weeks were occupied with negotiations between Julius and Cæsar, which, owing to the well-founded distrust which prevailed between the two parties, were extremely complicated. In the beginning of the new year the Pope began to think of possessing himself by force of Cesena.*

On the 3rd of December, 1503, Machiavelli had said that Cæsar was nearing the edge of the precipice. At this juncture an event occurred which at once immensely raised the prestige of the Duke's friends, the Spanish Cardinals. On the 28th of December, Gonsalvo de Cordova obtained a complete victory over the French at Garigliano. On the first day of the new year Gaeta capitulated, and on the 4th the news reached Rome.† The French had lost Naples.

Under the influence of this occurrence, on the 29th of January, 1504, the negotiations between Julius and Cæsar were at last brought to a conclusion. It was agreed that the Duke was to surrender the Castles of Cesena, Forli, and Bertinoro to the Pope within forty days. When this condition was fulfilled, he would be free, but till then was to remain at Ostia under the surveillance of Cardinal Carvajal; if he failed to carry out his agreement he was to be imprisoned for life.‡

annoyance at it (maxime de Borja), *cf.* F. Guidiccioni's *Letter, dat. Rome, 22nd Dec., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) On the 2nd Jan., 1504, Julius addressed a very friendly *Brief to Cardinal Borgia, telling him to return to Rome as soon as possible. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 5^{b}. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* *Cf.* the Brief of 5th Jan., 1504, in ALVISI, App., n. 100 which, however, has been already printed in GOZZADINI, XCIII.), and the *Brief to Joh. Sforzia de Aragonia. Lib. brev. 29, f. 17^{b} (Secret Archives of the Vatican), which is undated, but evidently, both in time and purport, belongs to this episode.

† BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 326.

‡ *Ibid.*, III., 331; ROSSBACH, 72 *seq.*; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II. 204 *seq.*

On the evening of the 16th February, while the Carnival was being celebrated in Rome,* Cæsar Borgia, accompanied by only a few servants, embarked in a boat from the Ripa Grande, and was taken down to Ostia.†

The negotiations for the surrender of Cesena, Bertinoro, and Forli caused the Pope a great deal of vexation, and the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo, was sent to the Romagna to hasten their conclusion.‡

The governors of Cesena and Bertinoro at first insisted on Cæsar's liberation. The Pope in a rage drove the bearers of this message out of his room; in the end, how-

* See BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 382. Marius Bonaventura reports, ex urbe, 14th Jan., 1504: *La S^ta^ di N. S. ha decreto se faccia delle representatione et ludi nostri soliti. Petrus Gentilis writes from Rome, 18th Feb., 1504: *Hogi sono corso li palii. These *Letters are in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† ALVISI, 446, in his otherwise extremely careful work, wrongly gives the 14th as the date; YRIARTE, I., 205, the 13th Feb. The latter date is taken from BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 332. It is clear, however, from the Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 437–438, 440, that Cæsar bade the Pope farewell in the Castle of St. Angelo on the 14th, and left Rome on the night of the 16th. This practically agrees with Cataneo's statement that Cæsar was brought to the Castle on the 13th, and taken to Ostia on the 15th. (*Letters of 13th and 15th Feb., 1504, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) I am induced to decide against ROSSBACH, 74, and in favour of the 16th, by GIUSTINIAN, 440, and the *Brief of Julius II. to Card. Carvajal of 16th Feb., 1504, desiring him, dux Valentinus ita facere custodiri, so that it may be possible either to set him free or to remove him, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement contained in a certain Bull. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 19. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) Carvajal left Rome on the 17th Feb.: *Heri si partite el card^le^ de S. Croce e andò ad Ostia, dove prima fa conducto Valentino et mo non è in mane del papa ma del dicto cardinale. G. L. Cataneo's *Report, dat. Rome, 18th Feb., 1504. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 338. There are a large number of *Briefs in the Lib. brev. 22 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), referring to the Mission of G. di Sirolo. *Cf.* Appendix, Nos. 19, 20, 21, 24, 25.

ever, he found himself compelled to come to terms with them. On the 10th of March, 1504, he concluded a new agreement with the Duke, by which Cæsar bound himself to obtain the evacuation of Bertinoro and Cesena, and made himself responsible for a sum of money which the Castellan of Forli demanded as the price of his surrender. As soon as these conditions had been fulfilled, and Bertinoro and Cesena delivered over to the Pope, Carvajal allowed his prisoner to depart, on the 19th of April, without asking any further leave from Rome.*

Cæsar had already provided himself with a letter of safe conduct from Gonsalvo de Cordova, and hastened to Naples, to the house of his uncle, Lodovico Borgia. Here it soon became evident that he had by no means relinquished all hope of eventually recovering his possessions in the Romagna. Gonsalvo received the Duke with all due marks of respect, apparently entered into his plans, and even agreed to furnish him with troops. In this way he managed to keep his dangerous guest quiet until he had received instructions from King Ferdinand. Then, however, he acted promptly. On the 27th of May, 1504, Cæsar was arrested and taken to the Castle of Ischia. The Spaniards announced that they intended to keep this firebrand in their own hands. So says the Spanish historian Zurita, and Guicciardini corroborates him.† According to Jovius, Julius II. had advised that Cæsar should be imprisoned to prevent him from invading the Romagna.‡ This is confirmed by documents in the Secret Archives of

* ALVISI, 447–448; BROSCH, Julius II., 103–104; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 68–69, 509; ROSSBACH, 75; YRIARTE, César Borgia, II., 207–208. See also the *Brief to Carvajal, Appendix, N. 23.

† ZURITA, V., c. 72; GUICCIARDINI, VI. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 295, and HÖFLER, Bastarddynastien, 58.

‡ JOVIUS, Vitae, I., 274.

the Vatican. There is a letter there from Julius II. to Gonsalvo de Cordova dated 11th May, 1504, in which the Pope requests the Spanish General to keep guard over the Duke, so as to hinder him from undertaking anything against the Church, and to induce him to give up the Castle of Forli.*

On the same day Julius wrote a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella complaining of the conduct of both Carvajal and Gonsalvo; the former had let Cæsar go free on his own responsibility and not in the manner agreed, the latter was allowing him to hatch plots against the Church in Naples. He accused the Duke himself of having sent money to the Castellan of Forli and encouraged him to go on holding the castle. This remarkable letter closes with a request that their majesties would not permit a person who was under their control to disturb the peace of the Church.† In regard to Forli the appeal to Spain was effectual, and Julius II. at last obtained possession of the fortress.‡ Gonsalvo promised Cæsar that he would release him if he would order the Castellan to hand it over to the Pope's Lieutenant. Upon this the Duke yielded, and on the 10th of August the castle was given up. But now it was Gonsalvo's turn to break his word; and instead of regaining his liberty, Cæsar was sent off to Spain on the 20th of August.§

* See Appendix, N. 28, the *Brief of 11th May, 1504, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† This Brief, of which unfortunately we only possess a fragment, was first published by RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 12. The copy in ALVISI, App., 102, is not quite accurate.

‡ On the 8th of June, 1504, the Pope wrote to Carolus marchio Finarii elect. Theban., that Cæsar was a prisoner and that L. de Ordelaffi had lately died in Ravenna, quibus ex rebus speramus nos arcem Forlivii per pactionem facilius recepturos. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 76. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 26, 31.

§ ALVISI, 450-451. *Cf.* GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 230, note.

From this moment Cæsar Borgia vanishes from the stage of Italian history, and by the beginning of May most people in Rome seemed to have quite forgotten him.* Ferdinand sent him first to the Castle of Chinchilla † and then to that of Medina del Campo. Here the former lord of Rome, bereft by his political shipwreck of all his luxuries, was kept in close confinement in a room in the tower, with only one servant. No one was allowed to see him. "All his plans had failed, nothing remained of all that he had sought to achieve by his crimes, his cruelties, and his murders." In this miserable life his only occupation consisted in flying his falcons, his only joy was to see them catch a helpless bird and tear it to pieces with their talons.‡ In spite of the strict guard kept over him, on the 25th of October, 1506, Cæsar succeeded in escaping from his prison and fled to his brother-in-law, Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre. Julius II. was greatly disturbed when the news reached him, for he was well aware that the Duke still had many adherents in the Romagna.§ But his anxiety was not destined to last long, for on the 12th May, 1507, Cæsar died "honourably, a soldier's death" at Viana in Navarre, fighting for his brother-in-law against the Count of Lerin. He was only in his thirty-second year.‖ The

* *Cf.* *Report of G. L. Cataneo, dat. Rome, 3rd May, 1504 (Dil Valentino non si parla piu). Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Not, as GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 274–275, and HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 17, have it, to Seville.

‡ See HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 23. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 207, 268, 410–411.

§ ZURITA, VII., c. 23.

‖ REUMONT, III., 2, 16; ALVISI, 453–454. We have the fullest accounts of his residence in Spain and his death in YRIARTE, II., 215–277; *cf.* also 328 *seq.* *Cf.* HÖFLER, Bastarddynastien, 61 *seq.*, and Katastrophe, 23 *seq.* There is a picture of the castle in Yriarte and in GRAUS, Rundreise in Spanien (Würzburg, 1894); see

greatness of the House of Borgia had come and gone like a meteor flashing across the sky.*

There is no contemporaneous account of the effect produced on Julius II. by the tidings of Cæsar's death;† but he must have rejoiced to find himself relieved of an enemy who still could have been extremely dangerous to him and to the Church. Cæsar had many faithful adherents in the cities of the Romagna, and he could never have felt quite secure there while the Duke still lived.

It is a curious coincidence that the man who, if Alexander VI. had lived, would have done the most of all others to secularise the States of the Church, and with whom Machiavelli in consequence was secretly in full sympathy,‡ should, unintentionally of course, have been the founder of the revival there of the Papal authority. Most people are familiar with Machiavelli's opinion on this point expressed in the *Prince*, where he says: "The Duke by no means wished to exalt the Church. Nevertheless all that he did tended to her advantage; when he was gone, his heritage fell to her." That this was the case was no doubt greatly due to the character of Julius II., who never for a moment lost sight of the one object that he had proposed to himself, and made use of every means that came to hand for attaining it. When, on the 11th August, 1504, the news of the

also J. M. QUADRADO, Recuerdos y Bellezas de España. Barcelona, 1861.

* HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 27.

† The Ferrarese Envoy Costabili only says in a *Despatch, dated Rome, 4th Apr., 1507, that the news of his death was held to be certain. (State Archives, Modena.) On the arrival of the tidings at Venice and Ferrara, and how Lucrezia took them, *cf.* SANUTO, VII., 47, 50, 51, 54, 56. These authentic accounts relegate "Lucrezia's tears" (see F. GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 293) to the region of the author's fertile imagination.

‡ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 167.

surrender of Forli at last arrived, and he was asked whether orders were to be given for the public demonstrations of joy usual on such occasions, his reply was characteristic. "No," answered the Pope, so the Florentine Ambassador reports, "we will put off all rejoicings until we have much more important and difficult successes to celebrate." "Julius meant," the Ambassador adds, "the reconquest of Faenza and Rimini."* The relations between Venice and Rome had from month to month been growing more and more unsatisfactory owing to the obstinate refusal of the Republic to give back these cities which had been taken by force from the Church. The conduct of the Venetians on this occasion shews that the invariably astute diplomacy of the Republic was utterly at fault in regard to the character of Julius II.

As Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had always been friendly to Venice, and the Venetians, out of dread of a French Pope, had heartily supported him in the Conclave, they fully believed that he would in return leave them a free hand in the Romagna. This of course was an utter delusion, as from the first Julius was firmly determined not to permit the Church to be despoiled of a single rood of her possessions.† He never for a moment gave

* G. Acciaiuoli's Despatch of 13th August, 1504, in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 198, n. 1. In a *Bull of the 30th August, 1504, Julius II. deprived Cæsar of the governorship of the Citadel of Bologna and restored it to the municipality of the city. State Archives, Bologna.

† Ulmann, Maximilian, II., 139, characterises the proceedings of Venice as a plundering of the Church. In regard to the question of legal rights the term is perfectly correct. (*Cf.* also Reumont in Gott. Gel. Anz., 1876, II., 846.) Brosch, Julius II., 105 *seq.*, evades this point; he takes the Venetian side from the first, relying for the most part entirely on Venetian authorities and suppressing almost all others. The annexations of Venice are always justifiable in his eyes; even when

the Republic any reason for doubting that he meant to insist on the restoration of the stolen property of the Church in the Romagna.* Nevertheless the Venetians thought they could do as they liked and need not be afraid of a Pope who had neither money nor troops.† "Ambition and greed of land," says the contemporaneous Venetian chronicler Priuli, "were so strong in them that they were resolved at any cost to make themselves masters of the whole of the Romagna."‡ When, on the 22nd of November, 1503, the news of the investment of Faenza arrived in Rome, the Pope at once sent for the Venetian Ambassador and repeated that all the Church's possessions must come back to her, and that he hoped the Republic would not carry matters to extremes.§ Three days later the report was current in Rome that Rimini also was in the hands of the Venetians. The Ambassador was in despair, for his government had given stringent orders that this should be kept secret. "Thus, even before his Corona-

the Venetians repudiated their sworn agreement with the Pope, he sees in this proceeding only "a vindication of that prescriptive right of self-preservation without the exercise of which it is impossible to conceive any independent State being able to maintain its existence" (p. 193). On the other hand, where Julius II. is concerned, he becomes the strictest of moralists. The ordinary evasions of diplomacy, even things which are understood as such by all diplomatists, are stigmatised as criminal duplicity when they come from Julius II. Even his friends (see Allg. Zeitung., 1880, N. 83, Suppl.) blame the violence of his language. On the spirit of partisanship displayed by Brosch, see Vol. IV. of this work, p. 322, n. ‡, 354, n. *. See also Arch. d. Soc. Rom., III., 177.

* *Cf. supra*, p. 235, and REUMONT in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 845.

† *Cf.* Fr. Guidizonus' *Report, dated Rome, 25th Nov., 1503. State Archives, Modena.

‡ REUMONT, III., 2, 12; ROMANIN, V., 164.

§ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 305–306. On the 23rd Giustinian reports fresh complaints from the Pope, *loc. cit.*, 306.

tion, Julius saw two of the jewels with which he desired to adorn the Tiara snatched away by the Signoria."* On the 28th November, at a meeting of the Cardinals, he complained of the proceedings of the Venetians; on the 29th a Consistory was held. The Venetian Ambassador reports that "the Pope spoke very angrily of the Republic in Consistory; he had previously told Cardinal Cornaro that he meant to appeal to France and Spain for the protection of the interests of the Holy See."† In a conversation with the Venetian Ambassador on the 30th of November Julius spoke more gently, and dwelt on the friendly feelings he entertained towards the Republic;‡ for he was well aware of his weakness, and for that reason most anxious for a close union with France.§ On the 10th of December he again remonstrated with the Ambassador against the proceedings of Venice in the Romagna.‖ The tidings which came from Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, who had been sent to Venice, only increased the Pope's displeasure. Leonini was commissioned to demand the withdrawal of all the Venetian troops from the Romagna and that the Republic should desist from any further conquests from Cæsar Borgia, as the whole of his possessions belonged to the Church. "The answer was far from satisfactory. Venice promised to make no further acquisitions in the Romagna, but she would not withdraw her troops." She was determined

* BROSCH, Julius II., 106, and *supra*, p. 239.

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 318. Brosch abstains from mentioning this; if he had done so, he could not have expressed himself as so much scandalised at what the Pope said to Machiavelli.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 321. I am far from wishing to defend the Pope's conduct in every respect; but Brosch distorts the words of Julius in a most unfair manner.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 234 *seq.*

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 335.

to keep Faenza, Rimini, and all the other places on which she had so unjustly laid hands.*

The Venetian Envoy Giustinian said everything he could to induce the Pope to see things in a different light. He proposed that the conquered territories should be bestowed on Venice as a fief. To this Julius II. replied that the governorships in the Romagna had always been bestowed on captains who had deserved well of the Church, but not upon powerful chiefs; it was impossible to put Venice in this position, she would never let them out of her hands again. He would rather not be Pope at all than endure such a curtailment of the States of the Church at the very beginning of his reign. Giustinian made no answer to these sort of expressions, talked vaguely of false reports circulated by the enemies of the Republic, and avoided as far as possible all direct negotiations in regard to the evacuation of the conquered territories. He seems to have been possessed with the delusion that Venice had no cause to apprehend any serious resistance from the new Pope;† and not in the least to have understood the character of the man with whom he was dealing. He was incapable of conceiving a Pope devoid of selfish ambition and really aiming at nothing but the exaltation of the Church, and had no suspicion of the dangers of the game that his Government was playing.‡ On the contrary, he flattered himself

* BROSCH, Julius II., 108; the Brief of 17th Nov., 1503, on Leonini's mission is in SANUTO, V., 480. Leonini (*cf.* MARINI, I., 303 *seq.*) was considered by his contemporaries an excellent diplomatist. Machiavelli calls him a truly right-minded prelate, a prudent man and experienced in state affairs. None of this appears in Brosch's account.

† BALAN, V., 435.

‡ TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 290.

that he could easily succeed in mollifying Julius II. with fair words and promises.

The Ferrarese Agent understood the situation far better. "The Pope," he reports on the 25th November, 1503, "is far from satisfied with the way things are going in the Romagna; where he had hoped to see light, he finds nothing but darkness. I know his nature and am well assured that he will not submit patiently to this; though other people imagine that they will be able to deceive him." * Giustinian ought to have been able to see how impossible this would prove. When, on the 23rd of December, he again repeated his tale of slanderous reports set afloat by the enemies of Venice, the Pope replied, "My Lord Ambassador, you always bring me fair words, and the Signoria foul deeds. We have accurate information of all that goes on in the Romagna, and know how, one after another, places are being occupied that have hitherto always been under the direct rule of the Church; to-day we have heard that the Venetians are endeavouring to induce Cesena to submit to them, and have occupied Sant' Arcangelo. Can we be expected to look quietly on when those who ought to be supporting us are daily robbing us? At present we have not the means to defend ourselves by arms and can only remonstrate; but we mean to turn to the Christian Powers for aid, and trust that God will protect us."

The Ambassador had no answer to give except that this was unnecessary; if Cesena wished to put herself under Venetian rule it was because the government of the Republic was just and beneficent. As to Sant' Arcangelo, the Pope had nothing to complain of, as that

* F. Guidizonus' **Report, dated Rome, 25th Nov., 1503. (State Archives, Modena.) *Cf.* also Appendix, N. 17.

place was already in the hands of Venice before Leonini was sent.*

Three days later Julius II. again sent for Giustinian and said to him: "We have still to complain of the state of things in the Romagna. Letters arrive daily telling us of the intrigues of your agents in Cesena, Imola, and other places. Throughout the whole country efforts are being made to seduce the people from their obedience to the Church and persuade them to place themselves under the rule of Venice. Our worst enemy could not do more against us. When we ascended the Chair of S. Peter we did so with the full purpose of being a father to all as a Pope should be, and observing strict neutrality; but we now fear that we shall find ourselves forced to entertain other thoughts."

The Ambassador tried to make the usual excuses for his government, but could not conceal in his report the fact that they were not accepted. It ends with the words: "Julius II. requires that all the places that have been occupied in the Romagna shall be restored to him. Possibly events might occur which would induce him and the Sacred College to leave Faenza and Rimini in the hands of the Republic, but he will not consent to anything until all the other places are evacuated."†

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 339, 347, 356–357. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 13, and G. CASTELLANI, La dominazione veneta a Sant' Arcangelo. Sant' Arcangelo, 1895. (Only 100 copies of the work have been printed.)

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 360–363. Even after all this, Giustinian still flattered himself that success was possible. On New Year's Day he presented himself before the Pope and requested "with courteous importunity" that as on that day it was customary to make presents to one's friends, Julius would gratify the Republic, which was so devoted to him, with the gift of Rimini and Faenza. The Pope smiled, but answered that Venice must begin by restoring

On the 10th January, 1504, Julius addressed the following letter to the Doge :—

"To our beloved Son,—Greeting and apostolical benediction: Through Our Reverend brother the Bishop of Tivoli and by various letters We have announced to your Serene Highness Our firm resolution to demand the restoration of Our cities of Faenza and Rimini, together with their castles and the other places which your Highness has occupied since the death of Alexander VI.; and We have repeatedly made the same demand to your Ambassador. Therefore We cannot sufficiently express Our surprise at not having yet received any definite answer. Since We now learn from the aforenamed Bishop, Our Envoy, that the subject is again to be laid before the Senate, it will be plain, We trust, to your own wisdom and that of the assembly, that it is not permissible to keep unlawful possession of that which belongs to the Holy Roman Church, and that We are bound to use all the means in Our power to obtain its restoration. From the beginning of Our reign it has been Our steadfast purpose to restore to the Church the territories of which she has been despoiled; to this We hold fast, and ever shall do so. If your Highness's Ambassador or any one else has written anything different to your Highness or held out any hopes that We shall come to an agreement on this point, he has written falsely; for it is Our duty not to permit such an injury to be done to God and to the dignity of Our position. We have always entertained a just love and esteem for your Highness and the Republic, in the belief that, especially during Our Pontificate, you would prove the defenders and not the usurpers of the rights of the Church. Now, since nothing shall induce Us to desist from demanding the restitution of these places, since God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who has committed the care of His Church to Us, and Our office, impose this duty upon Us, We declare that any one who writes or thinks otherwise, writes and thinks falsely. Therefore We again admonish your Highness with all paternal kindness, and command you in the name of the Lord to do freely and at once that which in justice you are bound to do."*

Tossignano; after that, negotiations in regard to the other places might be entered upon. See BEMBUS, 258; HAVEMANN, II., 215.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 1; SANUTO, V., 733, *cf.* 732, 736.

All was in vain; the Venetians were determined not to part with their spoils. Secure of their strength, they mocked at the Pope's threats.* Sooner or later, the battle would have to be fought out.

In Venice there were stormy passages of arms between the Papal Nuncio Leonini and the Doge. The French Envoy vainly tried to act as a peacemaker.† In Rome Giustinian continued with his "courteous importunity" to press the Pope to bestow the unjustly gotten lands on Venice as a vicariate. The exasperation of Julius at this persistence increased from day to day, especially as he now thought he perceived that the Republic was beginning to aim at Forli also.‡ The Doge in conversation with Leonini denied this, but admitted that the Venetians would never give up the territories that they had once occupied. They would sacrifice everything they had, sooner than do this.§ In Rome, Julius said plainly to the Venetian Ambassador that he would never rest till he got back his lost possessions, and as he was not strong enough to conquer them himself, he would seek for help abroad.‖

He kept his word; but he was well aware that, beset and unarmed as he was, there was great risk of finding himself

* *Cf.* *Cataneo's Report, dated Rome, 25th Jan., 1504, which says: *Venetiani persisteno in tenire che hanno in Romagna ne stimano chel papa tenti tirarli ruina a le spalle cum ajuto de questi Rè che sperano uscirne cum honore. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, V., 805, 835, 847. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 22, the *Brief to Leonini, of the 7th Feb., 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 23, the *Brief to Carvajal, of the 28th Feb., 1504. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 427 *seq.*, and *Cataneo's Report of the 5th Feb., 1504. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ SANUTO, V., 847; DE LEVA, I., 83.

‖ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 415.

under galling bondage to the allies whom he might call in against Venice.* Still he trusted to be able to find means to escape, and he was convinced that there was no other way open. A State so powerful and unscrupulous as Venice could only be mastered by a coalition; and from the Spring of 1504 the Pope directed all his efforts to bringing this about. He addressed himself to Louis XII. of France,† and to Maximilian, as King of the Romans and Protector of the Church. On the 2nd of March. 1504, Mariano Bartolini of Perugia was sent to the German Court. The Nuncio was charged to urge Maximilian to help the Church against Venice, because it would be impossible for the Pope to refrain any longer from laying the Republic under ban.‡ The instructions of the Nuncio in France, Carlo de Carretto, Marquess of Finale, dated 14th May, 1504, were of wider scope. He was to propose the formation of a League between France, Maximilian, and the Pope.§ In the early spring Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 66 ; *cf.* 277.

† *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 4.

‡ *Instructio data dil. filio magistro Mariano de Bartolinis de Perusio causarum palatii apost. auditori nuntio et oratori nostro. Dat. Rom. die 22 Febr., 1504, not only in Cl. IX., Cod. 42 in the S. Mark's Library, Venice (see VALENTINELLI, V., 231, and BROSCH, Julius II., 112, 326), but also in Cod. Urb., 864, in Ottob. 1888 in the Vatican Library; in Cod. LV. in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (*cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 45); and in Cod. 818 in the Corsini Library, Rome. Concerning the mission of M. de Bartolinis, *cf.* Nuntiaturenberichte, I., XLI. *seq.*; PIEPER, *loc. cit.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 5–6, 24 ; Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 178 ; and in Appendix, N. 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. 37, 39, the *Briefs of the 26th April, 10th and 28th July, 12th Sept., 1st, 17th and 28th Oct., 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ BROSCH in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 302 *seq.*, and Julius II., 112, 326, was the first to make use of Carretto's *Instruction, dat. Rom., 14th May, 1504, out of the Codex in the Lib. S. Marco. The Instruction is also in Cod. LV. of the Varia Polit. (Secret Archives of the

of Arezzo, had been sent to Spain, but his mission proved a total failure.* Ferdinand refused to receive him on the ground that he was a Florentine and a partisan of France, so that Julius II. was obliged to recall him in November, 1504.† How unfriendly Ferdinand's sentiments towards the Holy See were at that time, may be gathered from the fact that in the Spring of 1504 his representative in Rome made overtures to the Venetians for an alliance with them.‡ Julius II. also endeavoured to induce Hungary to put a strong pressure upon Venice to constrain her to give up her booty.§

Vatican); in Cod. Urb., 864, Ottob. 2515; and in Cod. 115 in the Capilupi Library, Mantua. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 29, 30, the *Brief to Queen Anna, of the 16th May, and to Louis XII. of the 8th June, 1504. In a *Brief to C. de Carretto, which unfortunately bears no date, we find: *Ages etiam gratias dil. fil. nostro G[eorgio] card^{li} Rothomagen.; ejus auctoritate et benignitate a rege et regina christianissimis omnia facilius impetrabis in quo nos praecipuam fiduciam gerimus cognita eius in nos et ad honorem s. apost. sedis tam prona constantique voluntate. *Lib. brev. 29, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* See *Instructiones dat. r. episc. Aretino praelato domestico ad regem et reginam Hispaniae, dat. Rome, 14th March, 1504; *cf.* the Codex in the Library of S. Mark (BROSCH, Julius II., 113 *seq.*, 326); Cod. 818 in the Corsini Library, Varia Polit., 55, f. 420–433, in the Secret Archives of the Vatican; and Cod. Urb. 864 in the Vatican Library. A *Brief from Julius II. to Louis XII., dat. 20th Feb., 1504, is extant, in which Cosmus episcopus Aretinus quem in Hispanias cum pot. legati de latere mittimus is recommended to him as a trustworthy man: *Lib. brev. 22, f. 26b. In the same place, f. 39b, a similar *Brief to Florence, dated Rome, 22nd March, 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† In regard to C. de' Pazzi's mission, BROSCH, 113, is so confused that he expresses a doubt as to whether he ever actually started. Here, as elsewhere, he has overlooked RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 21. The *Brief recalling him, 29th Nov., 1504, is in Appendix, N. 41. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 505 *seq.*

§ See THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 558–560, and in Appendix, N. 32,

Meanwhile the missions to France and Germany had produced some good results. On the 22nd of September, 1504, an agreement directed against Venice had been concluded at Blois.* In Rome, in November, it began to be said that the Pope was going to pronounce the censures of the Church on the Republic. It was quite true that he was fully determined to cut the claws of the Lion of S. Mark. On the 4th of December he put a long list of grievances before the Consistory, and remarked that, all else having failed, it would be necessary to have recourse to spiritual weapons.†

Alarmed by the clouds which now seemed gathering on all sides, the Venetians at last made up their minds to give way to a certain extent. Hitherto they had "put off the Pope with words and nothing else," now they endeavoured to conciliate him "by some concessions which were of real practical value."‡ Meanwhile it was of great advantage to them to have been able to procrastinate for so long. The agreement of Blois broke down, Spain was not to be won, Maximilian and Louis XII. fell out with each other. In March 1505, Venice at last withdrew from several of the towns in the Romagna, amongst others from Sant'

37, 42, the *Briefs to Leonini of the 10th July, 17th Oct., and 17th Dec., 1504. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* HUBER, III., 359; ULMANN, II., 155 *seq.*; HÖFLER, A. del Burgo, 457 *seq.*

† Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 324. *Cf.* Costabili's *Despatch of the 21st Aug., 1504 (State Archives, Modena), from which there is an extract in BALAN, V., 437; the Briefs in THEINER, Mon. Ung., II., 560-562; and in Appendix, N. 42, the *Brief to Leonini of 17th Dec., 1504. On the 29th Dec. Julius addressed a *Letter to the Ant. Surianus elect. Venetiar., in which he complained bitterly of the retention of Faenza and Rimini by the Republic. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 248. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 118.

Arcangelo, Montefior, Savignano, Tossignano, and Porto Cesenatico. The Duke of Urbino assured the Doge that the Republic would not be troubled any more about Rimini and Faenza. "No doubt," says Sigismondo de' Conti, "the Duke wished that this might be the case; but he had little knowledge of the mind of Julius II., who had no notion of relinquishing these places."*

In recompense for this act of partial restitution effected in March 1505, Julius now consented to receive the Venetian profession of obedience, but still only under protest (May 5, 1505).† Hieronymus Donatus pronounced the oration; it was full of the usual extravagant phrases of the new style of oratory. The Pope's reply was brief and formal.‡

The Venetian Envoys for the profession of obedience entered Rome with great pomp, and flattered themselves with the hope of persuading Julius to consent to the retention by the Republic of Faenza and Rimini, but had not the smallest success. "The Pope," writes the Florentine Envoy, "holds fast to his rights, and every one thinks that he will get them." §

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 340. *Cf.* BROSCH, *loc. cit.*, and TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 326.

† *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 366. BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 387; and SANUTO, VI., 160 *seq.*, 164, 165 *seq.*, 168, 171 *seq.*

‡ Giov. Acciaiuoli's Report in Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 542. Donato's speech was printed at the time and is to be found with other obedience-orations addressed to Julius II. in an old large octavo volume in the Library of S. Peter at Salzburg: Hieronymi doctoris apud Julium II. P. M. oratoris Veneti in obedientia oratio. 8 folio leaves.

§ G. Acciaiuoli's Despatch of the 15th May, 1505, *loc. cit.*, 543.

CHAPTER III.

Subjugation of Perugia and Bologna.—Downfall of the Baglioni and Bentivogli.

Julius II. was not so absorbed in his efforts to regain all that the Church had lost in the Romagna, as to neglect the equally necessary work of restoring her authority in the other provinces. In February 1504, he induced the Florentines to give back Citerna in the neighbourhood of Perugia, which they had occupied after the death of Alexander VI.* In May of the following year Anticoli and Nepi were again brought under the immediate rule of the Church;† but the reconstitution of the States of the Church could never be solidly effected until the feuds of the Roman Barons were appeased and their adhesion secured. This Julius II. sought to accomplish by means of family alliances.

In November 1505, Niccolò della Rovere, a younger brother of Galeotto, was married to Laura Orsini, only

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, II., 299.

† *Julius II. Joh. Antonio de Forlivio, provinciae Campaniae et Maritimae gubernatori, dat. 29th Maii, 1505. Rediit ad immediatam curam oppidum Anticoli; in consequence of the death of Card. A. Sforza, he is to occupy Anticoli in the Cardinal's name. Similar orders in regard to Nepi were given on the same day to Alexander of Neronibus. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 295. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) In Sept. 1505, Julius II. made a short tour through the States of the Church, in the course of which he visited Nepi; see Burchardi Diarium, III., 400 *seq.*, and *Acta Consist., f. 18. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

daughter and heiress of Orso Orsini and Giulia Farnese.* A month later the Mantuan Agent announces the approaching betrothal of Madonna Felice, natural daughter of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, with the youthful Marcantonio Colonna.† This project, however, as well as some others of the same nature, was given up.‡ On the 24th of May, 1506, Felice was married to Giovanni Giordano, the head of the Orsini of Bracciano, in the Vice-Chancellor's Palace.§ The Venetian Ambassador remarks on the contrast between the ways of Julius II. and those of Alexander VI. on this occasion. The wedding was privately celebrated, all public tokens of rejoicing being forbidden; the wedding festivities were deferred till the arrival of the young couple at Bracciano, where they spent their honeymoon.‖ Felice's dowry also was by no means a large one.¶ Two months later, another alliance between the Colonna and Rovere families took place, in the marriage of Marcantonio Colonna to a niece of the Pope's. Frascati was given to Marcantonio, together with Julius II.'s former Palace of the SS. Apostoli.** By these means Julius trusted that he had

* GREGOROVIUS, Lucrezia Borgia, 128 *seq.*

† *Brognolo's Report, dated Rome, 12th Dec., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ SANUTO, V., 771, 784, 798, 935; VI., 128. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 334 *seq.*, 354 *seq.*, 390, 393, 409 *seq.*, 437 *seq.* On Card. Giuliano's daughters, see Vol. V. of this work, p. 369, note †.

§ On Orsini's eccentricities, for which he was called "pubblico pazzo," see LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 178 *seq.* On the Pope's intervention with Ferdinand of Spain in favour of G. G. Orsini, see in Appendix, N. 60, 65, the *Brief of Jan., 1507. In regard to Madonna Felice, *cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 318.

‖ SANUTO, VI., 347, 359.

¶ It is most frequently estimated at 15,000 ducats. G. Arsago, in a *Report on the marriage, dat. Rome, 24th May, 1506, makes it 20,000 ducats, of which 12,000 came from the Pope. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

** COPPI, Mem. Colonnesi, 251; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 44, ed. 3.

now secured the loyalty of the most powerful of the Roman families, and could turn his attention without danger from that quarter to the restoration of the authority of the Holy See in Bologna and Perugia.

Without any legal title, and simply by force of arms, the Baglioni had made themselves masters of Perugia, and the Bentivogli of Bologna; the only trace of the Pope's authority that still remained was an insignificant toll on the revenues of these two wealthy cities. In Bologna especially, which was the largest city but one of the States of the Church, and its bulwark on that side, all power was practically entirely in the hands of Giovanni Bentivoglio. His government, though not so bad as that of the licentious Giampaolo Baglione in Perugia, was anything but satisfactory. His haughty consort, and more especially his four sons, had made the name of Bentivoglio thoroughly detested in the city by their tyranny and violence. Numbers of exiles from Bologna and Perugia, who had taken refuge in Rome, were perpetually urging the Pope to intervene and deliver their cities from the tyrants who oppressed them.* Julius II. listened to all their representations, but took his time. He made his preparations quietly, collecting money and troops. At last, when a favourable turn in the political situation seemed to promise success, he resolved to make the attempt.†

* *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1; SUGENHEIM, 393, 395; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 333, 335. On the cruelties of the Baglioni, see ALFANI, 248; *cf.* FABRETTI, III., 129 *seq.*, 233. On the Bentivogli, see JOVIUS, Elog., lib. V., 171; *cf.* also RATTI, II., 148 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Memorie per la vita di Giovanni II. Bentivoglio (Bologna, 1839), 152 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 67 *seq.* On the importance of Bologna, see *Letter to Thomasino Barbiero macciero de N. S. papa to the 40 presides libert. Bonon., dated Rome, 4th May, 1507. Here Bologna is called la piu florida et triomphante citta de Italia. *Lettere di ambasciatori e diversi da Roma. State Archives, Bologna.

† LANZ, Einleitung, 86.

It was not till March 1506, that news first reached Venice that the Pope was seriously considering plans for bringing Perugia and Bologna back again under the direct government of the Church. At first this was not believed; but later accounts left no room to doubt its truth. It appeared that Julius II. expected the co-operation of France, and counted on a neutral attitude on the part of the Republic. The Signoria did their best to dissuade him from this undertaking, repeatedly urging the danger that Maximilian might enter Italy, a possibility that had been already a good deal talked of.* In Rome several of the Cardinals, and especially Caraffa, were against it;† but the Pope was not to be moved. It seemed to him that the favourable opportunity had now arrived for getting rid of the Bentivogli, who had given him much cause to complain of them when he was Bishop of Bologna. "Rome," says Paris de Grassis, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, "was quiet, the preparations for war were completed. Julius II. himself headed the expedition, accompanied by all his Court and nearly all the Cardinals; only such members of the Sacred College as were incapacitated by age or sickness were permitted to remain behind. The Legation of Rome was given to Cardinal S. Giorgio."‡

In order to be prepared for all contingencies, Julius II.

* SANUTO, VI., 322, 349, 377, 385–386, 394; *cf.* Appendix, N. 50, *G. Arsago's Report of 15th Aug., 1506. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† SANUTO, VI., 394, 407.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 3–4; *cf.* 20–21. GREGOROVIUS, VII., 44, ed. 3; REUMONT, III., 2, 20; and CREIGHTON, IV., 87, are mistaken in their statement that B. Cibò was left behind as Regent. S. Giorgio is named as Regent, not only by P. de Grassis but also by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348, and Arsago in a *Letter, dated Rome, 20th Aug., 1506. The latter says that only the Rota remained in Rome; all the auditors have gone with the Pope; to-morrow 200 Albanian mercenaries are coming from Naples. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

had concluded alliances with Florence, Siena, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino.* Still the expedition was "a bold undertaking, and would be a master-stroke if it succeeded. Now that the Papacy was hemmed in on the South by Spain in Naples, it was essential to provide for greater expansion on the northern side; the fulcrum of politics for the States of the Church was pushed upwards into Central Italy; and Umbria, Tuscany, and the Romagna acquired a new importance for the Holy See."†

The hazards of the enterprise were increased by the attitude of Venice and France, from neither of whom could the Pope obtain any certain answer.

In France the difficulties came chiefly from Cardinal d'Amboise. Julius II. had hoped to conciliate his former rival by making him, soon after his election, not only Legate of France, but also of Avignon and Venaissin; he trusted by this means to put an end to the perpetual wranglings between the vassals of the Papacy and those of France. But the conduct of d'Amboise as Legate was far from satisfactory; he embezzled the money that he had to collect, and took no pains to conceal that he wished and hoped to be the next Pope.‡ Julius II. was well aware of all this, but in his present position he could not afford to engage in an open conflict with the all-powerful minister, or his master. He continued, therefore, on friendly terms with both, and endeavoured to meet their wishes in everything, as far as he could.§ But it was not possible

* SUGENHEIM, 393. In a *Brief, dated Rome, 19th April, 1506, Julius II. promised the Sienese, in return for their faithfulness, to protect the liberties of their city both by arms and censures. State Archives, Siena, Cassa della Lupa.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1503, n. 23; 1505, n. 13; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 402.

§ *Cf.* the *Brief to d'Amboise, dated Rome, 16th May, 1505, in which

that this state of things should be of long duration. In the Summer of 1505 serious differences with France arose in connection with the allotment of the benefices which had been held by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and to these were added disputes about appointments to Bishoprics.* The creation of Cardinals which took place on the 12th of December, 1505, in which the Ambassador of Louis, Robert Chaland, received the purple, gave rise to new misunderstandings. The King was extremely annoyed because the Archbishop of Auch and the Bishop of Bayeux had not also been admitted into the Sacred College. Alluding to the dangerous illness which he had had in the Spring he exclaimed, "In Italy they think I am dead; but I will shew the Holy Father that I am still alive." To revenge himself, he confiscated the revenues of all benefices belonging to the Pope's nominees in the Milanese.† Julius II., whose position in the States of the Church was still very insecure, was obliged to control himself. He tried to conciliate the King, and on Christmas Day sent him a consecrated sword by the hands of Pierre le Filleul, Bishop of Sisteron.‡ This accomplished diplomatist succeeded in establishing better relations between Rome and France. In matters

the Pope expresses his satisfaction at the recovery of Louis XII., and his willingness to comply with the wishes of the King and the Cardinal in regard to the Bishopric of Clermont. On the 19th May he writes a *Letter expressly for the purpose of congratulating the French King on his recovery. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 288, 307, 309. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The Pope composed besides special prayers of thanksgiving on this occasion. See the Bull of the 16th May, 1505, in the Arch. du Puy-de-Dôme, MAULDE, Origines, 318–319.

* SANUTO, VI., 176, 228; DESJARDINS, II., 103.

† DESJARDINS, II., 153–154; SANUTO, VI., 275.

‡ SANUTO, VI., 279, 282. *Cf.* Appendix, N. 48, the *Report of the Mantuan Envoy, dated Rome, 24th Dec., 1505. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

concerning the Church, Louis XII. gave in to the Pope, and in April 1505, negotiations commenced for obtaining the assistance of France in the expedition against Perugia and Bologna.* The King began by endeavouring to persuade Julius to relinquish his plans, and tried, in June, to take advantage of the situation by requesting that two French prelates should be made Cardinals.† The negotiations dragged on interminably, without any result, and the patience of the Pope was sorely tried. Venice reiterated her warnings against the expedition in a menacing tone. At last the brave old Pontiff determined to try the effect of the accomplished fact. The step he took "furnished Machiavelli with a proof of his thesis, that what never could have been accomplished by ordinary means, is often achieved by precipitation and daring." "The Pope," writes the famous Florentine politician, "knew that it was impossible for him to drive the Bentivogli out of Bologna without help from France and neutrality on the part of Venice. When he saw that he could get nothing from either but uncertain and evasive answers, he resolved to bring both to the point by giving them no time to deliberate. He started from Rome with as many soldiers as he could collect, sending word to the Venetians that they were not to interfere, and to the King of France that he must send troops to support him. Thus they had hardly any time to consider, and as it was plain that if they hesitated or refused the Pope would be extremely angry, they did what he wanted; the King of France sent him help, and the Venetians remained neutral."‡

* DESJARDINS, II., 164 *seq.*; SANUTO, VI., 311.

† SANUTO, VI., 351.

‡ Disc. sopra la I. Deca di T. Livio, III., c. 44; BROSCH, Julius II., 127. On the astonishment produced by this bold action on the part of the Pope, *cf.* the Report of the Florentine Ambassador at the French

In a Secret Consistory on the 17th August, 1506, Julius II., after enumerating the crimes of Giovanni Bentivoglio, mentioned for the first time his intention of taking the field in person against him. On the 21st it was decided that the expedition should start from Rome on the 24th. On the following day Briefs were despatched to the allied Princes of Mantua and Urbino, desiring them to join the Papal army on its march.* Eventually its departure was put off to the 26th.†

To avoid the mid-day heat the start was made before sunrise. The Pope first heard a low Mass, and gave his parting blessing to the people at the Porta S. Maria Maggiore. He was accompanied by nine Cardinals and 500 fully

Court in DESJARDINS, II., 179. From the documents here published, p. 182, we see that as late as the middle of September the King had denounced the expedition.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 4, 20. See Appendix, N. 51, the Brief to Fr. Gonzaga of the 22nd August, 1506. On the 15th of August the Mantuan Envoy stated in his Report that the Pope would set forth without fail in eight days. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The *Brief to the Duke of Urbino, dat. Aug. 22, says that the Pope hopes to see him in Perugia on the 2nd or 3rd of Sept. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 548. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† This date is often given incorrectly. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 215, names the 20th; REUMONT, III., 2, 20, the 23rd; GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 70, the 27th August. Even in contemporary writers it is often inaccurate, *e.g.*, SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348, says the 28th August; the chronicle in the Varia Polit., 50, f. 61 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), the 25th August; and SANUTO, VI., 407, the 2nd August. But the 26th is established as the true date by PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 21; Cardinal Adriano di Corneto's poem on the Pope's expedition (Iter Julii Pont. Ro. per Hadrianum Card. S. Chrysogoni as an appendix to the work De sermone latino [Basle, 1518], in CIACONIUS, III., 235 *seq.*, and ROSCOE, I., 519); and the *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) On the dissatisfaction in Rome at the Pope's departure owing to the fears entertained that it might entail a new Avignon, see SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 28.

armed knights, who, with their retainers, made up a much larger force than the number mentioned.* Their first halting-place was Formello, where the Pope was received by Giovanni Giordano Orsini and his wife. On the following day Julius went on to Nepi, where three more of the Cardinals joined him. The march was always begun before sunrise. On the 28th August they arrived at the little town of Civita Castellana, which possesses a noble castle with which Julius was delighted. Here a halt was made on account of the Feast of S. John the Baptist ; and Machiavelli, then Florentine Envoy, promised the support of his government towards the subjugation of Bologna. On the way from Nepi to Civita Castellana good news had arrived from the French Court, which greatly rejoiced the Pope. On the other hand, he also heard that Giovanni Bentivoglio was determined to resist.†

It was still quite dark when on Sunday, the 30th August, after hearing Mass, the Pope set off for Viterbo. At Fabrica refreshments were provided by Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere. In the evening a solemn entry was made into Viterbo, which was decorated for the occasion. According to the usual custom the Blessed Sacrament was carried before the Pope, who was attended by seventeen Cardinals. During his stay in this place Julius II. drew up further regulations for the maintenance of the reconciliation between the contending parties there which he had succeeded in effecting in the previous year. The Legation was given to Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere. At the same time the Archbishop of Siponto was despatched as Nuncio to Bologna with a stern message, and the Arch-

* GRIMM, I., 291, ed. 5.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 21 *seq.*; Machiavelli's Letter of the 28th August, 1506; and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

bishop of Aix to Milan, to lead the French army of assistance against Castelfranco; the Pope also sent money for the hire of a troop of Swiss foot-soldiers.*

On the 4th September Julius II. hurried on to Montefiascone, where he inspected the castle and stopped for the mid-day meal.† The house in which this was provided was in such a rickety condition that the floor had to be supported with props. With a playful allusion to the famous wine of the place, Julius II. observed, "These are wise precautions lest we should fall through, and people might say we had had too much Montefiascone." On the 5th he set off again for Orvieto, as usual two hours before sunrise.‡ It was so dark, says Paris de Grassis, who accompanied the expedition as Grand-Master of Ceremonies, that nothing could be distinguished. A number of people had spent the night in the open air in hopes of seeing the Pope, who had to have torches carried before him. Orvieto gave him a festive reception. An oak tree, to correspond with the arms of his family, adorned the principal square. Instead of acorns, little boys dressed as angels were perched on the extremities of its branches and on its topmost boughs. Orpheus leant against the trunk and recited Latin verses in praise of the Pope, to which the angels responded in chorus. A girandola was lighted to greet him on his return from the Cathedral, whither he had gone to venerate the famous Corporal and give his blessing to the people. Here also an immense crowd from the neighbourhood had

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 27–30; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348; and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† In the Frati ed. the text of Paris de Grassis has: Die 6 Veneris. But the Friday in 1506 fell on the 4th, and that is the date also given in the *Acta Consist.

‡ Here, too, the text of PARIS DE GRASSIS in Frati, 32, is incorrect: in die Sabbati septimo Septemb. The right date is in *Acta Consist. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

assembled to receive his blessing. The Duke of Urbino and Antonio Ferreri, the Legate of Perugia, arrived at Orvieto on the same day as the Pope.* Both had been negotiating with Giampaolo Baglione, who had hesitated for some time as to whether, considering the strength of his citadel and the troops that he had with him, it might not be worth while to resist. But he had little confidence in the loyalty of the citizens, who, he knew, preferred the Papal government to his, and also feared the hostility of the Oddi party. He knew, too, the character of his adversary and that he was not one to do anything by halves.† Hence he finally resolved to accept the conditions proposed by the Papal Envoys and to submit. He came himself to Orvieto and promised to hand over all the defences of Perugia and the fastnesses in the neighbourhood to the Papal commanders, to recall most of the exiles, to send his two sons to Urbino as hostages, and finally to join the expedition against Bologna with 150 men. On the 8th September he returned to Perugia, accompanied by the Legate and the Duke of Urbino, to prepare for the entry of the Pope.

On the following day Julius II. left Orvieto. On his journey he received a letter from the Marquess of Mantua announcing that he would arrive at Perugia on the 12th of September and take part personally in the expedition against Bentivoglio.‡ When they came to the little village of Castiglione on the Lake of Thrasimene, which contained neither accommodation nor food enough for the Pope's

* Julius had announced Ferreri's nomination to the Perugians on the 4th April, 1506. See the *Brief of that date in the City Archives, Perugia.

† REUMONT, III., 2, 20, and SUGENHEIM, 393.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 36, and *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 52, the Brief to F. Gonzaga of the 10th Sept., 1506. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

retinue, to the dismay of his suite he announced his intention of remaining there some days. He did this, Paris de Grassis says, in order to give Baglione time to organise his men. But the commissariat at Castiglione presented such difficulties that on the 11th Julius was obliged to move on across the lake to the Isola Maggiore, and thence to Passignano.

On the 12th they proceeded to Corciano. They were joined on the way thither by the Condottiere Giovanni Soffatelli with 700 men. At Corciano Cardinal François Guillaume Clermont arrived with a letter from Louis XII. about Bologna.* It was soon known that he was charged with the hopeless task of trying to persuade Julius to give up his enterprise.†

On Sunday, the 13th September,‡ Julius made his entry into Perugia with great pomp. The eight Priors in gala dress met him at the Porta San Pietro with the keys of the city. All the bells were rung, the streets were thronged with people and decorated with triumphal arches. Twenty Cardinals, the Duke of Urbino, Giovanni Gonzaga, and many of the Roman Barons accompanied the Pope. He went first to the Cathedral, where the Papal choir sang the Te Deum, which was followed by the solemn Benediction of the people and the proclamation of an Indulgence.§ Julius II.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 37–39, and *Acta Consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letters of the 13th and 14th Sept., 1506.

‡ Not on 12th Sept. as GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3, states.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 40 *seq.*; *cf.* ALFANI, 249 *seq.* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1, says : il pontefice entrò in Perugia senza forze ed in modo che era in potesta di Giampagolo di farlo prigione, etc. Machiavelli, in his letter of 13th Sept., remarks that the Papal troops were stationed close to the Gate, and those of Baglione at a short distance from it, so that the Pope and Cardinals were completely in the power of the latter. Later, in his speech on the first Decas of Livy, Machia-

took up his abode in the Palace of the Priors. On the 17th, the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga arrived. Three days later the Pope celebrated a solemn High Mass in the church of the Franciscans; he had commenced his studies in early youth as a poor scholar in this convent; now he wished to thank God and S. Francis for his elevation to the highest dignity in the world.*

The Pope was so much inspirited by the success which had thus far attended his expedition that his thoughts soared now to higher flights. He began to talk of setting forth to deliver Constantinople and Jerusalem out of the hands of the unbelievers as soon as things had been set in order in Italy; not of course, however, until the Church had got back her States—that, he said emphatically, was an indispensable preliminary. He commanded the celebrated preacher Aegidius of Viterbo, of the Order of the Hermits of

velli blamed Baglione and accused him of cowardice for not having the courage to make himself master of the Pope's person. (See Vol. V. of this work, p. 165.) It is, however, evident, from the clear account given by Paris de Grassis, who was an eye-witness, from the words of Aegidius of Viterbo (in HÖFLER, 384), and the description in the Annal. dec. (cum maximo gentium armorum et aliorum numero, in FABRETTI, III., 194) that Julius was far from having entered Perugia unarmed, and that his troops practically occupied the city. The risk for him cannot therefore have been so great as it is made out to be by Guicciardini and Machiavelli; their statement that he came in without troops is simply false. The Venetian Envoy (SANUTO, VI., 421) reports 2000 armed men entered the city with the Pope, though he adds: et à frato intrar in la terra 500 fanti di note per dubito. Naturally, the troops were for the most part quartered outside the city. No doubt Julius shewed some courage in acting as he did; but he was not as rash as Machiavelli makes him appear. F. Cubello also in a *Letter to F. Gonzaga, dated Perugia, the 14th Sept., 1506, reports: *Hieri il papa intro in pompa con tuta la corte in ordine et tute le gente d'arme in ordine cum 150 stradioti, etc. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 44. *Cf.* FABRETTI, III., 200 *seq.*

S. Augustine, to deliver a sermon on this subject while he and the Cardinals were at Perugia; and again later at Bologna he desired him to preach in a similar sense. In his review of the reign of Julius II. Aegidius says that it was generally thought that the Pope would have carried out this project if he had not been hindered by the blindness of men.*

Julius remained eight days in the newly-won city. He spent this time in labouring earnestly to bestow on its unfortunate inhabitants the blessings of a settled peace.†

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 45, ed. 3, is mistaken in supposing that the report of Aegidius has never been printed; it has been published by HÖFLER, p. 387. CERRI, 176, also quotes it, and his sermons on the Turkish question are mentioned by SANUTO, VI., 427. Aegidius was also to have delivered a discourse on peace at Perugia, but, to the great annoyance of Julius, preached a panegyric on the Pope instead. See PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 46. ALBERTINI, XXIII., also alludes to the crusading projects of Julius. ZINKEISEN, Oriental. Frage, 554, though unacquainted with these authorities, is of opinion that he had the war against the Turks very much at heart. *Cf.* also PICHLER, I., 503, and FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 11 *seq.*, 23 *seq.*, 34 *seq.*, 43 *seq.*, 54 *seq.* But though numerous Briefs in Raynaldus shew that the attention of Julius II. was repeatedly turned towards the defence of Christendom against the Turks (*cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS' Report, ed. Döllinger, 390), still Zinkeisen and Pichler appear to judge him too favourably in this respect. He was too much engrossed with Italian affairs to be able to give the Turkish question anything but quite a secondary place in his thoughts At the same time, until Dr. Gottlob's Monograph of Julius II. has come out, it will be right to suspend our judgment on this subject. The energetic support given by this Pope to King Emmanuel of Portugal's naval enterprises, which were regarded as crusading expeditions, appears in a great number of Briefs and Bulls, some of which are dated from Perugia at this very time. See Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 61 *seq.*, 93 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*, 101 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*, 119 *seq.* A letter from Rome of 15th Oct., 1509, in the Acta Tomic., I., 49, which has hitherto been overlooked, reports later projects of Julius II. for a Crusade.

† On the 14th Sept. F. Cubello reports to F. Gonzaga: *El N. S.

The baneful and detested rule of the Baglioni was at an end. From henceforth the beautiful city was again to enjoy its municipal liberties and republican constitution under the sovereignty of the Church. The exiles were allowed to return, with the exception of those only whose hands were stained with the blood of their fellow-citizens. The magistracy of the Ten was abolished. Julius left the old liberties untouched. Cardinal Antonio Ferreri was appointed Legate.*

The ardent spirit of the Pope was too much occupied with Bologna to remain any longer in Perugia.† On the 21st of September he started for Gubbio, which he reached on the 22nd; on the 23rd he was at Cantiano, and on the 25th entered Urbino, crossing the Appenines by the pass of Furlo. The gates were taken down by the Duke, while the Prefect presented the keys of the city to the Pope.‡ Julius, from the artistic side of his nature, was charmed with the Palace of Montefeltro; but his mind was too full of the negotiations with Bologna and France to give much attention to anything else.

attende cum ogni diligencia ordinar le cose di Perosa. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 348 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, 394; LEO, V., 183; FABRETTI, III., 302; RANKE, Päpste, I., 251, ed. 6. In the following year fresh disturbances broke out in Perugia (MARIOTTI, III., 564), in consequence of which Card. Ferreri was recalled and Card. Leonardo della Rovere sent in his place. Julius II. informed the citizens of these changes in his *Briefs of the 1st and 2nd Feb., 1507 (City Archives, Perugia), and in Cod. C., IV., 1, of the University Library, Genoa.

† *Cf.* the Brief of 14th Sept., 1506; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 24.

‡ DUMESNIL, 66, incorrectly gives the 23rd as the day of the entry, and there are other mistakes also in his Itinerary of the Pope. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 50, and *Acta Consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Among recent writers see UGOLINI, II., 137 *seq.*, and LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 172 *seq.*

He had sent Antonio da Monte San Savino, Archbishop of Manfredonia, to Bologna to endeavour to arrange terms for its return to its allegiance to the Church,* but Giovanni Bentivoglio had anticipated the Archbishop and completely frustrated his mission. At first, Sigismondo de' Conti says, he had been disposed to submit, but the consciousness of his many misdeeds led him eventually to change his mind. He succeeded in cajoling the citizens into assuring the Papal Envoy that their Prince was no tyrant, but a true father to his people. All the Archbishop's kindly admonitions proved unavailing, and when at last he threatened them with the censures of the Church, Bentivoglio and the magistrates appealed to a General Council.†

The Pope had intended to await the result of the Archbishop's mission at Urbino, but the moment he heard that he was on his way back, in spite of the dissuasions of the Duke and others, he determined to set out to meet him.

In the early morning of the 29th September he started for Macerata.‡ The roads were mere bridle paths, the weather had broken, and the hills were covered with snow, so that it was not possible on the 30th to set out till after mid-day. The rain fell in torrents and the sumpter-mules stumbled and fell on the slippery paths, but the Pope struggled on with passionate haste towards San Marino. He halted for the night in the suburb of Borgo, and here a letter reached him from the King of France promising to send troops and announcing his intention of coming himself in Advent to Bologna, where he hoped to meet the

* SANUTO, VI., 421–422.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 349–350. *Cf.* also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 26 *seq.*

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI wrongly gives the 30th (II., 351). *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 53; Letter of Machiavelli of 1st Oct., 1506, and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Pope.* This set Julius II. free from his greatest anxiety. The support of the French Government had been delayed as long as possible, but now that he was assured of this the fall of Bentivoglio was certain.† There was nothing now to fear from Venice. Nevertheless, "he still felt it prudent to take pains to conciliate the Venetians." He proposed to the Signoria to permit them still to retain Faenza and Rimini as a fief. Though this offer was refused, he still continued to treat the Republic with all possible consideration. "He strictly forbade his troops, in their necessary march through Venetian territory, under pain of death to take anything from the inhabitants, and emphatically assured their Envoy D. Pisani, that the Signoria had nothing to fear from him. He was most anxious not to afford the least shadow of excuse to Venice for her conduct." ‡

Instead of taking the high road from San Marino to Rimini Julius chose the more difficult mountain way, in order to avoid passing through the country occupied by the Venetians. On the 1st October he spent the night in the miserable little village of Savignano, and on the following day crossed the Rubicon and entered Cesena, where he took up his quarters for the night in the castle. Meanwhile the Bolognese Envoys had arrived. They besought him "not to throw a peaceful city, which was thoroughly loyal to the Church, into confusion by demanding novelties." Julius answered, "I know that what you are now saying is not what you really think; you cannot be so foolish as to prefer the rule of a cruel tyrant to mine." §

On the 5th of October a Consistory was held, at which

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 54. On the precise moment when the King changed his mind, see BROSCH, Julius II., 331.

† *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letter of the 3rd Oct., 1506.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 129. *Cf.* SANUTO, VI., 453.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 351. The answer of Julius II. is some-

there were twenty Cardinals present. During the mid-day meal the news arrived that the French troops were on the road with sixteen cannon and would be at Modena on Saturday. The following day brought tidings of the death of King Philip of Castile.* On the 7th October it was determined in a Secret Consistory that an Interdict should be laid on Bologna. A review of the troops took place in Cesena; the army consisted of 600 horsemen, 1600 foot-soldiers, and 300 Swiss.†

The persistent rain had made the roads almost impassable; but Julius would brook no delay. Early on the 8th October he moved onwards from Cesena to Forlimpopoli, and on the following day to Forli. In entering the city, he and his suite had a taste of the wild character of the people of the Romagna, who forcibly possessed themselves of the Pope's mule and baldacchino.‡

Meanwhile there could no longer be any doubt that Bentivoglio had no intention of relinquishing his usurped authority without a struggle. "He trusted in the strength of the city, the number of his adherents, his high position, and his stalwart sons." According to Sigismondo de' Conti, Bentivoglio demanded that the Pope should enter Bologna without troops, and make no change in anything.§

what differently stated in Machiavelli's letter, cited *supra*, note † on preceding page. According to him the Pope said amongst other things: circa i capitoli non curava ne quello aveva fatto gli altri papi, ne quello aveva fatto lui (*cf.* THEINER, Cod., III., 515) perche gli altri papi e lui non avevan possuto fare altro e la necessità e non la volontà gli aveva fatti confermare.

* Philip died of a fever on the morning of 25th Sept. See HÄBLER, 130–131; SANUTO, VI., 442.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 58 *seq.*; Machiavelli's Letter of the 5th Oct., 1506; and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 60, and *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.*

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 351; REUMONT, III., 2, 23.

These pretensions so enraged Julius that he at once proclaimed the excommunication of Bentivoglio and an Interdict on Bologna unless the city returned to its obedience within nine days. On the 11th of October these Bulls were affixed to the doors of the Cathedral of Forli.* The Bolognese were thoroughly frightened, says Sigismondo de' Conti, but Bentivoglio was not yet subdued. He had sent large bribes to the French commanders, and in their greed of gain they tried for a time to play fast and loose between him and the Pope. Julius, however, threatened Louis that if he did not keep his word he would publish his faithlessness to the whole world; and at last the King commanded his generals to advance. The alarm produced by their approach in Bologna determined the Pope to begin his march from Forli; but instead of taking the easy road through the fertile country of the Æmilia, he chose for his own party the one which led across the mountains. This, Sigismondo de' Conti says, was partly because he did not trust the Venetians,† and partly because he could not endure to look upon Faenza, torn away from the Church as it now was. Thus, leaving the bulk of the army and the Cardinals to take the direct road by that place, he with a small retinue turned aside to the left towards

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 61–62; LÜNIG, IV., 194; and Machiavelli's Letter of the 10th Oct., 1506. Portions of the Bull of Interdict, dated 10th Oct., 1506, taken from the Regest. in the Papal Secret Archives, are to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 25 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, G. Bentivoglio, App., XCIII. *seq.*, and also in Frati's ed. of PARIS DE GRASSIS, 177–186. The Bull excommunicating Bentivoglio, also dated 10th Oct., 1506, was printed the same year in Rome. Copies of it are, however, rare, as Bentivoglio had as many as he could obtain destroyed. I saw one in the State Archives at Modena.

† The Brief of the 15th Oct., 1506, printed in Appendix, N. 53, refers also to this. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Castrocaro, a place which had once belonged to the Church but was now in the hands of the Florentines. This was on the 17th October.* Beyond Mutilano the road became extremely difficult; ten times it was crossed by a mountain torrent; in one place the Pope had to dismount and clamber up the steep ascent for a mile with the assistance of his servants. He was half-dead with fatigue when in the evening he arrived at the little village of Marradi in the valley of Lamone, but he only allowed himself a short night's rest, and was off again before daybreak to Palazzuolo. There he halted for a light meal in the afternoon, and then hurried on to Tossignano, which he reached in the evening. This place belonged to the States of the Church; still he would not tarry, but went on at once to Imola.†

Though the Pope was now sixty-four years of age, and suffering at the time from gout, he had borne the fatigues of the mountain journey as if he had been quite a young man.‡ His attendants had to follow him whether they liked it or not. Paris de Grassis, the Master of Ceremonies, travelled by the easier road by Faenza, but before they parted Julius II. made him hand over to him his costly cope, and his mitre and pectoral cross, "For fear," he said, "they should be stolen by the Venetians or the people of Faenza."§ When his followers were almost

* SANUTO, VI., 451, and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 352–353. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS ed. Frati, 64–65; LAUR. PARMENIUS, 313; Machiavelli's Letters of the 16th and 19th Oct., 1506; and *Acta Consist.

‡ "Imus praecipites per mille pericula rerum
Turrigerasque arces, rupes et inhospita saxa."

See Card. A. Castellesi's poem mentioned *supra*, p. 266, note †.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 64–65.

in despair at the difficulties of the road to Tossignano, the Pope smilingly quoted Virgil's lines:

> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
> Tendimus in Latium.
>
> —*Æneid*, I., 204, 205.

In the little town of Imola, which they reached on the 20th* October, and where they were received with festal honours, it was impossible to accommodate the whole of the Pope's suite. In consequence, all the officials and many members of the Court remained at Castro Bolognese, and the army (2000 men) was encamped in the neighbouring country. The Duke of Urbino being laid up with an attack of gout, Francesco Gonzaga was appointed Commander-in-Chief on the 25th October. On the same day Julius received a visit from the Duke of Ferrara. On All Souls' Day, just as the Pope was going to Mass, the tidings of the flight of Bentivoglio arrived.† The tyrant now saw the impossibility of making a defence, as he had made himself utterly detested by his subjects. He therefore entered into a compact with the French Commander-in-Chief, Chaumont, and fled to Milan with a safe conduct from him. According to Sigismondo de' Conti, as soon as the Interdict was laid upon Bologna, the citizens completely deserted him. One by one, all the priests left the city, and even his most trusted friends began to say that the Pope was in the right. But Bentivoglio still held

* Not on the 21st as stated by VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 425. See SANUTO, VI., 425 ; FANTI, Imola, 17 *seq.* (here the particulars in regard to the rejoicings are to be found); and *Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 66-80. The Brief on F. Gonzaga's appointment is in DUMONT, IV., II., 89, inaccurately given in GOZZADINI, Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, Appendix, XCVIII. *seq.*, translated in EQUICOLA, Storia di' Mantova (1610), 247-248.

out until he heard that Charles d'Amboise had actually arrived at Modena with an army of 600 lancers, 3000 horsemen, and a large number of guns.

The Bolognese now sent Envoys to the Pope, begging for the removal of the Interdict, and protection against the French army. The French troops were already under the walls, and the soldiers were hoping for a rich booty from the pillage of the city; they were encamped along the canal which conducts the water from the Reno into the city. The citizens had taken up arms to defend themselves, and had flooded the French camp by opening a sluice, which forced the enemy to retire, leaving their baggage and heavy artillery behind them. They were furious, and bent on vengeance; the city was only saved from being sacked by the prompt action of the Pope, who bought them off with a present of 8000 ducats to the generals and 10,000 to the soldiers. Thus the splendid reception, which was accorded to him when he entered Bologna, was well earned.* The triumphal entry was to take place on the Feast of S. Martin.

But it was not in Julius II. to endure such a long delay. "On the 10th of November," says the Master of Ceremonies, "his Holiness commanded me to look for a suitable and safe residence for him within the city. This I found in the house which had formerly belonged to the Templars, which was only a stone's throw from the gate, and the Pope took possession of it at once, bringing only a small number of his suite with him. He would not listen to

* GUICCIARDINI, VII., c. 1.; LAURENTIUS PARMENIUS, 314 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 354-355. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 83, gives a somewhat different account, evidently coloured so as to shew his countrymen to the best advantage. *Cf.* also FLORUS, De expedit. Bonon., 20 *seq.*; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 35, 36, 37; SUGENHEIM, 396-307; and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 74 *seq.*

the dissuasions of the astrologers, despising their science, and saying, 'We will go in in the name of God.' Meanwhile it became known in the city that the Pope was within its walls, and the ringing of bells and thunder of cannon soon announced the news to the whole country round." *

The triumphal procession to San Petronio, the Cathedral of Bologna, took place on the 11th November in lovely summer-like weather; the roses were still in bloom.† The pageant was of unusual magnificence, a perfect specimen of the festive art of the Renaissance.‡ The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, has described all its details in his own pedantic fashion;§ other contemporaries, such as the Venetian Envoy, Francesco Albertini, and the Bolognese chronicler Ghirardacci, have painted it in a broader style.‖ Cardinal Adriano of Corneto celebrates it in a Latin poem.¶ The Pope's humanistic secretary, Sigismondo de' Conti, gives a very good description of it in his great historical work. "Thirteen triumphal arches," he says, "were erected, bearing the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 84–85.

† ALBERTINI, p. XXII.

‡ On the pageantry and festal-art of the Renaissance in general, see BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 143 *seq.*, ed. 3.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 85–96.

‖ ALBERTINI, pp. XXI–XXII. The Report of the Venetian Envoy is in SANUTO, VI., 491 *seq.* Erasmus, who was present, gives no description, but laments its pomp. To give greater weight to his strictures, he says that he had also seen the entry of Julius II. into Rome. This is untrue, though GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 50, ed. 3, maintains it; *cf.* NOLHAC, Érasme en Italie, 17. Ghirardacci's account is in Lib. 38, Cod. 768, of the University Library, Bologna. *Cf.* also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 34, 39, and LAURENTIUS PARMENIUS, 315.

¶ *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Adrian von Corneto, 114–115; BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3.

inscription in large letters: 'Julius II., our Liberator and most beneficent Father!' A hundred young noblemen formed a cordon to keep the people back. First came a number of horsemen as outriders to clear the way, then the light cavalry, the infantry in glistening armour, the baggage of the Pope and the Cardinals, and finally the bands of the regiments. These were followed by sixteen Bolognese and four Papal standard-bearers with their banners, the ten white palfreys of the Pope with golden bridles, and lastly the officials of the Court. Next to these came the Envoys, Duke Guido of Urbino, the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, Francesco Maria, the Prefect of Rome, Costantino Areniti, the Duke of Achaia and Macedonia, fourteen lictors with silver staves to keep the crowd back, and the two Masters of Ceremonies, the first of whom, Paris de Grassis, was the organiser of the whole pageant. The Papal Cross was carried by Carlo Rotario; he was closely followed by forty of the clergy with lighted candles and the Papal choir accompanying the Sacred Host. The Cardinals walked immediately in front of Julius II., who was carried in the *Sedia Gestatoria*; his purple cope, shot with gold thread and fastened across the breast with the *formale pretiosum* set with emeralds and sapphires, was a splendid work of art. On his head he wore an unusually large mitre glistening with pearls and jewels. He was accompanied by his two private chamberlains, his secretary Sigismondo de' Conti, and his physicians, the Roman Mariano dei Dossi, and the Sienese Arcangelo dei Tuti. He was followed by the Patriarchs, the Archbishops and Bishops, the Protonotary, the ecclesiastical Envoys, the Abbots and Generals of religious orders, the Penitentiaries and Referendaries. The whole procession was closed by a body of the Papal guard. It moved very slowly, owing to the immense concourse

of spectators, all decked in holiday garb, who had come in from the country round to receive the Pope's blessing. Gold and silver coins, struck for the occasion, were scattered by servants amongst them. At the Cathedral the Pope first made his act of thanksgiving and then solemnly blessed the people. It was dusk before he got back to the palace, now attended by the magistrates of the city, who joined the procession after it left the Cathedral." *

The work of reorganising the Government of the city was begun by Julius II. as soon as possible after his arrival. "He was anxious to make the government of the Church popular at Bologna, and for this end he confirmed their ancient liberties and gave them a new constitution which left a large measure of autonomy to the municipality, and also considerably lightened the burden of taxation which had pressed on them so heavily of late." † The Council of Sixteen was abolished, and on the 17th of November a Senate, consisting of forty members, chosen for the most part from amongst the best burgher families of Bologna, was appointed in its place. This Senate was to act as the Legate's Council, "but was granted far greater and more independent powers by Julius II. than the city had ever enjoyed under the Bentivogli"; and he also diminished the taxes. "He wished to create a really free city which should be loyal to him out of gratitude for his protection." ‡ On

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 358–362. The inscription on the coins was: Bon[onia] p[er] Jul[ium] a tirano liberat[a]; *cf.* FRATI, Delle monete gettate al popolo nel solenne ingresso in Bologna di Giulio, II. (Bologna, 1885). See also Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, III., 44 *seq.*

† SUGENHEIM, 397. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 99 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 360 *seq.*

‡ RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 217. On the reduction of the Taxes, see SANUTO, VI., 521, and FLORUS, 23.

the 26th of November the anniversary of the Pope's Coronation was celebrated with great pomp. On this occasion, by his special desire, his favourite nephew, Galeotto della Rovere, was the celebrant at the High Mass.

Louis XII. and his minister d'Amboise demanded an exorbitant price for the assistance they had rendered. In addition to a large payment in money, they demanded the right of appointing to benefices throughout the Milanese territory, the confirmation of Cardinal d'Amboise's Legation, and the nomination of three French Cardinals, all near relations of his.* The last condition was the hardest for the Pope; for the Cardinals strongly objected to this increase of French influence in the Sacred College, with the consequent enhancement of d'Amboise's prospect of some day obtaining the Tiara, and the danger of the Court being transferred to Avignon.† This creation, the third in the reign of Julius II., took place on the 18th December, 1506, in a Secret Consistory and was not published at first.‡ The three Cardinals were: Jean François de la Trémoïlle,

* SANUTO, VI., 452; GOLDAST, 278; HAVEMANN, II., 233.

† *Ibid.*, 507.

‡ This is the reason of the variations in contemporaneous statements on this subject. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 119, says: Die veneris 18 (Dec.) papa fecit consistorium pro novis cardinalibus creandis, licet postea nihil fecerit; and 133: Die 4 Januarii, 1507 creavit secrete cardinales Franciae nonnullos. On the other hand, a Report in SANUTO, VI., 518, unfortunately without a proper date, says the nomination had already taken place in December. My chief reason for believing that, in spite of OLDOIN'S (III., 261) correction, Ciaconius is not mistaken and that CARDELLA, 323, is right in holding to the year 1506, while I reject the date of 14th Jan. given by CONTELORIUS, 109 (PANVINIUS, 345, who says 3rd Sept., is utterly wrong), is that I find 18th Dec., 1506, expressly mentioned in the official *Acta Consist., f. 23. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Archbishop of Auch ; René de Prie, Bishop of Bayeux ; and Louis d'Amboise, Archbishop of Alby. They were not published until the 17th May, 1507, after the Pope's return to Rome, and at the same time as the nomination of Cardinal Ximenes to the Sacred College.*

In spite of these concessions sharp dissensions, principally on account of the affairs of Genoa, soon broke out between Louis and the Pope. "It was an open secret in Rome that d'Amboise was working to obtain the Tiara at any cost, while, on the other hand, at the Court of France every one said that the Pope was privately encouraging and even helping the Genoese in their resistance to Louis XII."† In the middle of February, 1507, the King said to the Florentine Envoy: "I have sent word to the Pope that if he takes up the cause of the Genoese I will put Giovanni Bentivoglio back in Bologna. I have only to write a single letter in order to effect this, and Bentivoglio will give me 100,000 ducats into the bargain. The Rovere are a peasant family: nothing but the stick at his back will keep the Pope in order."‡

When there could no longer be any doubt that Louis XII. was coming to Italy, Julius II. felt that it would be better to leave Bologna and so avoid a meeting. The French King was collecting such a large army that it was impossible to think that its only employment was to be the reconquest of Genoa. The Pope apprehended that there might even be personal danger for him in remaining at Bologna, and

* *Cf.* Card. Gonzaga's *Letter to his brother, the Marquess of Mantua, dat. Rome, 17th May, 1507 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) ; the Venetian Report in SANUTO, VII., 82, and Costabili's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 20th May, 1507. (State Archives, Modena.) See also SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 23, 39. On Card. de la Trémoïlle, see LA PLAQUE BARRIS in the Rev. de Gascogne, 1878.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 136 ; GRIMM, I., 303, ed. 5.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 220 ; *cf.* 224 *seq.*

therefore at last decided on returning to Rome, to the great satisfaction of his Court. On the 12th of February, 1507, he informed the Cardinals in a Secret Consistory of his intention. The Bolognese were completely taken by surprise when they heard of this unexpected decision, and at first extremely dissatisfied, as the work of reorganising the affairs of the city was not by any means concluded. This feeling, however, was soon dissipated when they found that the Pope was prepared to confirm the liberties granted to the city by Nicholas V., and to divide the executive power between the Legate and the Council of Forty.* Nevertheless he had so little confidence in the unruly citizens that he ordered a new fort to be built at the Porta Galiera. On the 20th of February he laid its first stone. The day before this he had appointed Antonio Ferreri, Legate of Bologna; an unfortunate selection, as soon appeared. Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere took Ferreri's place in Perugia, and was succeeded in Viterbo by Francesco Alidosi.†

On the 22nd February, 1507, as soon as the Bull appointing the Council of Forty had been published, the Pope left the city to the great regret of the Bolognese, and on the same day the new Legate entered it.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 138–142. *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 364, who does not give the real reason for the Pope's departure; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 76–77.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 147–148. *Cf.* SANUTO, VI., 536, 551–552; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 79 *seq.*; *Ghirardacci for the year 1507, Cod. 768 of the University Lib. at Bologna. On the laying of the foundation-stone of the fort, see GUGLIELMOTTI, I., 62. The Bull nominating A. Ferreri, dat. Bologna, 20th Feb., 1507, which, as far as I know, has not been printed, is in the State Archives, Bologna.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 149, 151 *seq.*; SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 364; and *Acta Consist., f. 28, in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

Julius II. stopped first at Imola to make further arrangements for the maintenance of peace in that city. He then proceeded to Forli and Cesena, again avoiding Faenza, visited Porto Cesenatico, Sant' Arcangelo, and Urbino, and made his way back to Rome by Foligno, Montefalco, Orto, Viterbo, and Nepi.* On the 27th of March, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, he reached the Tiber at Ponte Molle, where he was welcomed by a crowd of people. He spent the night in the Convent of Santa Maria del Popolo. On Palm Sunday he celebrated High Mass in that church, and this was followed by his triumphal entry into the city and procession to the Vatican.

Rome had adorned herself for the occasion in that curious mixture of Christian and Pagan styles which characterised the taste of the period. The streets were profusely decorated with hangings and garlands, and bristling with inscriptions in praise of the victor. Triumphal arches, covered with legends, were erected in all directions; some of these, as for instance the one put up by Cardinal Costa on the Campo Marzo, were also decorated with statues and pictures. Opposite the Castle of St. Angelo was a chariot with four white horses and containing ten genii with palms in their hands, welcoming the Pope; on the prow of the chariot a globe rested, from which sprang an oak bearing gilt acorns and rising to the height of the Church of S^ta^ Maria Traspontina. In front of the Vatican a copy of the Arch of Constantine was erected representing the whole history of the expedition. By order of the Legate, Cardinal S. Giorgio, an altar was prepared before every church

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 152–169; SANUTO, VI., 553; *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* On the 27th Feb., 1507, Julius took Alberto Pio of Carpi and his State under his special protection, an act which was directed against the Duke of Ferrara. See Mem. Stor. di Carpi, II., 331 *seq.*; SEMPER, Carpi, 7.

along the route of the procession, attended by the clergy and choir, that the religious element might not be eclipsed by all the worldly pomp. An eye-witness says that this triumphal entry was even more magnificent than the coronation. Twenty-eight Cardinals accompanied the Pope, the procession took three hours to pass from the gate of the city to S. Peter's. The Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, says that Julius knelt longer than was his wont at the tomb of the Apostles, and as he entered his apartment he said: "Since we have returned in safety, we all have indeed good cause to chant the Te Deum."*

In truth Julius II. had achieved a great success. It was enthusiastically celebrated by the poets of the time.† In his address in the Consistory, Cardinal Raffaele Riario said: "When your Holiness first announced your project of bringing Bologna back to a true obedience under the Holy See, the excellence of the object that you had in view was plain to us all. Hence we rejoice with our whole hearts now that this noble and glorious end is attained. The success of your Holiness has immensely increased the honour and consideration in which the Holy See is held, and covered your own name with a glory that will never perish. Your Holiness has deserved to be ranked among those illustrious Popes who, casting aside all personal considerations or family interests, proposed no other end to

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 172–176. *Cf.* ALBERTINI, pp. XXII–XXIII; SANUTO, VII., 43, 63–65. (Many of the inscriptions are very characteristic of the period.) *Cf.* also LAUR. PARMENIUS, 316, and the *Report of Giov. Gonzaga, Rome, 28th March, and that of Cardinal Gonzaga of the 29th March (see Appendix, N. 73), in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and in Appendix, N. 72, Costabili's *Report, the 28th March, 1507. State Archives, Modena.

† Fr. AMBROSIUS, Comment. de rebus gestis Bapt. Mantuani, 80. *Cf.* PIPER, Mythologie, I., 366 *seq.*

themselves but the care of preserving and augmenting the authority and majesty of the Holy See."*

* *Sicut ab initio S. V. fecit verbum de rebus Bononiensibus comprobatum fuit, nihil posse praestantius cogitari quam urbem hanc redigere ad veram obedientiam Sedis apostolicae, ita nunc toto corde gaudere et exsultare debemus, quod S. V. consecuta fuerit illum optimum et gloriosum finem, quem in animo suo, Deo et justitia inspirantibus praeconceperat. S. V. mirum in modum corroboravit et ampliavit existimationem status ecclesiastici et auxit immortalitatem famae et nominis sui ita, ut merito jam fuerit sortita locum inter illos clarissimos pontifices, qui posthabitis humanis affectibus, etiam sui proprii sanguinis, nullum alium finem sibi proponebant quam solam curam et vigilantiam conservandi et amplificandi auctoritatem et majestatem Apostolicae sedis. *Consistorialia Raph. Riarii card. S. Georgii, Cod. J. III., 89, f. 219, in the Chigi Library, Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE BETWEEN 1507 AND 1509.—JULIUS II. THREATENED BY SPAIN AND FRANCE.—THE VENETIANS SEEK TO HUMILIATE THE PAPACY BOTH ECCLESIASTICALLY AND POLITICALLY. — RESISTANCE OF JULIUS II. — LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI AND WAR AGAINST VENICE. – THE POPE'S VICTORY.

THE rapid subjugation of two such important cities as Bologna and Perugia to the government of the Church had immensely enhanced the prestige of Julius II. in the eyes of his contemporaries;* but he had no notion of resting on his laurels, knowing how far he still was from the goal which, from the first moment of his elevation, he had proposed to himself. The "largest and by far the most difficult portion of his task, the wresting from Venice of the towns and territories belonging to the States of the Church which she had appropriated, lay still before him."†

The settlement of the year 1505 was of such a nature as, in the words of one of Julius II.'s bitterest opponents, to set a seal on the helpless condition of the Papacy.‡ Even a less energetic ruler than this Pope would have been driven to strive for the evacuation of the Romagna.

But meanwhile other events occurred which forced all Julius II.'s plans for repelling the usurpations of the Vene-

* VILLARI, Machiavelli, I., 436.

† SUGENHEIM, 397.

‡ BROSCH in SYBELS Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 304.

tians into the background. He found himself seriously threatened by both France and Spain.

The first dispute between the Pope and King Ferdinand of Spain arose out of the suzerainty of the Holy See over Naples and the feudal dues; to this, others were soon added by the encroachments of the King on the right of the Church in the appointments to Bishoprics in Castile.* The tension produced by their differences went on increasing, although on the 17th May, 1507, Julius had bestowed the Red-hat on the King's trusted minister Ximenes, the distinguished Archbishop of Toledo, who was also an ardent advocate of reform.† When, in June, 1507, Ferdinand was on his way from Naples to Savona, Julius hastened to Ostia in hopes of obtaining an interview; but the King discourteously sailed past Ostia without stopping.‡ At Savona, towards the end of June, he met Louis XII., and there a reconciliation between the two Kings took place.§

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 324, 332; ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 86; LANZ, Einl., 96.

† GOMEZ, 1003; HEFELE, Ximenes, 255. In the *Acta Consist., f. 24 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), the date of Ximenes' nomination is wanting, but it can be determined with certainty from the Brief of Julius II., given by GOMEZ, *loc. cit.* The subject of Card. Ximenes' zeal in the cause of reform will be dealt with further on. *Cf.* HEFELE, and also HÖFLER, Katastrophe, 26 *seq.*

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 140–142.

§ What passed at this meeting at Savona is not yet fully known: LANZ, Einl., 89 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 4; BROSCH, 142; and, recently, G. FILIPPI, Il convegno di Savona (Savona, 1890), who cites many Florentine Ambassadorial Reports, have cleared up a great deal, but not all. There seems to be no doubt that an alliance against Venice was seriously discussed, and that in a certain sense the ground was prepared for the League of Cambrai. *Cf.* new particulars drawn from the Simancas Archives by MAULDE in the Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., IV., 583–590, and FILIPPI in his treatise, Ancora del convegno di Savona, in the Atti e Mem. d. Soc. Stor. Savonese, II., 729 *seq.* Still it is by no means certain

The disproportionate strength of the army sent by the French King to quell the rebellion in Genoa made the understanding between the two great powers appear all the more ominous for the Pope, since it seemed to point to some further design. Another remarkable thing was the number of Cardinals at his Court. First, there were the three French Cardinals (including d'Amboise), then the Cardinal d'Aragona, who had been on the French side ever since the death of Alexander VI., and Cardinal Sanseverino, who afterwards lapsed into schism.* In May 1507, Julius II. had sent Cardinal Antonio Pallavicino, a Genoese, to the King's camp and he too was now in Savona. The object of this Legation, according to Sigismondo de' Conti, was to persuade Louis to deal leniently with the Genoese, and to disband his army.† The magnitude of the French force

that the agreement of the 30th June, 1507, contains the whole of the arrangements entered into by the two parties, and Maulde does not conceal from himself that he is not in a position to furnish an exhaustive statement of the results of the interview. Until some new documents have been discovered, we cannot get beyond this.

* LEHMANN, 3.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 375 ; SANUTO, VII., 73, 76, 82, 88, 94, 96, 98, 100, 104, 113, 114, 119, 132, 133. The nomination of Pallavicino as Legate to the French Court followed in a Consistory on the 5th May, 1507 ; *cf.* *Cardinal Gonzaga's Letter to his brother, dated Rome, 5th May, 1507 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Costabili's Report, Rome, 6th May, 1507. (State Archives, Modena.) Cardinal Pallavicini sailed on the 19th May (*Intravimus mare cum max. difficultate, in the Itinerarium. On the 20th the Pope wrote the Brief to Louis XII. given in Appendix, N. 75), and after his return on the 18th Aug. read a Report of his mission in Consistory. He died soon after (SANUTO, VII., 150). The account of the journey, etc., probably by some one who had accompanied him, is in *Itinerarium Card^lis S. Praxedis ad Ludovicum XII. in Cod. Borghese, I., 128, f. 1–25, and Bibl. Pia, 61, f. 117–149. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) No information in regard to the purport of the Cardinal's mission is to be obtained from this document. (JEAN D'AUTON, Chroniques, ed. Jacob, IV., 105, admits his ignorance on

had aroused alarm in Germany as well as in Italy, as we see from the resolutions of the Diet of Constance.

According to the statements made by Pallavicino to the Florentine Envoy in Savona, his instructions were, first, to defend the Pope against the false accusation of having invited Maximilian to invade Italy, and here, it seems, he was successful. In the second place, he was to ask that the Bentivogli should be delivered over to Julius II., and here he failed. Louis XII. denied that Giovanni and Alessandro Bentivoglio were implicated in the plot against Bologna; and said he could not in honour give them up.* From expressions let fall by one of the Cardinals who was present it appeared that Pallavicino had several long conversations

this point; *cf.* KNUTH, 29.) It merely describes the Legate's journey, and the ceremonial observed at his reception by Louis XII., and at the meeting of the two Kings at Savona. In politics it keeps entirely to externals:—f. 131: Milan, 7th June: Legatus et Rothomagensis habuerunt colloquium secrete; f. 132: Milan, 10th June: Reception of the Legate by the King. Rex dedit legato dexteram et iverunt in cameram regis cum dictis cardinalibus [Rothomag., Narbon., Esten.], et secrete sunt loquuti per spatium duarum horarum; f. 137: Savona, 25th June: Legatus et Rothomagensis loquuti sunt secrete cum rege per duas horas. The occasion of this was the arrival of a messenger from Rome with the Red-hats for Cardinals Auximanus and Baiocensis, the first of whom had died in Milan a few days before, while the second was lying seriously ill in the same place. Finita loquutione cum rege legatus et Rothomagensis venerunt ad cameram Rothomagensis, in qua ambo secrete sunt loquuti per horam. De quibus materiis loquuti sunt, non est meum quaerere; f. 147: Savona, 1st July: The two Kings invited the Legate to come to them, quia erant secum loquuturi Legatus ivit ad cameram, ubi reges erant; per duas horas stetit cum illis et cardinali Rothomagensi. The Itinerarium then describes the departure of the King of Spain from Savona on the 2nd July, that of the King of France on the 3rd; the embarkation of the Legate on the 7th of that month, and his reception in the Consistory on the 18th Aug.

* Florentine Report, dated Savona, 4th July, 1507, in the Atti d. Soc. Sav., II., 19–20.

with Louis XII. and d'Amboise, in the course of which he met with but scant courtesy, especially from the latter.*

In connection with the meeting of the Kings at Savona, some things soon transpired which led the Pope to apprehend that an attack on his spiritual power was contemplated. Ferdinand himself admitted that the reform of the Church had been discussed. It is also certain that here again, as formerly, he encouraged d'Amboise in his aspirations after the Tiara.†

Guicciardini says that Julius II., in his extreme need, turned for help to Maximilian. This is not confirmed by any recent investigations. "On the contrary, it is demonstrable that the primary object of his policy was to effect a reconciliation between Maximilian and Louis XII. and to unite their forces against Venice. From the end of the

* The Itinerarium mentioned above gives a similar impression. In f. 139 it says of d'Amboise : ipse est vere rex Franciae. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† LEHMANN, 4, who also refers to Ferdinand's menace in May 1508, that he would withdraw all his States from the allegiance of the Holy See. The letter which contains this threat is addressed to the Viceroy of Naples, and in it he is desired, without more ado, to hang any one who brings a Papal Bull which has not received the Royal *placet* into the kingdom. It was first published by F. DE QUEVEDO, Obras, XI. (Madrid, 1792–94), 3–9, and afterwards in the Lettres de Louis XII., I., 109–114. B. de la Fuente erroneously supposes this letter to be a Protestant invention of the end of the 16th Century. The text leaves no doubt as to its origin, and the contents perfectly correspond with Ferdinand's policy and with the peculiar views of his royal rights which he entertained. Ferdinand simply vetoed Papal Bulls again and again. On the 31st Aug., 1509, he issued a decree punishing with death any person who should obtain, either from the Pope or his Legate, any Bull or document against the Spanish Inquisition. LLORENTE, I., 368–369 ; GAMS, III., 128 *seq.*, 140–142. Ferdinand and his Envoys (*cf.* PRESCOTT, II., 201) were perfectly indefatigable in Rome in demanding concessions, especially in regard to money matters. *Cf.* Costabili's *Report, Rome, 15th Aug., 1508. State Archives, Modena.

year 1506 Costantino Areniti had been working by his orders in this direction."*

The Pope's anxiety in regard to Maximilian's proposed visit to Rome is a clear proof how far he then was from thinking of applying to him for assistance.† When in the Summer of 1507 it was announced on all sides that Maximilian was certainly coming to Italy, Julius resolved to send a Cardinal as Legate to Germany.‡ He selected a man who was one of Maximilian's most faithful friends at the Roman Court, Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal. Furnished with ample powers, the Cardinal left Rome on the 5th of August, 1507, and passing through Siena met the King at Innsbruck in the middle of September.§

Carvajal was charged to endeavour to dissuade the King from coming to Italy with an army, and to propose instead that he should be crowned Emperor in Germany by two Cardinals who would be sent for this purpose.‖ Besides

* ULMANN, II., 306, following BROSCH, 138, 332 *seq.*

† ULMANN, Max. I. Absichten, 10–11, shews what pains France took to increase the Pope's distrust of Maximilian. The King had already in a Letter to the Pope in Aug. 1506, announced his intention of making an armed pilgrimage to Rome. (See, in Appendix 50, Arsago's *Letter of 15th Aug., 1506.) State Archives, Mantua.

‡ On the 8th July, 1507, Card. Gonzaga wrote to his brother, *Si tiene per certo la venuta del Re de Romani. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

§ SANUTO, VII., 132, says on the 10th; RÖSSBACH, 92, the 8th; the *Acta Consist., f. 24, the 4th Aug. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) The authentic information which we seek for in vain in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 8, is to be found in the *Diarium of PARIS DE GRASSIS, 16 Julii, 1507: Cardinalis s. Crucis D. Bern. Carvaglianus creatus est legatus ad partes Germaniae obviam Imperatori venturo in Italiam.—4 Augusti fuit consistorium publicum. The Pope offered the usual prayers for the new Legate, who then retired to the Convent of S^ta Maria del Popolo. Ibi fecit prandium et in aurora sequenti arripuit iter. Cod. Lat. 140, f. 113^a, 114^b, of the Court and State Library, Munich.

‖ MACHIAVELLI, Opere, ed. Passerini, V., 247, and SANUTO, VII.,

this, he was to make two other propositions to the King, one for a universal League amongst all Christian Princes against the Turks, and the other for a special alliance between him and the Pope against Venice. The first proposal was rejected but the second was accepted.* This success, however, was of little use to Julius II. as long as Maximilian persisted in rejecting all overtures for a reconciliation with France. Carvajal, however, remained with the King, and did not relinquish his purpose. When he found that the Venetians obstinately persisted in refusing to allow him to pass through their territory on his way to Rome, Maximilian began to lend a more favourable ear to the persuasions of the Legate. "In February, 1508, he made secret overtures for an offensive and defensive alliance against Venice to the Court of France, which corresponded in all essentials with the future League of Cambrai."†

At this time Maximilian did a thing which was completely at variance with all previous mediæval custom.‡ On the 4th February, 1508, through his counsellor Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, he solemnly proclaimed in the Cathedral of Trent that he had assumed the title of "Emperor-elect of Rome." He took pains to explain, however, in a letter to the Empire, and by his Envoys at Rome, that this proceeding was not in any way intended to

119; BROSCH, 138, 145; ULMANN, II., 333. HERGENRÖTHER'S counter arguments, VIII., 444–445, do not seem to me convincing.

* So says ZURITA, VI., 152 *seq.*, who had trustworthy information and whose statement Brosch has overlooked. *Cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 93 *seq.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI'S account, II., 38, is incomplete. The Briefs in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 9, and the *Brief of 12th Feb., 1508, printed in Appendix, N. 76, refer to the Crusade. Kreisarchiv in Würzburg.

† ULMANN, II., 334–335; BROSCH, Julius II., 154 *seq.*, 338 *seq.*

‡ BRYCE, in his Holy Roman Empire, quite oversteps the mark in saying that the assumption of this title signified "the separation of Germany from Rome."

contravene the Pope's rights in regard to his Coronation. On the contrary, he was as determined as ever to come to Rome to be crowned there by Julius II. as soon as he had conquered the Venetians.* The explanation thus given, safe-guarding the right of the Holy See, enabled Julius II. to declare himself perfectly satisfied, as in fact he had reason to be, with an act which, at any rate, put off for a time the dreaded visit to Rome. On the 12th of February, 1508, he addressed a Brief to "Maximilian, Emperor-elect of Rome," in which he recognised and praised the correctness of his attitude towards the Holy See, and added that, as the Church already prayed for him on Good Friday as Roman Emperor, he was fully justified in assuming the title. The remaining contents of this Brief lead us to infer that the Pope's affability was not quite unmotived. It impressed upon Maximilian the expediency of coming to terms with France, and of making his visit to Rome without the accompaniment of an army.†

* *Cf.* the Report in Forschungen z. Deutsch. Gesch., I., 71; in JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 742-744; and Maximilian's Letters in DATT, De pace publica, 568–570. *Cf.* HUBER, III., 368, and Mittheil. d. Œsterreich. Instituts, XI., 44. See also the Riporto di uno esplorator in SANUTO, VII., 293–295, which also says that Card. Carvajal remained at Botzen. *Cf.* also RANKE, Deutsch. Gesch., VI., 90 *seq.*; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 411 *seq.*; HEIDENHEIMER, P. Martyr, 173 *seq.*; and ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 95, who gives Meran instead of Botzen. A letter of grace despatched by him on 4th Feb., 1507 (st. fl.), from Botzen, and preserved in the Archives of the monastery at Gries, proves that he was certainly staying there on that day. KIEM, who, in the Zeitschr. d. Ferdinandeums (1892), 334 *seq.*, publishes a portion of this letter, puts it by mistake in the year 1507, instead of 1508. Carvajal did not come back from Germany until the 12th Jan., 1509. *Acta Consist., f. 24. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† See the *Brief in Appendix, N. 76, after a copy in the Kreisarchiv in Würzburg, and also in Appendix, N. 77 and 78, Card. Gonzaga's *Letters of the 12th and 24th Feb., 1508, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

On the day after his proclamation, Maximilian commenced hostilities against Venice, and his troops at first achieved some successes. On the 1st of March he wrote in the highest spirits to the Elector of Saxony: "The Venetians portray their Lion with two feet in the sea, one on the plain country, and one on the mountains. We have all but conquered the foot on the mountains; one claw only holds fast, which will be ours, with the help of God, in a week. Then we hope to tackle the one on the plain."* But in a very short time the tables were turned. Supported to the great annoyance of Julius II.,† by the French, the Venetians carried everything before them. The victorious army overran Tivoli and Istria; in May they conquered Trieste and Fiume, and by the beginning of June they had penetrated into Carniola. On the 5th June the Emperor was only too glad to conclude, through Carvajal's mediation a truce for three years, which left to Venice nearly everything that her arms had won.‡ The Venetians, quite unaware of the dangers of the path they were treading, were full of joy and triumph.

The land-hunger of the Republic is described by Machiavelli in his verses:

San Marco impetuoso, ed importuno,
Credendosi aver sempre il vento in poppa,
Non si curò di rovinare ognuno;
Ne' vide come la potenza troppa
Era nociva: e come il me' sarebbe
Tener sott' acqua la coda e la groppa.

Asino d'Oro. §

* RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte, I., 176, ed. 2.

† *Cf.* Ludovico da Campo Sampiero's *Letter to the Marquess of Mantua, dated Rome, 17th March, 1508. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ *Cf.* HUBER, III., 370 *seq.*, where all the literature on the subject is carefully indicated and criticised.

§ MACHIAVELLI, V., 400. *Cf.* also TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 296. See also the complaints of the Florentine chronicler, LANDUCCI, 291.

In consequence of this "land-hunger," by this time there was hardly one of the great powers which had not something to demand back from the Republic, and this it was which brought about her ruin. Greedily anxious to come to terms with the Emperor, the Venetians, in their haste, had taken no heed of the interests of their ally. This produced a complete revolution in the policy of France.

Towards the close of November, Maximilian's confidential counsellor Matthæus Lang, one English and one Spanish Ambassador, Louis XII.'s all-powerful minister d'Amboise, and the Emperor's daughter Margaret met together at Cambrai.

On the 10th of December, 1508, the compact known as the League of Cambrai was here concluded. The only portion of it that was destined for publication was the treaty of peace between the Emperor and the King of France, which, among other things, bestowed Milan as a fief on Louis XII. and his descendants. The object of the League was ostensibly the Crusade against the Turks; but before this could be commenced Venice must be constrained to give back her spoils. A second and secret treaty, to which the Pope and the King of Spain might be parties if they chose, was drawn up, binding the contracting powers to oblige the Republic to restore all the cities of the Romagna to the Pope; the Apulian sea-board to the King of Spain; Roveredo, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Friuli to the Emperor; and Brescia, Bergamo, Cremo, Cremona, Chiara d'Adda, and all fiefs belonging to Milan to the King of France. If the King of Hungary joined the League he was to get back all his former possessions in Dalmatia and Croatia; equally the Duke of Savoy was to recover Cyprus, and the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquess of Mantua all the territories wrested from them by the Venetians if they too joined the League. France was to

declare war on the 1st of April, the Pope was to lay the ban of the Church and an Interdict on Venice, and to call on Maximilian, as the lieutenant of the Holy See, to come to his assistance. Thus, at the end of the forty days, the Emperor would be released from his treaty obligations towards the Republic, and able to join the French.*

Even down to the present day Julius II. continues to be blamed in unmeasured terms for having brought the foreigner into Italy. As a matter of fact at this decisive moment the Pope held back, and "it was Venice herself who drove him into joining the League, which he cordially disliked, angry as he was with the Republic. He knew France and her King well, and thoroughly mistrusted both, and this feeling was amply reciprocated by Louis XII. and d'Amboise, even while the League of Cambrai, in which no Papal plenipotentiary took part, was being negotiated."†

Julius II. did not join the League till the 23rd March, 1509, after he had exhausted all other means of inducing Venice to acknowledge his temporal and spiritual authority. In her dealings with Rome the foresight and penetration which usually characterised the policy of the Republic seemed to have completely forsaken her; she appeared not to have the faintest presentiment of the storm which her high-handed conduct was conspiring to raise up against her.

It was not only in her policy in the Romagna that

* DUMONT, IV., 1, 109 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 225 *seq.*; LANZ, Einleitung, 93 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 374 *seq.* *Cf.* also Arch. St. Ital., 3 Serie, IV., 1, 126 *seq.*

† REUMONT, III., 1, 26. *Cf.* GUICCIARDINI, VIII., c. 1.; HAVEMANN, II., 276, 280; and ULMANN, II., 365. The Brief addressed by Julius II. to d'Amboise on the 28th Dec., 1508 (in MOLINI, I., 54-55), merely congratulates him on the conclusion of peace between France and the Emperor; it is couched in the most flattering terms, but there is not a word in it about Venice.

Venice persistently trampled on the clear rights of the Pope.* Following her traditional practice she arrogated to the State in purely spiritual matters a supremacy which would have made the government of the Church by Rome an impossibility.† The Government repeatedly forbade and even punished appeals to Rome in ecclesiastical matters; ecclesiastical persons were brought before secular tribunals without the permission of the Pope; for this the deplorable corruption of many of the clergy might have afforded some excuse. But there could be no justification for the conduct of the Senate in giving away benefices and even Bishoprics on their own authority.‡ Even staunch friends of the Republic blamed these outrageous violations of Canon-law, which no Pope could afford to tolerate.§ The consequence was a never ending series of misunderstandings and disputes on ecclesiastical matters between Rome and Venice. One of the most serious of these was that about the appointment to the Bishopric of Cremona, which had been held by Ascanio Sforza. After his death, in the Summer of 1505, the Senate immediately selected a devoted adherent of their own, a member of the Trevisano family. Julius II. refused to confirm this appointment, as he had intended to give it to the excellent Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere. The Venetians maintained that it had always been customary for the Senate to elect the Bishops for all the important

* See REUMONT in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1876), II., 846.

† See Vol. IV. of this work, 92 *seq.*

‡ See, besides Julius II.'s Bull of 27th Apr., 1509, which will be cited further on, A. GIUSTINIAN'S Dispacci, II., 439; III., 288; and BROSCH'S (of course very one-sided) statements in SYBELS Zeitschr., XXXVIII., 308 *seq.*, as well as the Briefs of the 16th and 18th Dec., 1506, in Appendix, N. 57 and 58. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ *Cf.* the remarkable statements in LUIGI DA PORTO, 29, who observes: Di modo che il papa per queste ed altre cose ancora non è in tutto papa sopra di essi.

cities in their dominions and for Rome to confirm their choice,* as if the Holy See was bound in all cases to accept their nominations. The negotiations on this subject dragged on for two whole years, until at last Julius II. yielded, a sum of money being handed over to the Cardinal as compensation.† This dispute had hardly been settled when a new and more violent one arose over the Bishopric of Vicenza, rendered vacant by the death of Cardinal Galeotto della Rovere. Julius II. had given Vicenza, together with all the other benefices which had been held by the deceased Cardinal, to Sixtus Gara della Rovere, while the Venetian Senate determined to appoint Jacopo Dandolo. In spite of the Pope's refusal to confirm his nomination, Dandolo took possession of the See and had the insolence to style himself "Bishop-elect of Vicenza by the grace of the Senate of Venice."‡ He answered the Pope's citation with a defiant letter, knowing that he had the support of the Republic.§

It will be seen that the Venetians were steadily pursuing their aim of making the Pope, as Machiavelli puts it, "their chaplain,"‖ while Julius II. as resolutely resisted. He told the Venetian Ambassador that if necessary he would sell his mitre rather than relinquish any of the rights that appertained to the successor of S. Peter.¶

Side by side with these incessant ecclesiastical difficulties

* ROMANIN, V., 178.

† SANUTO, VI., 177, 188, 194, 327, 335, 347; VII., 126. *Cf.* BALAN, 443 *seq.*, and BROSCH, 161 *seq.*, who, however, gives the name of the Venetian Cardinal incorrectly. UGHELLI, IV., 614, curiously, does not mention this dispute at all.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, VIII., chap. I.

§ BALAN, V., 450.

‖ MACHIAVELLI, Opere, ed. Passerini, IV., 334. *Cf.* Dispacci di A. GIUSTINIAN, III., 179, and TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 298, 324.

¶ SANUTO, VII., 643; *cf.* 580, 678, 694, and UGHELLI, V., 1066.

the political ones still remained unaltered. Julius II. did everything he could to bring about an amicable solution. Towards the end of the year 1506 he sent the celebrated Augustinian Aegidius of Viterbo to Venice to offer, if the Venetians would give up Faenza, to say no more about their other conquests. But this proposal was also rejected. Then, replied the Pope, since the Venetians refuse my request for one city only, they shall now be obliged by force of arms to give back all they have taken. He took no pains to hide his indignation from the Venetian Ambassador.* The Republic, however, still persisted not only in defying the Pope but in irritating him as well.

In the insolence of their triumph after the defeat of Maximilian, the Signoria went out of its way to make troubles in Bologna, the place of all others about which Julius would be most sensitive.

The position of the Legate there was a difficult one, as the Bentivogli, favoured by France, never ceased conspiring against the Government. Ferreri kept them down with an iron hand, and, in addition to this, behaved in so greedy and extortionate a manner to the Bolognese, that they appealed to Rome against his exactions.† Julius II. had enquiries made, and finding that the Legate was in fault, at once acted with his wonted energy. On the 2nd of August, 1507, Ferreri, on whom larger powers

* The mission of Aegidius of Viterbo is only briefly mentioned in SANUTO, VI., 528. AEGIDIUS himself, in Höfler's ed., 384, gives more details. *Cf.* also the extracts from the Ferrarese Despatches in BALAN, V., 443 *seq.* On the obstinacy of Venice in regard to the alum monopoly, see GOTTLOB, Cam. Ap., 303.

† GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 81 *seq.*, who, however, has curiously not made much use of the Briefs in the State Archives at Bologna. Amongst these I found a *Brief of 30th April, 1507, announcing that 15,000 gold ducats are being sent from Rome to enable the Legate to defend the city against the rebels and tyrants.

had been conferred in the previous month of May, was deprived of his post and recalled to Rome.* Meanwhile the discovery had been made that Ferreri had employed illegitimate means to obtain the increase of his powers in May, and in consequence he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, and afterwards interned in the Convent of S. Onofrio (he died in 1508).†

The government of Bologna was then carried on by the Vice-Legate Lorenzo Fiesco, while the Bentivogli continued to prosecute their intrigues. In September it was discovered that they had been plotting to have the Pope poisoned. Julius II. sent the documentary evidence of this conspiracy by Achilles de Grassis to Louis XII., begging him to withdraw his protection from this family.‡ On the 20th of September he sent 5000 ducats to the Bolognese to help them to defend themselves against the Bentivogli.§ In the beginning of 1508 one of the family made a fresh attempt to get possession of the city. Julius burst into a violent rage when he heard the news. ||

* The *Brief conferring fuller powers is dated 26th May, 1507. On his recall, see GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 149, and the *Brief of the 2nd Aug., 1507. Both Briefs are in the State Archives, Bologna. In a *Brief to Ferreri, dated Rome, 5th April, 1507, Julius II. gave the ecclesia S. Blasii de Sala plebania nuncupata, which had hitherto been held by Ant. Galeat. de Bentivolis, to Joh. Anton. de Rubeis. Lib. brev. 25, f. 292b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 319; *cf.* Döllinger's ed., 380, 383, 384–385.

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 22; Nuntiaturberichte, I., XLIII; PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 42.

§ *Brief of the 20th Sept., 1507. State Archives, Bologna.

|| GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 95 *seq.*; BALAN, V., 449. *Cf.* the *Report of Lodovico da Campo Sampiero to Fr. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 31st Jan., 1508: *La Sta del papa sentendo tal nova [that A. Bentivoglio had endeavoured to make himself master of Bologna] cominciò

He failed,* but tried again in the Autumn of the same year. Meanwhile Cardinal Alidosi had been made Legate of Bologna.† Alidosi's ruthless severity had caused great irritation in Bologna of which the Bentivogli sought to take advantage; but their main hopes were founded on the support of Venice. However, they were again unsuccessful.‡ Julius II. indignantly remonstrated with the Venetian Government for harbouring in their territory

a mugiar che pareva un toro e non tanto la Ex. V. minaciva ma ancora el cielo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* Alfonso of Ferrara helped to put down the attempt. *Cf.* the *Brief of Julius II. to Joh. Luca de Pozzo, Archbishop of Reggio, dated Rome, 24th Jan., 1508. (State Archives, Modena.) In a *Brief of the same date, Julius thanked Cardinal d'Este also for the assistance given against the Bentivogli. *Lib. brev. 28, f. 634, Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† GOZZADINI, Avvenimenti, 158–160, publishes a letter from the Council of Forty to their Envoy in Rome, dat. Bononiae die XII. Maii, 1508, in which they acknowledge the receipt of the letter announcing Alidosi's nomination on the XVIIII. del presente. The editor, whose work is altogether very one-sided and imperfect, is not in any way troubled by this contradiction. It is evident that XXII. should be read instead of XII. I found the *Brief on Alidosi's nomination, which is not mentioned by Gozzadini, in the State Archives at Bologna. I found also in the same place a *Brief of 22nd May, 1508, on the faculties granted to Alidosi; *another of 26th May, informing the Anziani of his appointment; and *another, dat. Ostia, 1st June, 1508, with additional faculties for the Legate. The following communication from Lod. da Campo Sampiero to Fr. Gonzaga, dated Rome, 17th March, 1508, is interesting: Credo Pavia vero legato a Bologna per aver mendicato quela legacione et al presente recede e non la voria perche el conose apertamente la roina sua andandoli. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

‡ BALAN, V., 450; GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 114 *seq.* Fr. Gonzaga sided also at that time with the Bentivogli. *Cf.* the complaining Brief of the Pope to him, "dat. Romae" (preceded by a fragment of 27th Sept., 1508, also no doubt belonging to this time), in Lib. brev. 28, f. 468. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) In a *Brief, dat. Rome, 10th Oct., 1508, Julius II. desired the Legate to employ the confiscated property of the Bentivogli in building the citadel at Bologna. State Archives, Bologna.

the rebels whom Louis XII. had expelled from Milan, and "looking on with folded arms while these men endeavoured to undermine the Papal authority in Bologna and made war upon the Church." The Venetians' answer sounded like a gibe. They said that, far from harbouring the refugees, they had done their best to get rid of them; but they hid themselves in the convents, and the Republic, of course, was powerless against the Church's right of asylum. To do away with this pretext the Pope on the 22nd August despatched a Brief to the Patriarch of Venice, desiring him to issue strict orders to all the convents in Venetian territory to refuse shelter to all bandits and rebels; all such evil-doers must be driven from the gates.*

In spite of all that had happened, even now, at the last hour, an accommodation between Rome and Venice might still have been possible if the Republic had not obstinately persisted in all her most unreasonable demands. In the Autumn of 1508, when the alienation of France had already definitely begun, and the anti-Venetian League was under consideration, the Pope still held aloof. The selfish aims of France and the ever increasing con-

* BROSCH, Julius II., 163–164, even here blames the Pope, and says that "for Julius II. the end of driving the Bentivogli out of Venetia sanctified the means, which was a curtailment of the Church's right of asylum." Here he poses as the defender of this right, which elsewhere he condemns in the strongest terms. The Brief of 22nd Aug. is now printed in SANUTO, VI., 624. Julius II. heard of the attempts of the Bentivogli on 11th Aug., and on the 20th complained to the Ferrarese Envoy of the conduct of the Republic. *La Sta Sua dopoi mi tenne longamente et cum me multo se extese circa le cose da (*sic*) li Bentivogli communicandomi el tutto li accade de presente pigliata occasione da li Bentivogli et altri suoi rebelli a li quali per Venetiani se da recepto. Both Costabili's *Letters of the 11th and the 20th of Aug., 1508, are in the State Archives, Modena.

cessions that she demanded were no doubt the cause of this.*

It was far from desirable in the eyes of Julius II. that the power of the King of France should increase, or that the Emperor should obtain a footing in Italy. He would have gladly come to terms with Venice if she would have withdrawn her unjust pretensions in both temporal and spiritual affairs. Bembo says that the Pope privately sent Costantino Areniti to Badoer, the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to tell him of the formation of the League of Cambrai, and to propose an arrangement if Venice would restore Faenza and Rimini to the Church. Badoer at once wrote to inform the Council of Ten, but received no answer.† The whole influence of the numerous class of needy nobles whose interests were involved in keeping the conquests in the Romagna was against their restitution, and this prevailed.‡ The Venetians trusted that a League composed of such heterogeneous elements would not last long.

This view was conceivable; but the infatuation of Venice in still continuing at this critical juncture to flout and irritate the Pope in every possible manner in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, is truly incomprehensible. "Those even who are friendly to Venice blame her insolent and domineering behaviour towards the Holy See, not only in regard to the cities of the Romagna, to which she has not the smallest right, but also in matters concerning benefices and ecclesiastical jurisdiction." §

* *Cf.* the interesting *Report of Costabili of the 5th Oct., 1508. State Archives, Modena, an extract in BALAN, V., 451.

† BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 298.

‡ *Cf.* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386, and PRIULI in Cicogna, I., 165.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 27, referring to the extract from LUIGI DA PORTO, 29, cited *supra*, p. 301, note §.

The manner in which the testy Venetian Envoy Pisani answered Julius II.'s complaints on these subjects is something quite unique in the whole history of diplomacy. When the Pope protested to Pisani against the encroachments of the Republic on his ecclesiastical rights, and added that the Signoria would some day have cause to repent of their conduct, the Envoy replied: Your Holiness must grow a little stronger before he can expect much from the Republic. Naturally incensed, Julius answered, "I will never rest until you are brought down to be the poor fishermen that you once were." "And we," said Pisani, "will make a priestling of the Holy Father unless he behaves himself." *

Such was the manner in which the Venetian Envoy thought fit to behave towards the Pontiff in whose power it lay to have stifled the League of Cambrai at its birth. Even yet the Pope did not permit himself to be goaded into any hasty action. He still hoped to succeed in "alarming the Venetians enough to induce them to comply with his demands," and then to break up the dangerous League.† Pisani fully realised the Pope's apprehension in regard to Louis XII. and Maximilian, and saw clearly that greater forbearance on his part might have prevented Julius from joining the League. Yet he continued to behave as before.

When in February, 1509, the question of the Bishopric of Vicenza had reached the point at which a definite

* LUIGI DA PORTO, 29–30. *Cf.* BALAN, V., 452, who in the same place refers to *Costabili's Report, 10th Nov., 1508 (State Archives, Modena), which I also have seen, and in which Costabili says of Pisani: Ognuno chel conosce li da voce de homo molto colerico et pensase chel sia stato mandato tale perche lo habii a giostrare col papa. Also BEMBUS, 299, describes Pisani as morosi admodum ingenii.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 55–56, ed. 3; *cf.* LANZ, Einleitung, 103.

answer could no longer be deferred, that which the Pope received sounded like a sarcasm.* "The contemptuous insolence of the language employed by the Venetians requires to be known in order fully to understand the injustice of those who reproach Julius II. with his participation in the League of Cambrai. It was not until every means of persuasion had been tried, and the last hope of an amicable settlement had vanished, that he made up his mind to join it."†

The change in the Pope's mind was probably finally caused by the fear lest France should unite with Venice to overpower him.‡ His decision was taken soon after a conversation which he had with Pisani in the middle of March at Civita Vecchia. It was a lovely spring day; all nature seemed to breathe nothing but peace and harmony, and the clear blue sea was like a sheet of glass. The Pope, who was very fond of sailing, was on the water, accompanied by Pisani, and turning to the Envoy, "How would it be," he said, "if you were to advise the Signoria to propose to me to grant Faenza and Rimini as a fief to one of your citizens? That would set everything right." Pisani answered coldly, "Our State is not in the habit of making kings of any of her citizens." The Pope's proposal was never mentioned either to Pisani's gentler colleague, Badoer, or to the Senate.§ Immediately after his return from Civita Vecchia, Julius joined the League.

* *Cf.* SANUTO, VII., 719, 724, 738, 760, 763, 780; VIII., 10.

† ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 290. *Cf.* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 236, and ERSCH-GRUBER, 2, Section XXVIII., 335.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 103.

§ BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 299-300. *Cf.* RANKE, *loc. cit.* Brosch makes no mention of either of the two conversations between Julius II. and Pisani. If the Pope had been animated by that implacable hatred against Venice which this writer ascribes to him, he would certainly not have made this overture, nor would he afterwards have exerted himself

On the 22nd of March a Consistory was held, to which the Venetian Cardinals Grimani and Cornaro were not summoned.* On the following day Julius II. signed the Bull announcing his adhesion to the League, but with the condition that he was to do nothing against Venice until after hostilities had been commenced by France.† Meanwhile the Venetians had begun to see that they had been premature in their hopes that the League would dissolve itself. On the 4th of April they determined to give up Faenza and Rimini, but this offer, which was made to the Pope on the 7th, came too late; to have accepted it now

so earnestly to preserve the Republic from utter ruin. After the manner of the Humanists, Bembo puts no date to his narrative, but I think I can supply this from the Venetian Reports in Sanuto. Pisani wrote on the 13th from Civita Vecchia: Il Papa va a piacer per mar, pescando Item che hessendo in batello con cardinali et oratori, tra i qual il nostro, S. S^ta^ lexe uno capitulo di letere auti di Portogallo; and again on the 16th: The Pope va a peschar e piacer. SANUTO, VIII., 23–24, 26. From these Reports we also gather that Pisani never forwarded the Pope's proposal to Venice at all. It must therefore remain doubtful whether the narrative dated 19th March in SANUTO, VIII., 30, corresponds with facts. Pisani was working for a rupture between Rome and Venice, and therefore may very well have put the assurance that he would not sign anything against the Republic into Julius's mouth, in order to embitter the feeling there against him, when it was found that he had signed the League.

* SANUTO, VIII., 37. Many of the Cardinals were in favour of peace (*cf.* *Consistorialia Raph. Riarii card. S. Georgii in Cod. J., III., 89, f. 18^b^, of the Chigi Library, Rome); but peace was only possible by submitting to the humiliation of the Church and sacrificing her most important interests.

† This Bull, dat. X. Cal. April (23rd Mar.), 1508 (st. fl.), is given by DUMONT, IV., 1, 116; Creighton is wrong in dating it 25th March. *Cf.* also *Pozzi's Report, 25th Mar., 1509 (State Archives, Modena), which gives 23rd Mar. as the date on which the Pope joined the League. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 56, ed. 3, must have read the Bull very carelessly to have said, as he does, that Venice is not mentioned at all in it.

would have involved him in a war with the allies.* The adherents of the Republic in Rome now allied themselves with the Colonna and Orsini, and tried to induce them to rise against the Pope by offers of money to both, and by promising Urbino to the Colonna. When Julius heard this, he threatened to excommunicate the Orsini, and sent word to Pisani, who had been stirring them up to revolt against the Church under his very eyes, that he would thrust him into the deepest dungeon in Rome. The situation appeared so menacing that the Palace guard was doubled. Meanwhile Felice Orsini succeeded in breaking off the bargain between Venice and the family.†

On the 27th of April the greater excommunication was pronounced against Venice unless within twenty-four days all the possessions of the Church in the Romagna, and the revenues derived from them, were restored to her. This document was drawn up in the clearest and strongest terms, describing the outrageous proceedings of the Republic in both temporal and spiritual affairs, and 600 copies were at once printed and circulated.‡ The Venetians forbade the

* SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386. *Cf.* SANUTO, VIII., 80. See also ROMANIN, V., 198, and BROSCH, Julius II., 169, 341, who, however, represents the whole matter in a false light, ignoring Pisani's obstinacy and the studied insolence of his words and conduct, as well as the position of the Pope and the real motives of the Republic, which are clearly set forth by Sigismondo de' Conti.

† SANUTO, VIII., 41, 72, 89, 96 *seq.*, 118, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 171, 183. *Cf.* the authorities cited by SISMONDI, XIII., 478, and in Appendix, N. 82, the *Report of Lodovico de Fabriano, 24th April, 1509. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) The personal courage displayed by the Pope during those trying days appears from the *Brief to Bologna of 12th April, 1509 (State Archives, Bologna), which is printed in Appendix, N. 80.

‡ Portions of this Bull (monitorium) are given in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1509, n. 6-9, and the complete document is in SANUTO, VIII., 187-204. A contemporaneous (Latin) printed copy is cited by SORANZO,

publication of the Bull in their dominions under stringent penalties. They had already prepared an appeal to a future Council. This was now posted during the night on S. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo ; the Pope had it torn down at once.* The appeal was sent in the beginning of May to the ambitious Cardinal Archbishop of Gran and Patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Bakocs, as one of those Princes of the Church who was entitled under the old, though now obsolete, constitutions to join in the summoning of a General Council. The Hungarian Primate was, however, too prudent to respond to this invitation.†

Meanwhile the war had been begun by the members of the League, which was now joined by Ferrara and Mantua.‡ The Venetians had, at an enormous cost, got together an army of 50,000 men, a large force for those times ; their war-cry was " Italy and Liberty."§ The Republic bent her-

Bibliogr., 79. The fact that an Italian translation of the Bull was printed at that time in Rome has escaped the notice of this learned bibliographer. Examples of it are very scarce, but I saw one in the collection of the Florentine antiquary, Grazzini (*cf.* his Catalogue for 1890, No. IX.), and a second in the State Archives, Modena. *Cf.* in Appendix, N. 83, the *Report of L. de Fabriano of the 24th April, 1509. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.) SANUTO, VIII., 169, 204-205, also the *Report of the Ferrarese Envoy, of the 27th April, 1509. State Archives, Modena.

* SANUTO, VIII., 161.

† FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 8.

‡ Duke Alfonso of Ferrara was appointed Gonfalonerius sive Vexilliferus S. R. E. on the 20th April, 1509 ; see *Acta Consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) According to the *Brief printed in Appendix, N. 81, the appointment took place on the 19th April. State Archives, Modena.

§ ROMANIN, V., 205-206, shews that the proposal of inscribing " Defensio Italiae " on the banners and adopting the war-cry mentioned in the text was rejected. But we find from Sanuto that the war-cry was actually used by the soldiers. *Cf.* SENAREGA, 596. The inscription on the banners is incorrectly stated as a fact by SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 386, who here, as elsewhere, is unable to conceal his strong national

self bravely to the task of resisting the enemy, overmatched as she was; but the traditional pride of her citizens high and low sustained her. The ban of the Church, it was maintained, had lost much of its power; it was no longer so dangerous as it used to be. Ferdinand of Spain had been forced to join the League against his will; the Emperor had no money; the Pope's mercenaries were of no account; the League was too numerous, the interests of its various members were too divergent for it to hold together for long; the Republic would ride safely through the storm this time, as she had ever done.

But one day sufficed to annihilate all the proud hopes of the Venetians, and nearly all their power upon the mainland. The decisive battle was fought on the 14th of May on the plain of Agnadello near Vailate in the province of Cremona; it ended in the complete rout of their army. The undisciplined mercenaries of the Republic were scattered like chaff. While the French pursued the fugitives, the Papal troops, under the Duke of Urbino, overran the Romagna. All the country up to Verona, including that strongly fortified city itself, was subdued; town after town fell into the hands of the conquerors.*

The Venetians now no longer scorned the Pope's excommunication. A contemporary writer compares the battle of Agnadello with the defeat of the Romans at Cannae.† The position of Venice was rendered still more

feeling and his predilection for Venice. *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the Hist. Jahrb., VII., 322 *seq.*, though this writer has overlooked the interesting remarks of the Venetian Envoy on Sigismondo in BROSCH, 289.

* See SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 388-390, who draws his narrative from a Report of Sermonino da Vimercate; Pandolfini's Letters in DESJARDINS, II., 327 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, VIII., 249 *seq.*; LUIGI DA PORTO, 53 *seq.*; ANSHELM, III., 200; SISMONDI, XIII., 491 *seq.*

† SENAREGA, 597. *Cf.* also LUIGI DA PORTO, 62 *seq.*, and Vol. V. of this work, p. 90.

critical by the blow which the recent development of maritime enterprise had inflicted upon her commerce.* If in this particular the disadvantages with which they had to contend were not of their own making, so much cannot be said of the causes which mainly contributed to bring about their discomfiture on the mainland. Machiavelli's penetrating glance discerned, and has described, these with admirable insight and clearness.† He takes as the text for his criticism the saying of Livy, that the Romans were never depressed by misfortune or elevated by success. "The exact reverse of this," he writes, "was the case with the Venetians. They imagined that they owed their prosperity to qualities which, in fact, they did not possess, and were so puffed up that they treated the King of France as a son, underrated the power of the Church, thought the whole of Italy too small a field for their ambition, and aimed at creating a world-wide empire like that of Rome. Then when fortune turned her back upon them, and they were beaten by the French at Vailate, they not only lost the greater part of their territory by the defection of their people, but, of their own accord, out of sheer cowardice and faint-heartedness, they gave back most of their conquests to the Pope and the King of Spain. In their discouragement they even went so far as, through their Envoy, to offer to become tributaries of the Emperor, and to try to move the Pope to compassion by writing to him in a tone of craven submissiveness. This reverse befell them when the war had only lasted four days, and the battle itself was only half-lost; for only half their troops were engaged and one of their Proveditori escaped. Thus, if there had been a spark of energy or enterprise in Venice, they might have marched on Verona with 25,000 men to try their fortune

* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 244.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 172 *seq.*

again, and await any favourable turn that might give them a chance of victory, or at any rate of a less ignoble defeat, and of obtaining honourable terms; but by their unwarlike spirit, the natural result of the absence of all military organisation, they lost both heart and land at a single throw. The like fate will befall all such as behave themselves as they have done, for this arrogance in prosperity, and cowardice in adversity, are the effect of the spirit in which a man lives and the education he has received. If these are vain and frivolous he will be the same; if the reverse, the man will be of a different stamp, and will know enough of the world not to be over-elated when good befalls him, or too much cast down when he meets with reverses. And what holds good in regard to individuals also holds good in regard to those many individuals who live together in the same Republic; they will attain to that measure of perfection which the life of the State, as a whole, has attained. It has often been said before, that the chief support of all States consists in a strong army, and that no system of laws and no constitution can be called good which does not provide for this, but I do not think it superfluous to repeat it; for all history proves its truth, and shews also that no army can be strong that is not well disciplined, and that it is impossible to secure good discipline unless the State is defended by her own subjects." The Venetian aristocracy had purposely abstained from giving military training to the people; they expected to conquer Italy with hired troops.

The first thing which the Venetian Government did when the news of their defeat at Agnadello arrived, was to evacuate all the places which they had occupied in the Romagna. Ravenna, Cervia, Rimini, Faenza, and several smaller places were at once handed over to the Legate of the Romagna and the Marches to Cardinal Francesco

Alidosi.* The cities on the Apulian coast were also restored to the Spaniards.† They were anxious beyond everything else to win the Pope, and now wrote in the humblest and most submissive terms. On the 5th of June the Doge wrote an appealing letter to Julius II., "The hand that struck," he said, "could heal if it would."‡ At the same time, six Envoys were sent to Rome to sue for peace. Being excommunicated, they could only enter the city at night.§ After all that had happened, they were not likely to find men's minds in Rome very favourably disposed towards them. "If the rebellious children who, a few weeks before, had been insultingly defying the Pope to his face, and now came to proffer obedience only under the stress of extreme need, asked to be received at once with open arms, the request could only be deemed diplomatically permissible because the person to whom it was addressed was the Holy Father."‖

On the 8th of July one of the Envoys, Girolamo Donato, whom the Pope had known in former days, was personally absolved from excommunication and granted an audience.

* BROSCH, Julius II., 175. In order to conciliate the citizens of Ravenna, Julius II. not only confirmed their ancient municipal constitution, but also exempted them from all tribute for the next ten years. FANTUZZI, V., 433 *seq.*

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 394. "El Principe de Melfi," on the 17th June, 1509, wrote from Barletta to congratulate the King of Spain on the recuperacione de Trane con speranza fra poco tempo posserne gratulare non solo de la recuperacione de dicta cità, ma ancora de tutti li altri lochi tenea la Sria de Venetia in questa marina de Puglya. I found the original *Brief in F. Espag., 318, f. 114, of the National Library, Paris.

‡ SANUTO, VIII., 370–372, and SENAREGA, 597–598. There is a Spanish translation with a wrong date (2nd June) in BERNALDEZ, II., 338–340.

§ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 400.

‖ ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 291.

Julius, deeply incensed at the appeal of the Venetians to a General Council which had just been published,* proposed crushing conditions. The Republic must make complete restitution of all her spoils, she must give up Treviso and Udine to the Emperor. "She must renounce her possessions on the mainland, and all pretensions to interfere in matters connected with benefices, or to impose taxes on the clergy. She must equally renounce her claim to exclusive rights of navigation in the Adriatic, which from Ravenna to Fiume she had hitherto regarded as a Venetian lake. When she had agreed to these things he would begin to speak of absolution."† The Senate was furious when these demands were communicated to it. The Doge exclaimed that "he would rather send fifty Envoys to Constantinople to beg for help from thence, than comply with them." In fact the Sultan was asked whether the Republic might count upon his assistance.‡

Just at this time events on the scene of the war began to take a more favourable turn for the Venetians. Padua was recovered on the 17th of July, and a month later news came to Rome that they had captured the Marquess of Mantua. The Pope was deeply moved with vexation, and gave passionate vent to his feelings.§ When, later in the Autumn, they had also been successful in repelling Maximilian's attack on Padua, their old arrogance began to revive. It was decided to break off the negotiations with Julius. "All the Venetian Envoys, with the ex-

* On the 1st July he had proclaimed anew the censures formulated by Pius II. against such appeals, and laid an Interdict on Venice. Bull., V., 479-481.

† SANUTO, VIII., 511; BROSCH, Julius II., 177.

‡ BEMBUS, Hist. Venet., 348 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 177, 343; HOPF, 168.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 343.

ception of Donato, who was still to remain at the Court, were recalled. When the Pope heard of this (Cardinal Grimani applied on the 5th November for permission for departure of the five to leave Rome), he exclaimed: All the six may go home; if the Republic wants to be released from the ban, she must send twelve."* Such and similar things were said in moments of excitement; in calmer seasons, Julius must have said to himself that it would be necessary to come to terms with the Republic; Louis XII. and Maximilian could not be allowed to carry the war to a point that would involve her destruction. If Venice were annihilated, not only the freedom of Italy, but also the independence of the Holy See would fall with her.† The enormous preponderance which the course of recent events had conferred on the King of France shewed that it was absolutely necessary that the Republic should be rehabilitated. Louis XII. was absolute master of Northern Italy, Ferrara and Florence were his allies, he was sure of the Emperor, and the King of Spain having got what he wanted from the League, would be satisfied now to stand aside and let things take their course.‡

Just about that time, in the month of October, the King of France had made the Pope painfully sensible of his power by obliging him by force to give way in a dispute about a Bishopric.§ In addition to these considerations, Julius was at heart an Italian patriot, and keenly felt, from this point of view, the disgrace of foreign domination. Hence he was bent on a reconciliation with Venice, and all

* BROSCH, Julius II., 181.

† See DESJARDINS, II., 388; BEMBUS, 343 *seq.* *Cf.* CIPOLLA, 817; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 423; and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 292.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 185.

§ *Ibid.*, 184–185. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 415 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 7, where the agreement of Biagrassa is correctly characterised.

the efforts of the new French Ambassador, Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, and of the French Cardinals to hold him back were unavailing.* After a long struggle with difficulties of the most various kinds, the peace negotiations were at last brought to a successful issue on the 15th February, 1510. Venice withdrew her appeal to a Council, admitted the right of the Pope to pronounce ecclesiastical censures, the immunity of the clergy from taxation, and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, recognised the liberty of the Church in regard to appointments to benefices, renounced all pretensions to interfere in the affairs of Ferrara, and granted free navigation in the Adriatic to all the Pope's subjects and to the Ferrarese; she also repudiated all treaties concluded with towns belonging to the Pope, and promised not to afford protection to rebels against the Church, and to restore all goods that had been wrested from religious associations.†

The solemn absolution of the representatives of Venice, shorn of most of the customary humiliating adjuncts, took place in the Court of S. Peter's on the 24th February. The Pope himself held the Gospel, the Envoys laid their hands on it and swore to observe all the conditions of the treaty. In Rome demonstrations of joy were universal‡ and in Venice also public thanksgivings were celebrated; but on the 15th February the Council of Ten had secretly

* *Cf.* ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 34. Carpi had been French Ambassador in Rome since Jan., 1510. See MAULDE, III., 437.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 1–6; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 422 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 186–191. The "Don Sigismondo" here mentioned as concerned in the negotiations is Sigismondo de' Conti. *Cf.* his Report, II., 400 *seq.*

‡ Paris de Grassis in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 7-11; *cf.* also the Despatch of the Venetian Ambassador in BROSCH, 288-289, and SANUTO, X., 9–13. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 249, even in his last edition, misdates the absolution, and places it on Feb. 20.

drawn up a protest against the conditions of the absolution, declaring them null because the Republic had been driven by force to sign them.*

The Venetians, however, found means to revenge themselves on the Pope who had so humbled them and had forced them to yield on all the important points. They began to disseminate pamphlets and libels against Julius II. The first of these, in the form of a letter from Christ to the Pope, was still couched in fairly temperate language: it mourned the horrors of the war, as if Julius, in merely demanding what was, by every title, simply his own from Venice, was responsible for these.†

* The text of this disgraceful document is in BROSCH, Julius II., 290–293. ROMANIN (V., 241), however, already knew it. Brosch's defence of this piece of perjury is commented upon, *supra*, p. 247, note †. On the thanksgiving services in Venice, see BEMBUS, 409.

† Lettera fenta che Jesu Cristo la manda a Julio papa II. in questo anno 1509, in SANUTO, X., 567–570; *cf. ibid.*, VI., 444, 463, on a satirical poem against the Pope. The accusations against Julius, of being addicted to Greek vices, came in part from Venice. The Despatches of the Envoys in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which retail every sort of scandal, contain nothing to justify this charge. The Pope's liking for, and notice of, the young and good-looking Federigo Gonzaga, who resided in Rome for some time as a hostage, might well in those corrupt times have given rise to unfavourable comment (see LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 12, 20, 21, 23, 24, 32, 35), but nothing of the sort can be found. *Cf. infra*, Chap. V., p. 351, note *.

CHAPTER V.

WARS OF JULIUS II. TO SECURE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOLY SEE AND TO DELIVER ITALY FROM THE FRENCH.—ALLIANCE WITH THE SWISS, AND WAR WITH FERRARA.—SCHISM IN THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.—SICKNESS OF THE POPE AND PERILOUS SITUATION IN BOLOGNA.—HIS WINTER CAMPAIGN AGAINST MIRANDOLA.—LOSS OF BOLOGNA.—ATTEMPTS OF LOUIS XII. AND MAXIMILIAN I. TO CREATE A SCHISM.—PSEUDO-COUNCIL AT PISA AND GENERAL COUNCIL IN ROME.

THE Peace concluded by Julius II. with Venice, consequent on the danger to the independence of the Holy See and the freedom of Italy caused by the increasing preponderance of France in the Peninsula, brought the Pope at once into collision with Louis XII. and Maximilian I., who both desired the complete ruin of the Republic. The estrangement between him and these two powers was further intensified by his determination to resist all their efforts to increase their possessions in Italy. He now addressed himself with characteristic energy to the second great task of his Pontificate: that of shaking off the yoke of France which pressed so heavily on the Holy See and on his native land, and driving the foreigner, "the barbarians," out of Italy. "His great soul was filled with plans for the welfare of his country."*

The difficulties and dangers of the undertaking were

* See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 249. In regard to Venice, Julius himself said to Trevisano: Si quella terra non fusse, bisogneria farne un' altra. SANUTO, X., 82.

plain enough. Julius had understood from the first that it would be no easy task to lay the spirits which he had invoked in his time of need. His thoughts were perpetually occupied in devising ways and means for freeing Italy from the French;* he knew well enough both the strength of France and her love of glory. He saw her influence paramount in Florence and Ferrara, Milan subjugated, a new fortress erected in the midst of his own Genoa to hold her down, Venice humbled to the dust at a single stroke. "Had he not cause enough to tremble for the See of Rome, which certainly could not be saved if Italy were subdued?"†

From the first moment that Julius II. recognised the necessity of breaking the power of France in Italy, he gave his whole mind to the task with the inflexible will and indomitable courage that characterised him and all his actions; it was not in his nature to hesitate or delay. Thus in the eyes of Italian patriots he is the hero of his century.‡

From the outset Julius had one great advantage over his opponent in the swiftness with which he saw and resolved upon the measures to be adopted. On one day Louis XII.

* Julius II. said to the Venetian Envoy, Donato, on the 14th May, 1510: Questi francesi mi à tolto la fame e non dormo e questa note mi levai a pasizar per camera che non poteva dormir, il cor mi dice bene, ho speranza di bene, son stato in gran affanni per il passato, concludendo è volonta di Dio di castigar el ducha di Ferrara e liberar Italia de' man de Francesi: SANUTO, X., 369. FUMAGALLI, Chi l'ha detto (Milano, 1894), has not succeeded in proving that Julius II. ever actually uttered the well-known and often quoted exclamation, "Away with the barbarians." But there can be no doubt that he said something of the kind. Many passages in Sanuto corroborate this, and Guicciardini says that he used to say again and again how he wished that Italy rimanesse libera die barbari. *Cf.* JOVIUS (Vita Leonis X., lib. III., p. 59), who is another contemporaneous writer.

† JOVIUS, Vitae, II., 31; HAVEMANN, II., 323.

‡ *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 202–203.

would break out into violent diatribes against the Pope, who, in the words of the French Cardinal, had plunged a dagger into his heart by making peace with Venice,* and on the next he would again talk of a reconciliation with Rome. On the 25th May, 1510, Cardinal d'Amboise, Louis' ablest councillor and the most dangerous enemy of Julius, whom he was burning to supersede, died.† The effect of his death was greatly to increase the vacillations of the French King.‡

For Julius this event was a fresh incentive to pursue with redoubled energy the noble aim "which it is his greatest glory to have succeeded in achieving even partially."§ The first necessity was to find coadjutors interested like himself in checking the predominance of France in Italy.‖ The Pope sent out feelers in all directions and entered into relations with Maximilian, with Henry VIII. of England, with the King of Spain, and with the Swiss. He met with many bitter disappointments. The negotiations with Germany and England failed completely. He had counted on securing the open support of the King of Spain by bestowing on him in the beginning of July, 1510, the investi-

* See Relazione di D. Trevisano (1510) in ALBERI, 2 Serie, III., 34.

† Il papa vuol essere il signore e maestro del ginoco del mondo, writes Trevisano, in the Relation referred to in the preceding note, teme di Francia per Roano, il quale certo sarà papa, per i voti che poi avrà, se non fa altri cardinali italiani. On d'Amboise's plans for securing the Tiara, see *supra*, pp. 263, 294. On d'Amboise (whose splendid tomb is in the Cathedral at Rouen), see the monographs by SIRMOND (Paris, 1631), BAUDIER (Paris, 1634), LEGENDRE (Paris, 1723, Rouen, 1724, 2 vols.), SACY (London, 1776), and GOYON D'ARSAC (Montaub., 1784), though these even all together do not by any means exhaust the results of modern research in regard to him. A new biography of this remarkable man is much to be desired.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 513. Cardinal Chaland became Legate of Avignon upon the death of d'Amboise. See FANTONI, 352.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 202.

‖ *Ibid.*, 185

ture of Naples without any regard to the claims of the Valois,* but here, too, he was unsuccessful at first. On the other hand, he was successful in obtaining the help of the Swiss. Here Louis XII.'s want of tact in his conduct towards the Swiss Federation came to his assistance, and also the exertions of the Swiss Bishop of Sitten, Matthæus Schinner, who had always been a determined opponent of the French policy. This remarkable prelate had great influence over his fellow countrymen on account of his blameless life and his strictness in all ecclesiastical matters. He was a man of immense energy, one of the greatest his country has ever produced. "His eloquence stirred all hearts in a wonderful way."† His love for the Church and her visible head was the mainspring of his life, which was in great part devoted to persevering efforts to enlist the whole martial spirit and power of his nation in her defence. He always disliked the French; in the year 1501 he preached with such vigour and effect against France that those who belonged to that party tried to have him silenced. He was penetrated with the old mediæval idea of the two swords: the spiritual sword wielded by the Pope, Christ's

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 24 *seq.* *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 196–201. CREIGHTON, IV., 118, erroneously makes the date of the investiture 17th June, and SISMONDI, XIV., 71, July 7th. The Bull which contains the clause precluding the King of Naples from the imperial crown, and from ever combining the lordship of Tuscany and Lombardy with that of Naples, is dated 3rd July. It was not, however, communicated to the Cardinals till the Consistory of 5th July (see Acta Consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and this is corroborated by SANUTO, X., 727, 745–746. Later, Ferdinand also obtained the remission of the fief dues in return for the annual gift of a white palfrey, and an engagement to supply 300 soldiers for the defence of the States of the Church if they should be attacked. PRESCOTT, II., 501, note 16. On the 8th April, 1510, the Golden Rose was sent to Henry VIII., in hopes of gaining his support. See WILKINS, III., 652.

† DIERAUER, II., 401.

Vicar on earth, and the temporal by the Head of the Holy Roman Empire, the protector of the Church. Thus he considered that it was the first duty of Switzerland, and would be the path of glory for her, to stand by the Emperor in defending the Roman Church against France, whose predominance in Italy was a permanent danger to the freedom and independence of the Holy See.*

Julius II. quickly recognised the valuable qualities of the Swiss prelate, and on the 10th September, 1508, made him a Cardinal, though his proclamation was deferred for the present.† The Swiss had withdrawn from the League with France in the Summer of 1509, and now Julius turned to Schinner for assistance. In the close of that year the Bishop, not without personal risk, hastened to Rome to arrange the details of an agreement between the Pope and the Swiss Federation.‡ In February, 1510, as Papal Legate, he laid the proposals of Julius II. before his countrymen at Schwyz, and then at Lucerne on the same day. His enthralling eloquence overcame all objections. On the 14th of March, 1510, the district of Wallis and all the twelve Cantons ratified a treaty for five years with the Pope. "The Federation undertook the defence of the Church and of the Holy See. They

* FUCHS, Mailändische Feldzüge, II., 18, 19 (*cf.* JOLLER, 52). Schinner's *Letter to the Castellan of Sitten, dat. 28th April, 1506, is very interesting, as shewing how he regarded the Holy Roman Empire, "out of which," he says in it, "all our liberties, both in Church and State, have sprung." (State Archives, Sitten.) The Emperor Maximilian met Schinner at the Diet of Constance, and there became personally acquainted with him. See DIEBOLD SCHILLING, Chronik, 173.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 25.

‡ On 6th Jan., 1510, Julius wrote to Uri to announce Schinner's mission (Letter in LANZ, Grundriss, I., 759), and another letter on the same day to the Abbot of Dissentis. See MOHR, Regesten von Dissentis, N. 664; *cf.* FUCHS, II., 155.

promised, whenever the Pope should require their help, to furnish 6000 men to meet the foe, provided they were not themselves engaged in war. Further, for the term of their agreement they engaged not to ally themselves with any third power without the Pope's permission, nor to supply any other power with troops. The Pope on his part bound himself to consult the interests of the Federation in any treaties of peace or alliances that he might make, to defend them with his spiritual weapons against their enemies, to pay to each Canton and to Wallis a yearly sum of 1000 florins, 6 francs monthly to each soldier in the army, and twice that sum to each officer."*

Trusting to his alliance with the Swiss and to the support of Venice, Julius II. made no secret of his intention of going to war with France. "These French," he said on the 19th June to the Venetian Ambassador, "are trying to reduce me to be nothing but their King's Chaplain: but I mean to be Pope, as they will find out to their discomfiture." He spoke in similar terms to the Florentine Envoy.† Cardinal Clermont, who attempted against the Pope's wishes on the 29th June to escape to France, was arrested and taken to the Castle of St. Angelo. Other Cardinals who were, as Julius II. knew, secretly working on the French side, were threatened with a similar fate. When the Cardinals Briçonnet, Louis d'Amboise, de Prie, and Sanseverino interceded with the Pope for his release, he told them to their faces that it looked as if they too wished to be provided with lodgings in St. Angelo.‡

* DIERAUER, II., 402–403.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 203–204, 348. The exact words to the Florentine Envoy are in *Cerretani, Cod. II., III., 76, f. 344, of the National Library, Florence.

‡ *Cf.* SANUTO, X., 565, 696, 700, 720, 725, 728, 732, 734, 746–747, 761, 803, 806, 856, 857, 871; see *Cerretani, *loc. cit.*, f. 348. The *Acta

At the same moment Louis XII. attacked the Pope in his spiritualities by reviving a considerable number of the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, especially those relating to benefices.* In the beginning of July a sharp exchange of high words took place between Julius and the French Ambassador. Carpi remonstrated with the Pope on his intention of helping the Genoese to shake off the yoke of France, which he said was a line of conduct on the part of Julius that his King had not deserved. The Pope replied, "I look upon your King as my personal enemy, and do not wish to hear anything more." The Ambassador was shewn to the door and Julius refused to hear any further explanation.† The rupture with Louis XII. was now definitive. The Venetian Envoy writes that "the French in Rome stole about looking like corpses."‡

The Pope's plan was to attack the French in Italy on all sides at once; in Genoa, Verona, Milan, and Ferrara. The Venetians were to throw themselves on Verona, the Swiss to invade Milan, the Fregosi in Genoa, supported by Papal and Venetian troops, were to rise against France, and Francesco Maria della Rovere, also in combination with Venice, was to march against Duke Alfonso of Ferrara.

Julius II. was especially exasperated against the Duke of Ferrara, who had thrown himself completely into the arms of France and continued to harass Venice in spite of the Pope's repeated commands. The Prince was not

Consist., f. 27, mention Clermont's imprisonment: *Dicta die (29th June) R. D. F. card. Auxit. cum uno ex suis et sine habitu cardinalitio extra domum suam per urbem a Barizello captus et per Tyberim ad castrum S. Angeli introductus et ibi detentus. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

* MAULDE, Origines, 135.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 206, 349–350. *Cf.* MAULDE, III., 459.

‡ SANUTO, X., 829.

only his own feudatory vassal, but was also bound to him by ties of gratitude for quite recent services. During the past Winter he had restored Comacchio to Alfonso, and prevented the Venetians from attacking him. Now, protected by Louis XII., in defiance of that monarch's treaty with Julius II.,* the Duke went on with the war against Venice, and did everything in his power to injure the Holy See. He harried the inhabitants of the States of the Church, ignored the Pope's authority even in ecclesiastical matters, and persisted in working the salt marshes of Comacchio to the detriment of the Papal monopoly at Cervia, asserting that he held this town in fief from the Emperor and not from the Holy See. All the Pope's demands were either "evaded or met by a direct refusal or an evasion; Alfonso was determined not to obey him." † Finally Julius II. commenced legal proceedings against his insubordinate vassal. A Bull of 9th August excommunicates Alfonso as a rebel against the Church, and declares him to have forfeited all his dignities and fiefs. In it he is severely blamed ‡ for his adhesion to Cardinal d'Amboise, who, it says, was plotting to obtain the Tiara during the lifetime of the lawful Pope, and sowed dissension between France and Rome.§

* LANZ, Einleitung, 109.

† See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 251. *Cf.* the authorities referred to here and in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 424 *seq.* See also BALAN, V., 472, and ROB. BOSCHETTI, II., 46 *seq.* *Cf.* also in Appendix, N. 84, the *Brief of the 5th June, 1510. (State Archives, Modena.) A *Brief from Julius II. to Alfonso, unfortunately undated, but apparently belonging to the end of 1507, contains complaints of outrages committed by Ferrarese officials on the inhabitants of various places named in it, which now belonged to the Holy See. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 20b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ See P. MARTYR, XXIII., N. 443.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 13 *seq.* *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 27, and

The Pope's attempt to wrest Genoa from France was violently resented by Louis XII. Machiavelli, who was then an Envoy at the French Court, describes the exasperation of the King and his courtiers. "As regards the Pope," he writes from Blois on the 21st July, "you can imagine what is said of him; obedience is to be renounced and a Council hung upon his neck. The complete annihilation of his power, both temporal and spiritual, is the least of the penalties with which he is to be visited. Louis is determined to vindicate his honour even if he loses everything he possesses in Italy." Machiavelli gratified his hatred of Popes by fanning the flame with all his might. He advised the King to set the Roman Barons on Julius; he would then be fully occupied at home and have to let the King of France alone.

Fortunately for the Pope, Louis did not follow this advice, but resolved to attack his enemy just where he was invincible—in his purely spiritual power.* This Pope, who was such an obstacle to French domination in Italy, was to be hurled from his throne by means of a Synod creating an ecclesiastical revolution. Thus, "the great tournament of the European powers was transferred from the field of battle and the realm of diplomacy to that of the life of the Church."†

On the 30th of July, Louis XII. issued a summons to all the Bishops in his kingdom to send representatives of their Dioceses in September to Orleans, there to meet

SANUTO, XI., 108 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*, 114 *seq.* I saw a contemporaneous printed copy of the Bull (impressum Bononiae 1510, die XXIII.) in the State Archives at Modena. There is also here a notice that the Bull was posted in the church of S. John Lateran on the 13th Aug.

* BROSCH, Julius II., 208. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 504 *seq.*; CREIGHTON, IV., 121.

† FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 85.

together and hold a consultation on the liberties and privileges of the Gallican Church.* By a royal ordinance of 16th August, 1510, all French subjects were forbidden to visit the Court of Rome.† The Assembly met at the appointed time, not, however, at Orleans but at Tours, whither Louis also betook himself, forbidding the Papal Nuncio Leonini to follow him.‡ The French Court-Bishops answered the questions set before them in the sense desired by their master. The Pope did wrong in making war on any Prince who was not one of his vassals, and such a Prince had a right to defend himself with arms, and even to invade the States of the Church if necessary, and to withdraw his kingdom from its obedience to such a Pope. The term at which the renunciation of obedience should take place must be decided by ancient custom and the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, founded on the decrees of the Council of Basle. It was further declared that a King when thus attacked had a right to protect his allies against the Pope, and to hold all his censures as null and void. At the same time it was agreed that before taking any further steps the Gallican Church should send Envoys to the Pope to warn him not to proceed in his present conduct, and to demand a General Council. When this had been done, they would have a right to take other measures. Finally they granted a considerable subsidy to the King for the prosecution of the war in Italy.§ On that point Louis XII.'s plans were of a very extensive character.

* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 427–428. *Cf.* MAULDE, Origines, 134, 325.

† MAULDE, Origines, 135.

‡ *Cf.* PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 42–43.

§ LEHMANN, 8–9; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 432 *seq.*; GUETTÉE, VIII., 108 *seq.*; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 29, 46 *seq.*; GIESELER, II., 4, 183 *seq.*

"He intended to create a new heaven and a new earth in Italy." He proposed to lead an army to Rome and himself depose the Pope.* "But his mood varied from day to day; one day he seemed quite determined to begin at once, the next he shrank back alarmed at some apprehended danger, or at the expenses of the war. The Ferrarese Envoy complained that he changed his mind every morning. He allowed the precious time in which action was possible to slip away, while he amused himself with the fatuous contemplation of the power which he possessed, but did not know how to use." Finally he decided upon waiting till the Spring, and till he could be sure of Maximilian and Henry VIII.†

Not so Julius II. He knew nothing of fear or irresolution, and difficulties only roused him to greater exertions. His character corresponded curiously with his family crest, which was the unbending oak,—the resolution which he now formed was in complete harmony with his fearless and eager temperament. Though he was far from well he determined to accompany his army in the campaign against Ferrara, the most advanced outpost of the French in Italy, and thus hold his untrustworthy and irresolute generals to their work. By superintending the whole enterprise in person he hoped "to decide everything himself, and get his decisions promptly carried out, and to be again as successful as when he had boldly taken his own line against the Bentivogli, and refused to be intimidated by any warnings or prognostications of evil. He had no presentiment that he was going forth to meet one of the most terrible trials of his whole life."‡

* *Cf.* Machiavelli's Letters of the 21st July and the 18th Aug., 1510.

† LEHMANN, 9. *Cf.* CREIGHTON, IV., 120; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 256.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 209.

The Pope's irritation with Louis XII increased from day to day. He began to talk of excommunicating the King, and the Cardinals of the French party were threatened with the severest penalties if they took any part in the calling of an anti-Papal Council. Cardinal Clermont was kept in strict confinement in St. Angelo, and Cardinal de Prie only escaped the same fate by swearing, at the Consistory of 18th August, not to leave Rome; if he did, he would at once be deprived of his cardinalate. These severe measures seemed to be rendered necessary by the murmurs of Cardinal d'Este, who, though summoned on the 27th July, with all the other absent Cardinals belonging to the Court, to return to Rome, had not come back.* On the 27th of August the Pope went down to Ostia† and thence to Civita Vecchia, where he inspected the ships destined for Genoa, and celebrated the conquest of Modena.‡ All the Cardinals, with the exception of the aged Carafa, were summoned to join him at Viterbo, but Briçonnet and de Prie took no notice of the command.§ From Viterbo Julius went to Montefiascone, and started from thence for Bologna with 400 men on the 1st September, making his way to Amerina through Orvieto, Amelia, Foligno, Tolentino, and Loreto, where he said Mass on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8th September).‖

* Sanuto, XII., 149, 161, 192, 198. Cf. Paris de Grassis, ed. Dollinger, III., 302, and ed. Frati, 291–298; also Raynaldus, ad an. 1511, c. 18–19. The *Brief to Cardinal d'Este of the 27th July, 1511, is Appendix, N. 83. State Archives, Modena.

† *Acta Consist., f. 97. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‡ Cf. Sanudo, Modena, 11, 199, 203.

§ Sanuto, XII., 220, 263.

‖ Paris de Grassis, ed. Frati, 289, 293, and *Acta Consist., loc. cit. From Amerina, on the 5th Sept., the Pope despatched a *Brief to the Bolognese saying that he had heard how much they had suffered from the enemy, and would compensate them. On the 7th May he had sent

At this place some attempts were made by Cardinal Flenco and Lionello de Carpi to persuade him to enter into diplomatic relations with France, but were angrily repulsed.* From Arezzo, Julius II. proceeded to Rimini† by water, and thence pressed on to Cesena by the ancient Via Emilia, in spite of the rain which poured down like a waterspout. Paris de Grassis, who travelled with the Pope, says, 'When the people saw our train toiling along in such weather they burst out laughing, instead of greeting the Pope as they ought to have done. Although the following day was just as bad, he insisted on going on to Forlì, whither the rain perseveringly accompanied us.' There they only spent the night, and then proceeded at once to Bologna, which they entered on the 22nd of September. Everywhere along the road ample provision was made by the inhabitants for the wants of the Pope and his people; at his desire all remains of food were distributed to the convents and the poor.‡

1 *Brief praising the fidelity and obedience of the Ancients of Bologna; and to a second *Brief, dat. Rome, 19th May, 1506, he again praises the Magistrates for their loyalty, and assures them that he has such powerful allies that he has no apprehensions. All these *Briefs are in the State Archives, Bologna, Q., lib. 5.

* Sanuto, XII., 396; Bembo, Julius II., 200.

† From here Julius II. sent the Bishop of Worcester, Silvius Cassio, to Venice as permanent Nuncio. See Sanuto, XII., 440; Priuli, Venetian, p. 69.

‡ Paris de Grassis, ed. Frati, 210 sqq. (Cf. Fabre, Imola, 21. The entrance into Bologna is wrongly dated the 20th by Corbinelli, Storia Bentivoglio, VII., 69. Also the 'Acta Consist. say the 22nd, and describe it as magna aparatu receptus. In a *Brief dat. Rome, 19th Sept., 1506, Julius announced his arrival to the Bolognese; he sent two Commissari to make all necessary preparations. (State Archives, Bologna, Q., lib. 5.) On the 19th Sept. a letter of thanks was sent to Perugia for the promise of 400 men to help against Pavia. (In Archives, Perugia, and Cod. C., IV., 4, of the University Library, Genoa.

Even during the course of his hurried journey, tidings had reached Julius which filled him with anxiety; he heard from Verona that the expedition against Genoa seemed likely to break down. In Bologna itself he found great dissatisfaction with Alidosi's government. He was already suffering from fever, and found it hard to bear up against all these cares; but anything in the way of better news revived him at once, and his resolution never failed for a moment, not even when there could no longer be any doubt that the King of France meant to summon a Council,* and the Swiss, after having come as far as Chiasso, yielding to French and imperial intrigues, suddenly turned back and gave up the campaign.† But still worse news was yet to come. On the 30th September he had made the Marquess of Mantua Standard-bearer to the Church,‡ and on the 14th October had excommunicated the French general.§ Now, on the 17th, tidings arrived from Florence that the Cardinals Carvajal, Francesco Borgia, Briçonnet, René de Prie, and Sanseverino, instead of obeying the Pope's command to join him at Bologna, had betaken themselves

* *Cf.* Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

† SANUTO, XI., 425, 427, 455, 457, 466. *Cf.* the Portuguese Report from Rome of the 15th Oct., 1510, in the Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133. The unexpected defection of the Swiss (*cf.* DIERAUER, 405) disturbed the Pope more than anything else, as his *Brief of 30th Sept., 1510, shews. This Brief is printed in the Eidgenöss. Abschieden, III., 2, 519–520, and in German in ANSHELM, III., 229–231. TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 704–705, who has reprinted it, and CREIGHTON, IV., 120, have overlooked this. The Latin text of the Letter from the Federation, dat. Lucerne, 14th Sept., 1510, with which FUCHS, II., 200, is not acquainted, and to which the Brief was an answer, is to be found in Cod. Regin., 557, f. 115^{b}, in the Vatican Library.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 195; SANUTO, XI., 486. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 8, who shews that it was the Pope who had released the Marquess from his imprisonment.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 16.

to the camp of the enemy in Milan. For various reasons these men were all dissatisfied with Julius II. and his policy. They cared for nothing but their own aggrandisement,* and hoped to secure that by helping the King of France to depose the Pope, whom he rightly considered the chief obstacle to the establishment of his supremacy in Italy. "Thus a schism in the Sacred College was added to Louis' threatened Council."† Julius had long been mistrustful of the French Cardinals; but it was a terrible blow to him when the two Spaniards, especially Carvajal, who was so highly thought of, went over to the French; nevertheless he still by no means lost heart.

At this critical moment, when nothing but the greatest prudence could have saved him, the Pope committed a fatal error in allowing himself to be completely deceived by Cardinal Alidosi. This worldly and greedy prelate was accused by his enemies of the worst vices—whether justly or not we have no means of determining.‡ He had cruelly oppressed the Bolognese and was suspected of conspiring with the French.§ In consequence, the Duke of Urbino had him arrested as a traitor and carried in chains from

* *Cf.* MORONI in the Miscell. di storia patria, II., 179.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 197; GUICCIARDINI, IX., 3; LE GLAY, I., 372; BROSCH, Julius II., 211; LEHMANN, 27–28; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 435 *seq.* The beginning of the tension between Julius II. and Carvajal dated from the liberation of Cæsar Borgia (*cf. supra*, p. 242). Later Carvajal, who was both passionate and ambitious, had been far from respectful in his conduct towards the Pope. Nevertheless the latter continued to treat him with great consideration, appointed him to honourable posts, and gave him valuable benefices (*cf.* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 84, 89, 90). Even now Carvajal and F. Borgia were treated with greater leniency than the others. See GUICCIARDINI, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* FANTI'S investigations, Imola, 10 *seq.*, which have not been noticed by any modern writer. See also *infra*, p. 350, note †.

§ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 199. *Cf.* SANUTO, IX., 253, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 171 *seq.*

Modena to Bologna on the 7th of October. The Bolognese now hoped that their hated tyrant would pay for his misdeeds with his life. But in his very first conversation he contrived, by insinuating manners and plausibility, so to get round the Pope that not only was he at once released, but very shortly after, on the 18th October, made Bishop of Bologna.* The citizens, irritated to the highest degree, were preparing to give vent to their anger, when suddenly the French army under the command of the excommunicated Chaumont† appeared at the gates of the city, which was inadequately garrisoned with only 900 men. With the French were the Bentivogli, thirsting for revenge. The people now, says Paris de Grassis, took up arms, not to defend the Legate or the Pope, but their own liberty.‡ Alidosi thought of nothing but his personal safety, and said openly that he was arming his people not against the French but to protect himself against the Bolognese.

To make matters worse and add to the general confusion, Julius II. now broke down under the long continued strain, and, as the astrologers had predicted,§ fell seriously ill of fever; so seriously that negotiations for the supposed impending election were set on foot.‖ Now at last for a moment his indomitable spirit seemed to falter. On the

* Contemporaneous writers seem utterly at a loss to explain this event. *Cf.* the conjectures of P. DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 201.

† The Bull of Excommunication of the 14th Oct., 1510, in the Bull. Rom., ed. Luxemb., X., 12–14. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1510, n. 16; Lettres de Louis XII., I., 282; and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 426 *seq.*

‡ The text of P. DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus (populus arma capit pro pontificis tutelaque sua) is inaccurate throughout. In FRATI, 201, it does not make sense. The correct text in DÖLLINGER'S edition runs thus: populus arma capit non utique pro legato nec tam pro pontificis tutela quam sua ipsorum defensione.

§ *Cf.* the Portuguese Report in the Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

‖ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 204; *cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 350 *seq.*

19th of October he sent for the Venetian Ambassador and told him that if the troops of the Republic had not crossed the Po within twenty-four hours, he would come to terms with Chaumont. The Ambassador relates how, on the following night, tossing on his sleepless bed, he declared in his feverish wanderings that he would rather kill himself than fall into the hands of the French.* With the dawn of the 20th October the fever subsided, and the sick man recovered his self-command with a celerity which shews the extraordinary elasticity of his temperament. When he heard that the armed citizens were calling his name he sprang from his bed and had himself carried out on one of the balconies of the palace, from whence he gave his blessing to the people, whose temper, owing to a variety of circumstances, had undergone a favourable change during the preceding days.

Paris de Grassis, as an eye-witness, narrates how Julius, after having blessed the people, crossed his arms upon his

* *Cf.* the extracts from the Reports of the Venetian Ambassador in SANUTO, XI. Here on the 26th Sept. it is said that the Pope is in bed con terzanella (p. 467); on 2nd Oct. that he is ill of fever: li medici dubita non si buti in quartana (p. 494); on 18th Oct.: il papa à pur febre, quasi ogni giorno uno pocho, e como l'ha qualche bona nova, l'ha mancho, e come l' à cativa, el sta in letto (p. 546); on the 19th, the declaration to the Ambassador mentioned in the text. On the 20th, it has been decided to come to terms with the French. El papa è in letto con la febre; it is thought that he cannot live. Tuta questa note il papa rasonando diceva: Morirò, morirò, orsù, voglio morir! Poi diceva: Andarò presone de' Francesi, de' Francesi! Questo non serà vero. Torò il veneno da mi, torò il veneno al tutto! E cussi tuta questa notte su queste pratiche ha rabiato, non à mai dormito tutta questa notte (pp. 548-550). BROSCH, Julius II., 202, in his usual fashion, quotes these words so as to produce a misleading impression, suppressing what the Ambassador says of the severity of the fever, and anticipations of the death of the Pope. The word "rabiato" indicates mental disturbance, so that CREIGHTON, IV., 123, correctly makes use of the term delirium.

breast, as though confiding his person to their honour and care. The action met with a sympathetic response, and a shout went up from the crowd with a promise to stand up against the foe as one man. "Now," exclaimed the Pope, as they carried him back to his bed, "we have conquered the French." *

The hopes of Julius II. were justified by the conduct of the French commander, who, instead of pressing forward at once, began to negotiate,† and thus gave time for the Venetian and Spanish troops to arrive. Soon the French army, encamped on the Reno three miles from the city, began to suffer severely from want of provisions and the inclemency of the weather, and was forced to retire to Castelfranco. Julius, who had broken off his negotiations with Chaumont, was now anxious that his troops should sally forth and fall upon the French, who were retiring slowly, plundering as they went. His vexation at not being able to get this done was so great that it brought on a dangerous relapse on the 24th. Again the worst began to be feared, but again also his iron constitution was victorious. In two days he began to improve, and by the end of the fourth day the danger was over. His recovery, however, was retarded by his obstinacy in refusing to spare himself in any way or to follow the advice of his physicians. In consequence, he had many relapses. "The Pope's constitution," writes the Venetian Ambassador on the 25th November, "is marvellous; if he would only take care of himself he would soon be able to get up."‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 202, 203; *cf.* 333. SANUTO, XI., 551 *seq.*

† SEMPER, Carpi, 7. On Chaumont's motives, *cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 346.

‡ SANUTO, XI., 634; *cf.* on the various phases of his sickness and his behaviour, 554, 556, 568, 569, 583, 586, 601, 603, 633, 642, 668, and PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 204 *seq*

Far from attending to his health, the mind of the Pope was occupied day and night with his plans for subduing Ferrara and driving back the French. He caused a circular letter to all the Christian Princes of Europe to be drawn up, in which he accused Louis XII. of thirsting for the blood of the Roman Pope and sending his army to Bologna to destroy him. He declared that until Ferrara had capitulated he would listen to no more overtures. He urged the Venetians with redoubled energy to join their forces to his and at once commence the siege of that city. But his impatience was doomed to disappointment. The union of the two armies took place in due course, but the combined forces waited in vain for the Marquess of Mantua. At the same time the Venetian fleet met with a reverse.* Julius II. had on the 11th December appointed Cardinal Marco Vigerio, Legate of the Papal troops; eight days after, news came of the conquest of Concordia.† His Master of Ceremonies reports that on the 15th December he had so far recovered as to be able to leave the house of his friend, Giulio Malvezzi, where he had been staying since the 6th November, and return to his own palace. Externally he was very much altered in appearance, as during his illness he had grown a long beard.‡ At Christmas he was able to

* GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 3.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 211 *seq.* *Cf.* SANUTO, XI., 681, 689, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 184.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 213, 241. A Bolognese chronicler (in GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 182) reports: Portava la barba per vendicarsi et diceva che non la voleva più rasar per insino a tanto che non aveva anco fuora scazato el re Ludovico de Franza d'Italia. See PETRUS MARTYR, Lib. XXIV., ep. 451. *Cf.* also LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 65. For several centuries no Pope had ever worn a beard, and at the Conclave of 1455 even Bessarion's oriental beard had been blamed by some. (See Vol. II. of this work, p. 323.) See generally on the wearing of beards during the Renaissance period, MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'A., III.,

say Mass, but only in his private chapel and sitting. On S. Stephen's Day he wished to attend the High Mass at the Cathedral, but heavy snow and a slight return of fever obliged him to give up his intention.* It can therefore be imagined what the amazement of his Court must have been when he informed them on the 29th of December that he intended to join the army before Mirandola, in order to see why his troops were putting off their attack in spite of his repeated commands. Although every one, the Cardinals, the Prelates, the Bolognese, and, at first, even the Venetian Envoys, did their utmost to dissuade him, they could not alter his determination; he was convinced that nothing but his presence in person could defeat the machinations of those who were hindering the progress of the campaign.†

On the 2nd of January, 1511, the world was called upon to witness the strange spectacle of a Pope, regardless of his dignity, his advanced age, his health, and the rigours of an unusually severe Winter, setting forth to join his army in their camp before Mirandola. Amongst those who accompanied him were the Cardinals Isvalies, d'Aragona, and Cornaro, and the famous architect Bramante.‡ The Venetian Envoy, Girolamo Lippomano, who had attached himself to the Papal train, gives utterance in his Reports to the universal astonishment. "Julius II.," he writes on the 6th January, "has appeared, contrary to all expectation.

156 *seq.* It was, however, "quite in character for Julius II. to be the first to assume this note of virility." GREGOROVIUS, Grabdenkmäler, 124. See also NOVAES, VI., 136.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 223.

† SANUTO, XI., 712 *seq.*, 719. From a Portuguese Report of 15th Oct., 1510, it appears that even in the Autumn the Pope had expressed his intention of personally taking part in the war. Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 133.

‡ *Cf.* SEMPER, Carpi, 8.

He hates the French worse than ever. Apparently he has quite recovered; he goes about in all the wind and weather, and watches the clearing away of the snow from his balcony; he has the strength of a giant. Yesterday and to-day the snow has been falling without intermission, and is half the height of a horse, and yet the Pope is in the camp. Our Republic is being splendidly served. His Court, who have no heart for Italy, and think of nothing but their money, are dying to get back to Rome; but they are quite helpless; Julius II. thinks, dreams, and talks to satiety of nothing but Mirandola."* In a Report on the following day he says, "To-day the Pope reviewed the troops in the snow. His spirit and courage are marvellous, but he is not supported by his people." The consciousness of this sometimes angered him almost to madness, and he would storm and rave at his generals for their tardiness.†

At first Julius II. had taken up his abode in a farm-house; when the batteries opened fire, he withdrew to Concordia, but his impatience soon became so great that in a few days he returned to take up his quarters in the Convent of S^ta^ Giustina, which was quite close to the battery and nearer to the fortress than the farm-house. His Court were lost in wonder: "His Holiness lives in the kitchen of the Convent," writes the Venetian Paolo Capello on the 13th January, "and I inhabit an open stable that

* SANUTO, XI., 722–723; *cf.* 721. See also the interesting Mantuan Despatch in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 65 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 225; GRUMELLO, 134 *seq.*; and CARPESANUS, V., N. 2. On the unusual severity of the Winter of 1511, *cf.* LANDUCCI, 306, and CAMBI, XXI., 251, who are, not without reason, scandalised at the Pope's conduct in joining the camp. His armour is still preserved in the Vatican, and will be placed in the new Museum in the Appartamento Borgia.

† SANUTO, XI., 724, 725, 726; *cf.* 729, 730, 731, 732, 740. See further, the Mantuan Despatches in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 66, and the Report of the Envoy from Orvieto in FUMI, Carteggio, 134–135.

anywhere else would not be thought fit even for a servant; but here it is so much prized that Cardinals Cornaro and d'Aragona have been asking for it. The weather is detestable; to-day we have a furious snow storm, and yet the Pope has gone out. His health and spirit are superhuman, nothing seems to hurt him." The Venetian Envoy Lippomano said to Cardinal Alidosi, who was also in the camp, "It ought to be recorded in all histories that a Pope, only just out of his sick-bed, has taken the field himself in January and in the midst of such snow and cold. The rivers are all frozen; it is Winter with a vengeance." A report of the 17th January states that on that day a cannon-ball had entered the room where the Pope was lying asleep, and had wounded two of his servants. After this Julius moved into the house of Cardinal Isvalies. But here too he found that shots were occasional visitors, and so, in spite of the remonstrances of his people, he returned to his former quarters. "The Pope displays extraordinary courage," writes the Venetian Envoy. "He is burning with impatience to march on Ferrara." The long sustained resistance of the defenders of Mirandola so enraged Julius that he rated his own generals in violent terms, and talked of giving the town over to pillage.* When at last, on the 20th of January, it capitulated, his people succeeded in persuading him to grant milder terms. He was in such a hurry to set foot in his new conquest that he would not wait to have the gates unbarred, but clambered in through the breach on a wooden ladder. On the following day he declared that he would at once proceed to Ferrara, and

* SANUTO, XI., 740, 741, 743, 744, 746, 747, 750, 755. *Cf.* GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, VII., 197 *seq.*; Mem. della Mirandola, II., 179 *seq.*, 183; and BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 12 *seq.*, 14. Julius sent the cannon-ball to the Sanctuary of Loreto, where it is still preserved. *Cf.* GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, VII., 198, and TURSELLINUS, 169 *seq.*

appointed Count Gianfrancesco Pico, Lieutenant of the conquered fortress.*

His personal experience of the difficulties which he would have to encounter in subduing Ferrara induced Julius to enter into communication with Alfonso in order to persuade him to abandon his alliance with France. He also endeavoured to detach Maximilian from Louis XII., by handing Modena over to the imperial commander.† The Duke of Ferrara let the Pope know through an indirect channel that he would not treat with him, and so the war had to go on.

For a time Julius still clung to his purpose of personally pursuing the campaign; but the representations of his Court, and his dread of being taken prisoner by the French, induced him for the present to return to Bologna until he could collect a larger army. When he found that his return to Bologna (on the 6th-7th February) had at once encouraged the French to advance again, he proceeded on the 11th by Imola to Ravenna in order to attack Ferrara from that side.‡ In Ravenna, which he reached on the 18th of February, the Pope on the 10th of March created several new Cardinals, "to strengthen himself against the schismatics and to fulfil his engagements to certain

* SANUTO, XI., 760, 763, 765, 766, 770, 772, 773, 776, 778, 787. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 66; Mem. della Mirandola, II., 185 *seq.*; BALAN, Assedii della Mirandola, 15 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Aicuni avvenimenti, VII., 200 *seq.*, where all particulars about the ring (now in the Museum at Modena) which Julius gave to the inhabitants of Mirandola may be found.

† In January, 1511. See SANDONINI, Modena, 141.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 234 *seq.*, and SANUTO, XI., 795, 800, 801, 805, 813, 821, 831, 832, 838, 843; FUMI, Carteggio, 138, 139, 140–141; FANTI, Imola, 24–25. *Cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 216 *seq.* On the day that he left Bologna, the Pope wrote to M. Lang asking him to come to him. See Lettres de Louis XII., II., 112–113.

powers."* Two of those nominated were ultramontanes, the Englishman Bainbridge and the Swiss Bishop, Matthæus Schinner, the other six were Italians: Antonio Ciochi di Monte Sansovino, Archbishop of Liponto; Pietro Accoli of Arezzo, Bishop of Ancona; Achilles de Grassis of Bologna; Francesco Argentino of Venice; Bandinello Sauli of Genoa; and Alfonso Petrucci of Siena.

The College of Cardinals had strenuously resisted these fresh nominations, but, as the Venetian Envoy had predicted, Julius carried his point. The same Envoy says that some of the new Cardinals had to pay large sums for their elevation. The nomination of de Grassis was obviously made to please the Bolognese; the English Cardinal Bainbridge was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops, which caused great surprise.†

Besides these eight Cardinals another was nominated, but reserved *in petto*. This was Maximilian's confidant, Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, who just at this time had arrived in Mantua, where the Envoys from England, France, and Spain were also present. He brought proposals of peace from his master.

Julius II. wished to treat with Lang personally. As Ravenna was too insignificant a place to make it possible there to receive the representative of the Emperor with fitting honours, the Pope, though extremely dissatisfied with the slackness of his generals in their way of carrying on the war, had to leave that city on April 3 and return to Bologna, which he reached on the 7th of April,

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 68, ed. 3. On this creation, *cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 242 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 388; FUMI, Carteggio, 143, 145–146; CARDELLA, 340 *seq.*; and *Acta Consist., f. 28. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

† SANUTO, XII., 25, 55–56, 69, 87 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 251.

1511.* On the 10th of the month, Matthæus Lang and Giovanni Gonzaga, as Envoys from the Emperor, and James Conchilles representing Ferdinand of Spain, entered the city in state, having previously had a private audience with the Pope.† It was observed with dissatisfaction that even in this procession Lang appeared in secular dress. The pedantic Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, characteristically relates: "I entreated Lang in vain to attire himself as an ecclesiastic, especially in view of his approaching admission to the Sacred College, but he put me off by saying that he would appear in the garb which he wore when the Emperor sent him. When I asked the Pope about it he said that it was his wish that I should let the matter rest, and this I did, although many were displeased with me on this account, and still more with Lang."‡

When, on the following day, the Envoys had their public audience, Lang, at the Pope's express command, was given the place of honour immediately below the Cardinal-Deacons. This and other marks of distinction were received by the Envoy with such unmannerly arrogance, that he appeared to the courteous Italians a perfect savage. "He is a barbarian," de Grassis writes in his Diary, "and behaves

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 260; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 68, ed. 3; and BROSCH, Julius II., 219, make 30th Mar. the day of the Pope's departure from Ravenna. Both have read de Grassis very superficially. The extract naturally begins with the title Discessus pontificis ex Ravenna ad Bononiam, immediately followed by the words, Die Dominica 30 Martii, but if they had only read a few lines more they would have found that the decision to leave Ravenna was adopted on that day, and that de Grassis then goes on to say: Itaque die Jovis tertia Aprilis inde movit.

† *Ibid.*, 263; ULMANN, II., 426, erroneously puts off the private audience to the 11th of April. *Cf.* Lettres de Louis XII., II., 139.

‡ *Ibid.*, 265.

like a barbarian." At the audience he curtly explained that Maximilian had sent him to Italy because he preferred to obtain his rights by peaceful means rather than by war, but that the only conditions under which he would treat were, that the Venetians should restore everything that they had taken on any title whatever, whether these lands belonged to the Empire or were hereditary possessions of Austria. When three Cardinals were deputed by Julius II. to carry on the negotiations, Lang declared it to be beneath his dignity to deal personally with any one but the Pope himself, and commissioned three of the nobles who accompanied him to meet the Cardinals. Julius had hoped to win him by bestowing on him the highest dignity and rich benefices, but all these favours seemed only to encourage him to greater insolence. He behaved as though his imperial master had already donned the Tiara. The Venetian Envoy reports with amazement with what pomp the Bishop of Gurk surrounded himself, and how seldom he visited the Pope. "At the audience he conducted himself as if he were a King rather than an Ambassador, and claimed the right of conversing with the Pope, sitting, and with his head covered." It is not surprising that these never very promising negotiations should have come to nothing. On the 16th April all Louis XII.'s adherents had been excommunicated,* and the views and desires of both the parties concerned were diametrically opposed to each other.†

* The Bull in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 50. Lang aimed, "in accordance with his master's wishes, at reconciling the Pope with France, and thus completely isolating Venice and renewing the League of Cambrai in its earlier form, perhaps with the addition of England. On the other side the Pope and Venice sought to win the Bishop, and through him the Emperor, to combine with them in attacking France." HUBER, III., 389-390.

† SANUTO, XII., 126–129, 139, 140, 147, 160; Lang's letters in Lettres de Louis XII., II., 107 *seq.*, 139, 182, 205 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS,

On the 25th of April the Bishop of Gurk* left the Papal Court suddenly, "almost without taking leave, and with an angry mien." The Venetian Envoy reports that Lang's followers cried out as they were passing through the city gates, "Long live the Emperor, long live France, long live the Bentivogli." It is not wonderful that it was commonly said in Bologna that the Pope was at daggers drawn with all the Powers, and that he was to be called before a Council and deposed.†

Lang's threats were something more than empty words, for the French, who had suspended their hostile operations while the negotiations were going on, at once recommenced them. It now became plain that Chaumont's death, which took place on the 11th February, was a godsend for them. He had allowed Modena to fall into the hands of the enemy, had not attacked Bologna in time, and had not relieved Mirandola. On his death the command was assumed by the veteran Trivulzio. The first thing he did

ed. Frati, 265 *seq.*, 271–272 (here the printer's error, 27 Aprilis, *should be* the 25th). COCCINIUS, De bellis italicis (in FREHER, II., 542 *seq.*); GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 5, who observes: La quale indegnita divorava insieme con molto altro il pontefice, vincendo la sua natura l'odio incredibile contro ai Francesi; LE GLAY, I., 394 *seq.*; BREWER, State Papers of Henry VIII., I., 168. *Cf.* HAVEMANN, II., 358 *seq.*; BROSCH, Julius II., 220, 353; ROMANIN, V., 256; ULMANN, II., 426 *seq.*; HUBER, III., 389–391; CREIGHTON, IV., 127–128, and in regard to the description in Coccinius, KRIEGER'S investigations, Ueber die Bedeutung des vierten Buches von Coccinius' Schrift De bellis Italicis, p. 27 *seq.*, which, however, are inadequate and even partially incorrect, as *e.g.*, on p. 32 we find: "Coccinius' statement that Lang had been fourteen days in Bologna is erroneous. He arrived on the 8th April, and went away again on the 15th," in confirmation of which he cites Lettres de Louis XII., II., 205. Here, however, we find that Lang left on the 25th. Thus it is Krieger rather than Coccinius who needs correction.

* Not Archbishop, as GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., ed. 5, designates him.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 272; BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

was to reconquer Concordia, and the next, to advance against Bologna. As soon as Julius heard this, he started in haste for the camp, in order to stir up his generals and set the army in motion. He meant to have slept the first night at Cento, but was obliged to stop at Pieve, as a troop of 1000 foot soldiers who were encamped in the former place refused to leave it until they were paid. He was so much annoyed at this, that on the following day he returned to Bologna; but it was evident that if he remained there, he would again run the risk of being captured by the French. He resolved therefore to return to Ravenna. Before his departure he called the Council of Forty together, laid before them all the advantages which Bologna had derived from belonging to the Church, and admonished them to remain faithful to him. On their solemn promise to be always true to him, he confided the defence of the walls and gates to the citizens.*

The fate of Bologna after the Pope's departure, which took place on the 15th May,† did not depend so much upon the conduct of her citizens as upon that of Alidosi and the Duke of Urbino, who, with his army, lay encamped before the city. The enmity between these two made all co-operation between them impossible; the hatred which Alidosi had drawn upon himself, and the consequent disloyalty of the inhabitants, did the rest. The moment the Pope was gone, the Bentivogli party began to stir and was

* COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* On his account, which differs in part from that of Guicciardini, see KRIEGER, 33 *seq.* The speeches in Guicciardini are certainly invented—Julius was by no means a ready speaker. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS in Ch. G. Hoffmann, Nova collectio scriptor., I., 450 (Lips., 1731). On the danger for Bologna, see FUMI, Carteggio, 147.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 274; SANUTO, XII., 183; *Acta Consist., f. 28. The *Brief addressed by Julius II. on the 16th May, 1511, to Alidosi and the Bolognese shews how little he apprehended the blow that was about to fall.

joined by all who disliked the government of the Church. The city was soon in a turmoil, and Alidosi, without striking a blow, at once fled in disguise, first to the fort, and then, when he heard that the Sanfelice gate had been traitorously given up to the Bentivogli, to Castel Rio near Imola. The Duke of Urbino behaved no better. When the news reached him of what was going on in Bologna he gave the signal for a retreat which soon degenerated into a flight. All the artillery, and most of the baggage and colours, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 23rd May Trivulzio entered Bologna, and the Bentivogli resumed the government of the city.* They at once began, with brutal vandalism, to destroy all reminiscences, however valuable, of the Papal occupation. The bronze statue of the Pope, a splendid work of Michael Angelo's which was placed over the doorway of the Cathedral in 1508, fell a sacrifice to this bitter spirit.†

The loss of Bologna, which, next to Rome, was the most beautiful and the wealthiest of all the cities in the States of the Church, was "the hardest blow of fate which had ever fallen upon Julius II. He now found himself in the eighth year of his Pontificate and the sixty-eighth of his life with all his hard-won conquests torn from his grasp and everything that he had built up thrown down."‡ Nevertheless, when the news came, he received it without losing his self-command for a moment. In a brief address, he informed the Cardinals that the place had been lost through

* COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* KRIEGER, 34–36; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 275 *seq.*; ALFANI, 257; PRATO, 284; NARDI, I., 398 *seq.*; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 233–235, 243 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*; SANUTO, XII., 190. *Cf.* RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 160 *seq.*; HAVEMANN, II., 363 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 215 *seq.*

† More on this subject will be found in Chap. IX.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 222.

the treachery of the citizens and of the Duke of Urbino, who should pay for it with his life. He then at once gave the necessary orders for the concentration and reorganisation of the army.*

Alidosi and the Duke of Urbino, perhaps with equal justice, each laid the blame on the other; both hastened to the Papal Court to justify themselves. Alidosi's friends had done their best to strengthen the Pope's conviction that the fault lay with the Duke, and he overwhelmed his nephew with violent reproaches. As he left his uncle's presence, furious and smarting, under these, he met Alidosi, who was on horseback, coming to visit the Pope. The Cardinal saluted him smilingly, but the young Duke, with the passionate blood of the South boiling in his veins, drew his sword, and exclaiming, "Traitor, art thou here at last! Receive thy reward!" stabbed him mortally, and fled. Alidosi only lived an hour: his last words were, "I reap the reward of my misdeeds."†

The fact that every one except Julius II. rejoiced at the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 277. *Cf.* SANUTO, XII., 191, and AEGIDIUS VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 386.

† COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* KRIEGER, 36–37; PARIS DE GRASSIS ed. Frati, 278 *seq.* (The punctuation in Döllinger's ed., 406, is better; the text in CREIGHTON, IV., 271, is worse than that which had been printed previously.) SANUTO, XII., 198 *seq.*; BEMBUS, 472; CARPESANUS, V., 5, pp. 1273–1274; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 246; BELCARIUS, 365; LANDUCCI, 308–309; GUICCIARDINI, IX., Chap. 5. On Alidosi, *cf.* JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., Lib. II., p. 34, and Elogior., Lib. IV., p. 134. See also SUGENHEIM, 406 *seq.*, and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, 106 *seq.*, 227 *seq.*; *cf.* 231 *seq.* FANTI, Imola, 10 *seq.*, has recently endeavoured to defend Alidosi. Many of his arguments deserve consideration, though he carries the inferences from them too far. But the last word about Alidosi has not yet been spoken. A tablet was inserted in the wall in the Via S. Vitale in 1863 to mark the spot where the murder took place. Alidosi's skull is preserved in the Bibl. Classense at Ravenna. See GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 228–230; FANTI, Imola, 13–14.

Legate's death shews how universally detested he had made himself. He was regarded by all as a traitor, and the person who was really responsible for the fall of Bologna. "Most righteous God," writes Paris de Grassis in his Diary, "how just are Thy judgments! Thanks are due to Thee from all for having punished this traitor as he deserved. The hated villain has indeed been removed by a human instrument, but not, as we believe, without Thy concurrence, and for this again we thank Thee."*

At the very time that the crime was committed, a meeting of the Cardinals was taking place, at which Cardinal Isvalies, who was universally beloved, had been appointed Legate of Bologna. To add to the sorrow caused by the murder of his favourite, Julius II. deeply resented the outrage committed against the highest dignity in the Church.† He left Ravenna at once‡ and went to Rimini.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 278; *cf.* 319. Julius II.'s obstinate confidence in Alidosi has been made to serve as a ground for the very worst accusations of immorality against him. In relation to this, BROSCH (224), one of Julius II.'s most violent critics, remarks: "Italy during the Renaissance could not have been, as Burckhardt describes it, such a school of vice as the world had never before seen, if such relations between a distinguished but thoroughly worldly Pope and a dissipated Cardinal had not furnished matter for the worst insinuations. The revolting charges which have been heaped upon Julius II. recoil on the scandal-mongers of the time, and are, no doubt, the echo of their talk, but their truth is extremely doubtful." CREIGHTON, IV., 130, writes: It is hard to account for the infatuation of Julius II. towards Cardinal Alidosi, and we cannot wonder that contemporary scandal attributed it to the vilest motives. "Il papa era molto vitioso e dedito alla libidine Gomorrea," says a relazione of Trevisan, printed by BROSCH, Julius II., 296. The charge was often repeated with reference to Alidosi. It was a rude way of explaining what could not be explained. *Cf.* also *supra*, p. 320, note †.

† See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 61.

‡ RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 261, incorrectly says 28th May.

There another, and perhaps a still more painful, surprise awaited him. On the 28th of May a citation to the Council of Pisa, to be opened on the 1st of September, was found affixed to the door of the church of S. Francesco, close to the Pope's residence. The document was dated 16th May, 1511. It stated that the delegates of the Roman and German Emperor and the most Christian King proposed to summon a universal Council. This action on their part had become necessary in order to comply with the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Constance, owing to the negligence of the Pope, who had not kept the oath which he had sworn to in the Conclave. They declared that Julius II.'s opposition to the Council fully justified the Cardinals in thus taking the matter into their own hands. They also declared that the majority of the members of the Sacred College who were free to do so, supported their action, and entered a protest beforehand against all censures that he might pronounce upon them. The Pope was requested to give his consent to the calling of this Council and also to attend it either personally or through a representative. All Cardinals, Bishops, Chapters, and Universities, as well as all secular Princes, were summoned and invited to take part in it. Meanwhile the Pope was not to create or promulgate any new Cardinals, to abstain from instituting proceedings against any of the older Cardinals or the Prelates who favoured the Council, and also from doing anything to hinder it from meeting, and further from any alterations or alienations in regard to the possessions of the Roman Church; any such acts would be invalid. As the Pope gave no safe-conducts, and often resorted to force, the publication of the summons in Modena, Parma, and Reggio must be deemed sufficient.

Cf. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 280; *ibid.*, 319 *seq.*, on the popularity of Isvalies.

The Council was to be convoked in the names of Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, Philip of Luxemburg, Francesco Borgia, Adriano da Corneto, de Prie, Carlo del Carretto, San Severino, and Ippolito d'Este.* The summons was to be published "throughout the four nations"; on the 23rd of May letters were sent to each of the several Princes calling upon them to send their Ambassadors and Prelates to the Assembly.†

"The objects of the Council or, more correctly, the banners under which the forces of hypocrisy and ambition were to be marshalled, were the pacification of Christendom, a crusade against the infidels, and the reform of the Church in its Head and in its members."‡

The convocation of a Council under these futile pretexts§ by a body of schismatic Cardinals was an act of open rebellion, a daring attack upon the most indisputable prerogative of the Supreme Head of the Church. At first no one ventured to tell the Pope, but of course it was not a matter of which he could long be kept in ignorance. From the Report of the Venetian Ambassador we can see how deeply he felt this blow.‖ Bereft of almost all his political power—for the States of the Church were lying open at the mercy of the French army—he now saw his spiritual authority threatened and in the greatest danger; for behind the disloyal Cardinals stood not only the King of

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 61; MANSI, V., 349-353; SANUTO, XII., 250-254; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 437 *seq.*

† GOLDAST, 1196; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 235-241.

‡ See LEHMANN, 12. *Cf.* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 440 *seq.*, and on the motives of Cardinal Sanseverino, ULMANN, Absichten, 20.

§ *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 438 *seq.* LEHMANN, 29, observes: "It is superfluous to say anything of the legal status of the Council; its promoters had no legal standing ground whatever."

‖ SANUTO, XII., 203, 218, 223; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 281 *seq.*

France, but also the Emperor, both bent on completely crushing his power and annihilating Venice.* The ill-success of the war against Venice had thrown Maximilian into the arms of Louis XII.† Since then he had sought his fortune, both in secular politics and in his dealings with the Church, in those "tortuous foreign ways" which had formerly been so distasteful to him. In many circles in Germany a distinctly anti-Roman spirit reigned and vented itself in constant complaints of the conduct of the Roman Court, both in politics and in Church affairs.‡

* From the year 1503 the aim of Maximilian's policy had been to secure for himself a preponderating influence in Rome, and, if possible, to place a Pope in the Chair of S. Peter who should be dependent upon him. In that year, his fear that d'Amboise might be elected was so great, that he directed his Envoy in Rome not to shrink from any measures that might be necessary to prevent this, not even from creating a schism. (Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, XXXI., 70 ; Arch. Veneto, I., 85 *seq.*; PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, I., 459 ; ULMANN, I., 136 *seq.*) When again, in the following years, Louis XII. was doing all he could to obtain the Tiara for d'Amboise, Maximilian naturally strained every nerve to frustrate these efforts. It is easy, therefore, to understand what he meant by saying in his letter of 10th June, 1507, to George of Neideck, Bishop of Trent, that he meant to come to Rome to have himself made Pope as well as Emperor (a portion of this document, which has been since 1830 in the Court Library at Vienna, is given in the periodical, Ferdinandeum, IX., 55-56) ; of course, as a married man, he could not think of obtaining the Tiara for himself personally. A report was widely circulated that he was eager to add the States of the Church to his possessions, but this is extremely unlikely ; it is far more probable that this notion was a spectre conjured up by the apprehensions of the French, Spaniards, and Italians. "The truth underlying all fancies was that it was Maximilian's most ardent wish to be crowned Emperor at Rome, and to revive the supremacy of the Empire and its ancient rights over the whole of Italy, to the exclusion of French influence." (SÄGMÜLLER against Ulmann in the Literar. Rundschau (1889), p. 242.)

† HUBER, III., 383 *seq.*

‡ *Cf.* GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 58 *seq.*

As long ago as the year 1495, shortly before the Diet of Worms, inspired by a somewhat groundless fear that Alexander VI. was purposing to bestow the Imperial Crown on Charles VIII. of France, Hans von Hermannsgrün, a Saxon nobleman, published a pamphlet which aptly mirrors the ferment of the time. He proposes, in case the Pope should take this step, to make a formal renunciation of obedience for the time, to appoint a German Patriarch in his place, and to arrange with Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary to summon a Council and cite the Pope to appear before it.*

The Emperor gave vent to his grudge against Julius II. for having made peace with Venice, by following the example of France and attacking the Pope on the spiritual side.† In September, 1510, at the same time that Louis XII. was consulting his courtier Bishops, Maximilian sent his Secretary Spiegel with a copy of

* ULMANN, Der Traum von Hans von Hermannsgrün in the Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, XX., 69 *seq.* Here is also to be found, p. 18 *seq.*, the Memorial which DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 91 *seq.*, afterwards published with a wrong date and a faulty text. GRAUERT in his interesting essay, "Alte Prophezeiungen über Kaiser und Reich," in Deutschen Hausschatz Jahrg., XVII., No. 45, suggests that possibly the occasion of Hermannsgrün's pamphlet may have been a work written by the Catalan Hieronymus Paulus, contesting the right of the Germans to elect the Emperor. Paulus was a member of the Papal Court under Alexander VI. He says that it would be much better, both for the Empire as well as for the Church, if one were chosen not in Germany alone, but from amongst all the Christian Princes, whom all should be bound to obey, and who would be powerful enough to subdue the barbarian and heathen nations. Italy more especially needed a single temporal ruler, and a strong one, for the country was torn to pieces by tyrants and factions, and in constant danger.

† ULMANN, Absichten, 15, rightly concludes from a *Despatch of Pandolfini of 30th Sept., 1510 (State Archives, Florence), that the example of France had a great effect on Maximilian.

the French Pragmatic Sanction to the learned Jakob Wimpheling. Spiegel's instructions state that the Emperor is resolved to take measures to deliver Germany from the tyranny of the Roman Court, and to prevent large sums from being sent to Rome which are employed by the Pope merely in injuring him. Wimpheling is to give his opinion on three special points: the best way of defeating the quibbles and tricks of the Roman Court officials, the abolition of Annates, and the appointment of a permanent Legate, who should be a native of Germany, to adjudicate on all affairs and grievances there, and the advantages that would accrue from such an appointment.*

The Emperor's last proposition was a very far-reaching one, and went beyond anything that had been thought of in France. The appointment of a permanent Legate for Germany meant "a permanent change in the organisation of the Church, a sort of national independence for the German Church."† This plan, in combination with the introduction of a Pragmatic Sanction, was the first step towards a severance of the German Church from Rome, in other words, towards a schism. Wimpheling, who was a loyal son of the Church, at once recognised this; his answer was prudent and reserved. He gave his opinion distinctly against the introduction of the Pragmatic Sanction, and in regard to the Legate, he spoke mistrustfully and doubtingly. On the other hand, he laid great stress on the necessity for an improvement, on conservative lines, in the relations of the German Church with Rome. He enlarged on the

* ULMANN, Maximilians Kirchenreformplan, 204 *seq.*; GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 67.

† *Ibid.*, 208. *Cf.* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, 99, where, however, the fact that political considerations were the mainspring of all Maximilian's proceedings is not made sufficiently clear. *Cf.* ULMANN, *loc. cit.*, 203, and GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 76.

injuries inflicted on Germany by the members of the Roman Court, and recapitulated, with some alterations, the well known *gravamina* of 1457. He dwelt principally on the financial side of the question, "and from his point of view he had every right to believe that a thorough administrative reform would do away with the necessity for a Council and probably make it possible to diminish pleadings before Roman Courts and improve the inner life of the Church." *

But at that time the Emperor took very little interest in the reform of abuses; his only object was the political one of forcing Julius II. to join the League of Cambrai. Every means was tried, negotiation, threats of schism and of a General Council.† In regard to the Council, at first, in January 1511, Maximilian stipulated that the consent of the Pope and Cardinals must be obtained; but when the negotiations with Lang had proved a failure, and Louis XII. in his anger had issued his citation, the Emperor, on the 5th of June, 1511, threw himself unreservedly into the French plans.‡ Soon after, he forwarded the letter of invitation to the Queen of Hungary and Poland, begging her to send representatives to the Council and enable her Prelates to attend it.§

In the year 1511 Louis carried his hatred against Julius II. so far as to permit the representation on the stage of a satirical play directed against the Head of the Church. One of his political pamphleteers, Pierre Gringoire, composed a burlesque, for the production of which in the

* GEBHARDT, Gravamina, 69.

† ULMANN, II., 419 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 451.

‡ GOLDAST, 411, 428 *seq.*; ULMANN, II., 434-435. *Cf.* also JANSSEN, Reichscorrespondenz, II., 840, and BIANCHI, Materie polit. degli Archivi Piemontesi, 200. Bologna, 1876.

§ Acta Tomiciana, I., 205, 212; FRAKNÓI, Ungarn und die Liga von Cambrai, 85-86.

principal market place in Paris (Aux Halles) a Royal privilege was granted. The Prince of Fools appears on the boards with his Court, fools of all sorts, current events are discussed, the disputes with England, the conflict with the Church, and one of the fools assures the public that

> Le Prince des sotz ne prétend
> Que donner paix à ses suppotz,

to which another replies:

> Pource que l'Église entreprent
> Sur temporalité et prent
> Nous ne pouvons avoir repos.

Amongst the courtiers is the Général d'Enfance. He prances on to the stage on a hobby-horse brandishing a mock battle-axe, and shouting, "Hon, hon, men, men, pa, pa, tetet." When the council are all assembled, the Prince appears, and the Seigneur de la Joie gives the password:—

> Arrière bigotz et bigottes,
> Nous n'en voulons point, par ma foy.

La "Sotte commune," supposed to represent the views of the mass of the people, is allowed to take part in the council, but gets nothing but jibes and jeers from the fine gentlemen. When she complains that they are always interfering and manage everything, while she has to suffer and pay, they simply laugh her down.

Suddenly a new figure appears on the scene, a woman in ecclesiastical attire and calling herself Mother Church. She is accompanied by two other female fools, "Confiance" and "Occasion," the latter of whom specially supports and aids her. The great lady is very truculent, flings curses and anathemas at every one, and declares

> Bien sçay qu' on dit que je radotte,
> Et que suis fol en ma vieillesse;
> Mais grumeler vueil à ma porte
> Mon fils le Prince, en telle sorte,
> Qu' il diminue sa noblesse.

She tries to get the nobles and prelates on her side and to persuade them to desert the Prince. The prelates follow her, and finally they come to blows in which the Sotte Commune gets the worst of it. In the mêlée Mother Church's mantle is torn off, and she is discovered to be an impostor. She is not the Church at all, but only la Mère Sotte, and is deposed and driven out with indignity.

The meaning of this was plain, but the after-piece made it still clearer. The French and Italian nations appeared on the stage, and with them "l'homme obstiné" with two female companions, Simony and Hypocrisy. L'homme obstiné was Pope Julius II., "the sword of divine justice was hanging over his head, he consorted with robbers and murderers, and could not refrain from crime and rapine."*

In May 1511, at Louis XII.'s desire, a pamphlet was written to pave the way for the Council. Its title was: "The difference between divisions in the Church and Assemblies of the Church, and the advantages of Synods of the Gallican Church." The writer was a Belgian, Jean Lemaire.† He endeavours to prove that all divisions are caused by the Popes, and all dissensions healed by means of general assemblies convoked by secular Princes. It was divided into three parts. The first tries to shew that the donations of temporal possessions have been the source of all those corruptions in the Church which had necessitated the calling of the earlier Councils to remedy them.

* See F. LOTHEISSEN, Politik auf der Bühne, in the Frankf. Zeitung of the 3rd Jan., 1880 (morning edition); Allg. Zeitung (1870), N. 168, Suppl. ("Zur Rabelaisliteratur"); and CHAMPFLEURY, Hist. de la Caricature sous la réformat., 3. Paris, *s. a.*

† *Cf.* BECKER, Jean Lemaire der erste humanistische Dichter Frankreichs, 162 *seq.* (Strassburg, 1893), from whose account what follows is taken. *Cf.* also MAULDE, Origines, 272.

The second is devoted to pointing out the great services rendered to the Catholic faith by the Synods of the Gallican Church. The third treats of the divisions in the Church in general, and the coming schism, which, according to prophecy, is to be the worst of all. These things, Lemaire says, have injured the Church more than anything else; the desire for power, which is the mother of greed, the neglect of Councils, and the compulsory celibacy of the priests of the Latin Church.

Lemaire is never weary of denouncing the arrogance, greed, and wickedness of the bad Popes. He is unsparing in his satire of the "present Pope, who rigs himself out in martial attire, and tries to pose as a warrior, but only looks like a monk dancing in spurs. All the same he will not succeed in creating the new and abnormal world that he hopes for, for pigs will always eat acorns, and oaks will shed their leaves at the proper time, and where wood is wanted, wood will be used." The pamphlet contains many other similar passages all directed against Julius II. It was written in the vulgar tongue with the object of giving it as wide a circulation as possible.

Louis accepted the dedication of the work, and also permitted the publication of caricatures of the Pope. One of these represents him standing surrounded by corpses with his flag lying on the ground. Close by is the empty Papal throne, over which France, depicted as a crowned warrior, keeps guard. The figure holds a banner with the oriflamme and the inscription, "Louis is master."* Another picture, in a book in the private library of the King, represents the Church as a desolate woman in a Basilica; not far off is a figure wearing a Tiara with the inscription "Dissolution," who is knocking down a pillar so that the roof seems in danger of falling. Another

* LACROIX, Louis XII. et Anne de Bretagne, 497.

figure, "Charity," lays her hand on the shoulder of the King of France, who is supporting the tottering edifice.* Thus the French painters and the pamphleteers, such as Lemaire, Jean d'Auton, de Seyssel, and others, who were in the pay of the King, all combined to tell the same story; Louis was to be the reformer of the Church, and that without delay.†

Though thus attacked and threatened with a schismatic Council by the two chief powers of the West, while in addition France and the revolted Cardinals were doing their utmost to obtain the adhesion of Henry VIII. of England and the King of Hungary, Julius II. did not lose heart. On the contrary, misfortune seemed only to stimulate his powers and rouse all his energies. He saw at once the weak points in the citation, and before he left Rimini he had issued a declaration exposing it.‡ The schismatical Cardinals had had the audacity to issue the summons in the name of the Sacred College, and on their own authority to affix to the document the names of several absent members. Julius affirmed that two of these latter had expressly told him that this had been

* Musée de l'Erémitage in Petersburg; MAULDE, Origines, 273, 358.

† MAULDE, *loc. cit.*, 273. A curious error is to be found in this author, pp. 117–118, in regard to an ordinance of Louis XII., promulgated in 1512, commanding that the stanza, "O salutaris Hostia," for peace should be sung in all churches after the elevation at Mass. Maulde observes, "La liturgie, comme on sait, a conservé l'usage de ces deux versets qu'elle interprète au point de vue mystique, mais qui originairement serviraient solliciter l'appui céleste contre les excès du pape Jules II." The hymn is well known to have been composed by S. Thomas Aquinas! *Cf.* Bull. Crit., XI. (1890), 159.

‡ *Cf.* the Brief from the MS. Vitellius, B. II., in the British Museum, in CREIGHTON, IV., 289-291. In regard to Hungary, which, under the influence of the wily Bakocs, at first remained neutral, see FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

done without their sanction. To this serious charge Carvajal and his associates significantly answered that their powers without the others were amply sufficient to make the act valid.*

Bowed down with sickness and anxiety, Julius II. left Rimini on the 3rd June, 1511. On the 5th he was at Ancona, on the 11th he arrived at Loreto, on the 20th at Terni, where to his great vexation he witnessed a fight between its inhabitants and those of Spoleto. Torrents of rain forced him to halt for a time at Civita Castellana. Here a deputation arrived from the people of Rome begging him to return without delay. On the 26th of June he entered the city by the Porta del Popolo and on the following day under a burning sun proceeded in full pontificals to S. Peter's, where he arrived completely exhausted. "This was the end of our toilsome and useless expedition," writes Paris de Grassis.† An utterly broken man, both in health and in power, Julius returned to the palace from which he had started nine months before full of brilliant hopes and confident that the French would be driven out of Italy. The Papal and Venetian troops were now completely dispersed and there was nothing to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the Papal States and of Rome, and deposing him.

In this extreme need, with no one to rely on but himself, Julius again shewed how immensely superior he was in genius and character to his enemies. While they were "hesitating, irresolute and divided, he, fully knowing his

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 7; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 453.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 284–293; SANUTO, XII., 231, 243, 257, 273; and *Acta Consist., f. 29 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and the *Chronicle in Varia Polit., 50, f. 61. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienz. Mor., X., 15.

own mind, firmly refused to give himself up for lost."* His chief hopes of assistance rested on the King of Spain, to whom a special Envoy was sent with a long letter.†

Guicciardini writes that Italy and the whole world were watching with trembling anxiety to see what use Louis XII. was going to make of his victory. Julius II. had absolutely nothing to protect him except the dignity of the Papacy. Whether from religious awe or from the fear of rousing the whole world against him, the King of France resolved not to go all lengths. He desired Trivulzio to retire on Milan and made overtures of peace to the Pope; if Julius would pardon the schismatical Cardinals he would give up the proposed Council; and he induced Bentivoglio to declare that he had never thought of wishing to throw off the suzerainty of the Church.‡

The schismatical Cardinals were equally wanting in that resolution and union amongst themselves which alone could have secured a victory. For one thing Cardinals Philip of Luxemburg, Adriano da Corneto, and Carlo del Carretto, whose names had been affixed to the citation without consulting them, protested loudly against the unwarrantable proceeding, and declared they would have nothing to do with the anti-Papal Council.§ Cardinal

* BROSCH, Julius II., 225. On the passionate resentment of the Pope against the faithless Bolognese, see FUMI'S Report, Carteggio, 150.

† HEFELE, Ximenes, 434.

‡ GUICCIARDINI, X., Chap. 1; Lettres de Louis XII., II., 250; LEHMANN, 13.

§ SANUTO, XII., 218; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 437–438; GEBHARDT, Adriano von Corneto, 21–22. Here also, p. 17 *seq.*, are some particulars about the mysterious flight of Card. Adriano in 1507 from Rome. Gebhardt has not availed himself of a *Brief of Julius II. to the King of England (unfortunately undated, but certainly belonging to this time, as the preceding paper is of 4th Nov., 1505) about Card. Adriano, in which

d'Este adopted an ambiguous attitude which finally led to his reconciliation with the Pope.* Cardinal Gonzaga, whom the schismatics had made great efforts to win, had already joined Julius II. at the end of May.† The Venetian Envoy, a man of considerable penetration, wrote on the 3rd of July, 1511, that the Council of Pisa was at an end.‡

While the negotiations with France were going on, Julius II. determined to deprive the revolted Cardinals of all pretext for keeping up the schism by turning their own weapon against them. On the 25th of July, 1511, a Bull dated the 18th was affixed to the doors of S. Peter's summoning a universal Council to assemble in Rome on the 19th of April, 1512. In the preamble the Pope set forth the supreme dignity of the Roman Church, sanctified by the blood of martyrs, preserved from all error, and endowed with the primacy over all other Churches, which entailed upon her and her Head the duty of withstanding all schismatical attempts to destroy her unity. He then described the proceedings of the revolted Cardinals, denying their statements, and refuting their arguments; he declared that, both as Cardinal and Pope, he had done his best to further the assembling of a Council, and it had not been his fault that it had been so long delayed. The Bull goes on to emphasise the point that a Council can only be lawfully summoned by the Pope. Any that is not so called must be held of no account. This was especially the case in regard to the pretended Council

he says: Card^lis predictus apud nos nunquam honori tuo detraxit. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 256. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

* In Oct. 1511, Ippolito joined his brother at Ferrara, with the Pope's consent; LE GLAY, I., 441.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 283.

‡ SANUTO, XII., 267.

at Pisa; the mere impossibility of its assembling within the specified term (September 1st) deprives it of all authority.

The Pope then declares that, in order to withstand these dangerous schismatical tendencies and defend the rights of the Holy See, he, with the approval of the Cardinals and in the plenitude of his apostolic power, pronounces the edict of convocation dated Milan, 16th May, 1511, to be in both its contents and effects illegal, null and void; all who adhere to it bring upon themselves the severest penalties of the Church, its authors and their abettors are deprived of all their dignities, and all cities and districts which harbour and support them are laid under Interdict. On the other hand, the Pope, desirous of fulfilling his engagements, and further, wishing to make a complete end of heresy, and stifle the beginnings of schism, to bring about a reform of morals both in the clergy and laity, union and peace in Christendom, and a holy war against the Turks, now calls an Œcumenical Council to meet in Rome at the Lateran Church after Easter, on the 19th April of the year 1512.*

* See the Bull in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 9–15; Bull., V., 499 *seq.*; LABBÉ, XIX., 681 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 454 *seq.* *Cf.* FUMI, Carteggio, 151–152, and SANUTO, XII., 304, 321, 332 *seq.*, 330, 362, 371. According to the *Acta Consist., f. 29, the Bull of the Council was read in a Secret Consistory on the 18th July, 1511. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

CHAPTER VI.

JULIUS II. FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN.—HIS DANGEROUS ILLNESS.—HIS RECOVERY.—THE HOLY LEAGUE OF 1511.—DEPOSITION OF THE SCHISMATICAL CARDINALS.—MAXIMILIAN ENDEAVOURS TO POSSESS HIMSELF OF THE TIARA.—FAILURE OF THE FRENCH PRETENCE OF A COUNCIL AT PISA.—THE BATTLE OF RAVENNA ON EASTER SUNDAY, 1512.

JULIUS II., by issuing his summons for a General Council, had effectually checkmated the schismatical Cardinals even before they had begun their game. This bold stroke was entirely the Pope's own idea. From the reports of the Venetian Envoys we find that the plan was already in his mind when he was at Bologna in the Spring of 1511, and the resolution to carry it out was taken at Rimini on the appearance of the citation of the Cardinals.* During his journey to Rome the details of the plan were thought out and discussed with Cardinal Antonio de Monte and the Dominican, Thomas de Vio.† A report from Tolentino of the Venetian Envoy on 14th June, 1511, says that the draft of the proclamation had already even then been laid before the Consistory, and the posting up of the schismatical citation in Rome on the 9th June naturally only had the effect of strengthening his resolve.‡ But he was determined to do nothing hastily; and the Bull was not allowed to appear till the 18th of July, when it had been thoroughly considered

* SANUTO, XII., 166, 219.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 457.

‡ SANUTO, XII., 243, 267.

and thought out in substance and in form. Whatever successes might be achieved in this direction would, however, have no effect on the other, and equally serious, danger arising from the preponderating power of France in Italy. Here, for Julius II., everything depended upon the interest which Spain had in checking this power.

The Pope's confidence in Ferdinand's perception of what the situation required was not disappointed. In this case, where the King's interest coincided with that of the Church, he was perfectly willing to accept the honour of posing as the defender of the Holy See. With the consent of his Grandees and with the approval of Cardinal Ximenes summoned to Seville, it was decided to suspend the military operations in Africa, and send the army that had been employed there to Italy. In compliance with the Pope's request, the rebellious Cardinal Carvajal was deprived of the Bishopric of Siguenza; and a considerable sum of money was forwarded to Rome in aid of the war.*

Immediately after Julius's arrival in Rome the Spanish Ambassador was desired by Ferdinand to offer him the assistance of Spain for the reconquest of Bologna. He also offered to endeavour to influence England to join in an alliance against France, and this Louis knew.†

It appears, however, that it was only with much hesitation and against his will that Julius II. finally brought himself to accept the alliance with Spain. He continued his negotiations with Louis XII. as long as he could, and only broke them off at last when the King refused to comply with the indispensable condition that the revolted Cardinals should obey their citation to Rome.‡ In the early part of

* HEFELE, Ximenes, 434 *seq.*; GAMS, III., 2, 142.

† SANUTO, XII., 273–274, 330. *Cf.* BREWER, Henry VIII., I., 17, n. 4. See also FUMI, Carteggio, 151.

‡ See RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 267. BROSCH, Julius II.,

August the provisions of the League between the Pope, Venice, Spain, and England were substantially agreed upon, and all that was wanting to its conclusion was the arrival of the necessary powers from England and Spain.* The Swiss were also being approached to obtain help from them. At this moment an event occurred which seemed likely to upset everything.

Entirely absorbed in the labour and cares of the last few months, the Pope had wholly neglected the most ordinary care of his health. He trusted to his iron constitution without considering that there is a limit to everything. Since the end of July he had been incessantly at work, preparing for the Council, sending Briefs and Nuncios in all directions; he had begun legal proceedings against the Duke of Urbino and gone on personally conducting the negotiations with Spain and England in spite of an attack of fever in the beginning of August. On the 17th he had another, but would not desist from his work, and saw the

226–227, thinks it is certain that the Pope was not in earnest in the negotiations with France, because he employed G. Giordano Orsini, a man who had had no experience and was unskilled in political affairs, to carry them on. He also, and still more positively, infers the same thing from the conditions proposed. On this point he says: "The proposals in regard to Ferrara and Bologna might perhaps have been accepted, or at any rate have formed a basis for negotiations, but the King's honour forbade any answer but a refusal to the demand that he should give up the Cardinals." But neither of these arguments is really convincing. Secular Princes have never had much scruple in throwing away their clerical tools when they have served their purpose; and it was impossible for Julius, without completely abdicating his authority, to relinquish his claim to have the Cardinals sent to Rome. The true cause of the failure of their negotiations is stated later by Brosch himself; it was plain that Louis intended to resume the war as soon as the conditions became more favourable. On the citation of the Cardinals, see SANUTO, XII., 321–322.

* SANUTO, XII., 372–373.

Ambassadors while in bed. On the 20th it came on again with such violence that his physicians declared that the next attack must prove fatal. The news spread like lightning throughout Rome that the Pope was dying. The Cardinals began at once to prepare for the approaching Conclave. The Spanish Envoy summoned the Colonna to Rome, saying that the Pope was in extremity and that there was great danger that the Orsini, supported by France, would get possession of the city. On the 23rd of August the Venetian Ambassador Lippomano reports that "the Pope is passing away; Cardinal Medici tells me he cannot live through the night. Medici is trying for the Tiara, but it is thought that it will fall to one of the French party. Raffaele Riario and Fiesco are named. The city is in a turmoil; every one is armed." On the 24th Julius received the Holy Viaticum, removed the Interdict from Ferrara and Bologna, absolved the Duke of Urbino, and made all his dispositions for death.* Paris de Grassis writes: "I think I may close my Diary here; for the Pope's life is coming to an end through his obstinacy in refusing to follow the advice of his physicians. He has commended his servants to Cardinal Raffaele Riario and given him 34,000 ducats to divide amongst them. After he had taken a little food he seemed better. But on Monday the 25th he refused all nourishment, he had a relapse and his condition became hopeless. On Wednesday there was still no change; and as he had eaten nothing for four days, every

* SANUTO, XII., 330, 362, 370, 371, 395, 398, 403 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*, 441, 449; *cf.* 484. See also FUMI, Carteggio, 157, 158–159, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 22. Philip Bervald the younger, who defended the Duke of Urbino, succeeded in convincing the Pope of Alidosi's treason, and Alfonso was absolved and reinstated in all his dignities. *Cf.* in DENISTOUN, II., 328, the notice in the *Acta Consist. of the 22nd Aug., 1511. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

one, including his physicians, gave him up. The doors of his chamber were opened and some of the people made their way to his bed-side. He lay on his couch with closed eyes and seemed barely alive. Disturbances began in the city, many outlaws returned, confusion prevailed everywhere. All the public officials, even those in the courts of law, left their work, the Governor of the city took refuge in the Palace, and the Minister of Police in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Sacred College met and desired me to make arrangements for the funeral obsequies and for the Conclave. Then it occurred to the Pope's relations and servants to send for a very indulgent physician* and suggest to him that he should give him permission to eat whatever he liked. By agreeing to this he succeeded in persuading his patient to consent to take some food. The Pope asked for peaches, nuts, plums, and other fruits, which he chewed but did not swallow. After that he had small onions and strawberries, which he likewise only chewed. But presently he swallowed several peaches and plums and then fell into

* From BERLINER, Gesch. der Juden, II., 81, and GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 76, ed. 3, one would be led to believe that this was the Jewish physician Samuel Zarfati (*cf.* MARINI, II., 249 *seq.*, and *Introit. et exit., 536, f. 148, where it says : magister Samuel Ebreus, "medicus S. D. N.," who, on the 14th July, 1505, received 125 flor. auri largi, ad bonum computum pro eius provisione. Mag. Joh. de Vico was chirurgus to the Pope. [Secret Archives of the Vatican.]). But, from the Venetian Report in SANUTO, XII., 449, which those authors have overlooked, it seems clear that this could not have been the case, as at that time the Rabbi was very much out of favour with the Pope. And in the Report of 26th Aug., we find : Marco Scipio heri li lasso mangiare uno persicho ; parve stesse meglio. The date here certainly does not agree with de Grassis, but JOVIUS, Vita Pomp. Col., 240, expressly says : Medicus qui Julio poma, persica obtulit, fuit Scipio Lancelotus. MARINI, I., 299, has overlooked this passage, as well as the one in Sanuto. In regard to Jewish physicians employed by Popes, see besides MARINI, I., 292 *seq.*, GÜDEMANN, 237.

a light sleep. This state of things went on for two days, during which those who attended him alternately hoped and despaired. Great apprehension was felt for the future; dangers of all sorts seemed hanging over our heads, disturbances, war, and scarcity."* The reports of the Envoys then in Rome shew that the account of the Master of Ceremonies is not by any means exaggerated.

"Never," writes the Venetian Ambassador Lippomano, "has there been such a clang of arms round the death-bed of any former Pope; never has the danger been greater than it is now. May God help us."† Some of the nobles endeavoured to take advantage of the turmoil in the city to bring about a rising against the Government of the Church. The ambitious Pompeo Colonna, whose relations had forced him into Holy Orders against his will, was at the head of the revolutionary party. Not content with the dignities of Bishop of Rieti and Abbot of Grottaferrata and Subiaco, Pompeo aimed at the purple and felt confident of obtaining it after the deaths of Cardinals Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, and Cesarini. But he was disappointed, and was now bent on making Julius II. pay for this neglect of a member of one of the great Roman families. He hastened to the Capitol and from thence harangued the mob, urging them to cast off the domination of the priesthood and restore the republican constitution and liberties. It was resolved at the next election to demand many concessions from the new Pope, and amongst others insist on the nomination of a Roman Cardinal.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 411–412. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 22–23.

† SANUTO, XII., 449; *cf.* LUZIO, 22.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita P. Columnae; GUICCIARDINI, X., Chap. 1; SANUTO, XII., 482; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 23. Gregorovius' account of this attempted revolt is in some points incorrect, as has been pointed out

Julius now began to recover from his state of death-like prostration. The free use of fruit and liquids, which it had been supposed would have killed him, had really been his salvation. The fever was gone and by the 28th he was completely convalescent.*

Deadly fear seized upon all those who had been reckoning on his death, the Cardinals who had been busy about the Conclave, and the Roman revolutionists. On the 28th the nobles assembled in the Capitol, and there, in order to make their former proceedings appear innocent, concluded one of those pacific conventions which were so familiar and so transitory. Then they parted: Pompeo Colonna fled to his fastness in Subiaco, the others to France; for the Pope who had been thought to be dead began at once to talk of retribution.†

The recovery of Julius was somewhat retarded by his perverseness in the matter of diet, but he at once turned his attention to the resumption of the negotiations for the League against France. An alliance of all the Christian Princes was to be formed, to take the Pope, the Council, and Rome under their protection.‡ The intrigues of the schismatical Cardinals, the refusal of Louis XII. to dissociate himself from the Bentivogli, and his threats of setting up

by REUMONT in a dissertation in the Allg. Zeit. (1874), No. 358, Suppl., on the Nuptiali di Altieri, published by Narducci. As GREGOROVIUS, in his 3rd ed. in 1881 (VIII., 78 *seq.*), has taken no notice of this, it will not be superfluous to mention it again. *Cf.* also L. PASSARINI, Memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini, 219. PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 174, shews that even in the year 1507 many of the Romans were unfriendly to Julius II.

* SANUTO, XII., 455, 481, 482–483. *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 412.

† SANUTO, XII., 483; FIORAVANTE, Denarii, 161 *seq.*; COPPI, Mem. Colonnesi, 257 *seq.*; MAZIO, Saggiatore, IV., 13, 21.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 121.

an anti-Pope filled Julius II. with anxiety. On the 1st of October he had appointed Cardinal Medici, Legate of Bologna and the Romagna,* and now he awaited with trembling impatience the definite formation of the League which was to protect him from his enemies and recover the lost States for the Church.†

The League was finally arranged and signed on the 4th October, 1511, and on the following day was solemnly announced in Rome in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo. The primary contracting parties were Julius II., Ferdinand of Spain, and the Republic of Venice, but it was expressly provided that the Emperor and the King of England were at liberty to join it if they wished. "Europe was invited to rally round the Pope, and all Kings and Princes were asked to unite for one common object, namely, the preservation of the unity of the Church and of the integrity of her patrimony."‡ The adhesion of Henry of England, which actually followed on the 17th November, was regarded at that time as certain,§ and the Swiss could also be counted upon to invade Milan.‖

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 299 ; Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 137.

† *Cf.* SANUTO, XII., 488, 500, 536, 538, 545.

‡ LANZ, Einleitung, 122.

§ DUMONT, IV., 1, 137 ; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 34 ; THEINER, Cod., III., 578 *seq.* ; Mittheil. d. Œsterreich. Instituts (1884), p. 618 *seq.*, Lettres de Louis XII., III., 60 *seq.*, 65 *seq.* ; Opere ined. di F. Guicciardini, VI., 21 *seq.* ; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 412. *Cf.* Mem. stor. di Mirandola, I., 197 *seq.* ; SEMPER, Carpi, 8 ; the Portuguese Report of Franc. Juzarte to King Manuel in Corp. dipl. Portug. I., 137, 138–139 ; LEHMANN, 15 *seq.* ; and on the adhesion of England, BREWER, State Papers, I., N. 1980 ; *Acta Consist., f. 35 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) ; SANUTO, XIII., 75 *seq.*, 87 *seq.* ; *cf.* 130 *seq.*, 201.

‖ *Cf.* DIERAUER, II., 407. A Brief of Julius II. to the Swiss, of the 27th October, 1511, in the Abschieden, III., 2, 586 ; a duplicate to the

Now that his position was so far secured, Julius II. was able to take the last step in regard to the schismatical Cardinals. When the term appointed in the letter of citation had expired, in an open Consistory held on 24th October, at which there were eighteen Cardinals present, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition on Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, Francesco Borgia, and de Prie, as rebels. Cardinals Sanseverino and d'Albret were threatened with the same punishment if they continued disobedient.*

"Thus before the Council had met, the Cardinals who had convoked it had been deposed. It is true that the day fixed for its opening had been the 1st of September, but they had themselves put off their arrival."† Their prospects were about as bad as they possibly could be. Spain and England would have nothing to say to them, and in Italy and Germany the Council called forth no enthusiasm. Even in France they met with so little sympathy that on the 20th of September Cardinal de Prie wrote to Louis XII. to say that, unless he would exert his

Mayor and Council of Basle, dat. 28th Oct., 1511, in the Basle Archives, n. 2673.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 33, 35, 36; PARIS DE GRASSIS, Döllinger's ed., 412–413; *cf.* 414, the striking remarks on the position of the schismatical Cardinals; SANUTO, XIII., 177, 178, 201 *seq.*; DESJARDINS, II., 571, N. 1; LEHMANN, 15; Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienz. mor., X., 15. *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 34b–35. It is here stated that in a Secret Consistory on 22nd Oct., Sigismondo de Conti read the judgment to the Cardinals, and they agreed to it. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) On the 24th Oct. the deposition of the Cardinals was announced to all the Princes of Europe. See the State Archives in Turin. Mazzo 18, N. 26. A copy of the announcement sent to Maximilian, dat. Rom., 24th Oct., is in the State Archives, Bologna.

† LEHMANN, 15.

royal power in favour of the assembly at Pisa, it would be a complete failure and effect nothing. "Thus at its very inception the free Council was to owe its existence to State despotism."* On the 1st September the number of those who were prepared to attend it was so small that it had to be put off till the 1st November.

From the first even its originators had no confidence in the success of their undertaking. In the beginning of September, the Spanish Cardinals knowing the position that their King was taking up, were prepared to repudiate it if the Pope would have allowed them to remain at Siena.†

To the hostile attitude of the King of Spain was now added an unfavourable change in that of Maximilian. From the first the Emperor had disapproved of the choice of Pisa as the place for holding the Council. In July he said very decidedly that it could only be held in some town belonging to the Empire; Verona and Constance were mentioned.‡ Also, not only Hungary and Poland but the Empire itself hung back from committing itself to an anti-Papal Council,§ and the Emperor received letters from various quarters warning him against it, amongst others from his daughter Margaret and from the learned Abbot Trithemius. The latter strongly urged him to have nothing to do with an assembly which was unlawfully convoked and must necessarily lead to a schism, and assured him that

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 8; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 480.

† MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 15.

‡ LE GLAY, I., 417; Acta Tomiciana, I., 211; ZURITA, 248b; FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 86 (note 1), 92; ULMANN, II., 436 *seq.*, who justly remarks that the proposal in the Emperor's instructions to his secretary Pigello Portinari, that the Council should be held in Florence, was mainly a pecuniary speculation. Ulmann is mistaken in thinking that this instruction has not been printed. It is published by TOMMASINI in his Machiavelli, I., 702-703.

§ ULMANN, II., 435.

Germany would not follow him in this path.* The attitude of the German clergy shewed that the Abbot of Sponheim was not mistaken on this point; and in addition to all this there was the difference between him and the King of France as to the place of meeting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Emperor's interest in the Council began to slacken.

When Julius II. was so dangerously ill in August 1511, Maximilian, like every one else, supposed the Pope to be dying.† He at once nominated three Envoys for the Conclave, and also intended to send his trusty Lang to Rome to unite with Cardinal Adriano Castellesi in looking after his interests in the new election. He told the English Ambassador that this Cardinal was his candidate. At the same time, Carvajal also hoped this time to attain the object of his ambition.‡

At first no one at the Imperial Court could believe in the reality of the Pope's sudden and rapid recovery. They were still convinced that his days were numbered, and it was in this conviction that Maximilian wrote those much discussed letters in which he expressed his visionary notion of adding the Tiara to the Imperial crown.§ In one of

* TRITHEMIUS, Annal. Hirsaug., II., 669 *seq.*

† *Cf. supra*, p. 368 *seq.*; also FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 108 *seq.*

‡ ULMANN, Absichten, 22, and Maximilian, II., 440.

§ Maximilian's aspirations to the Papacy have produced an extremely extensive literature. A. JÄGER has collected the earlier writings on this subject in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna, XII., 199 *seq.* (1854). This writer justly holds the authenticity of these letters to be beyond doubt. (Maximilian's Instructions to George of Neideck of 10th June, 1507, mentioned *supra*, p. 354, note *, in a sense corroborate his view.) At the same time he thinks it is a mistake to interpret the letters too strictly in a literal sense, while, on the other hand, he combats the view that they are not to be taken seriously at all. Jäger, relying very much on SCHRECK (Biografia del Card. Adriano [Trento, 1837]),

these letters addressed to his daughter Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, and dated 18th September, 1511, he

solves the problem by giving the letters an allegorical meaning, and considers that the purpose of the Emperor in them was to signify his intention of obtaining the Tiara for Card. A. Castellesi, who had taken refuge in the Tyrol and was completely devoted to him. Against Jäger, LANZ, 118, and BÖHM and HUBER, III., 394, have pointed out that the plain sense of the words will not admit of such an interpretation, especially in the letter to P. von Lichtenstein. In spite of Jäger, most historians continue to think that Maximilian really aimed at uniting the dignities of Emperor and Pope in his own person. BROSCH (p. 335) brought forward a proof from the Venetian Archives that in December there had been negotiations on the subject between Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain ; he speaks very contemptuously of Jäger's work. In consequence, however, of further researches by Gebhardt and Ulmann, Jäger's theory, though in some points his investigations are wanting in thoroughness, came, to a certain degree, into favour again. GEBHARDT (Adrian v. Corneto, 23 *seq.*) discovered a Report from the English Ambassador at the Imperial Court of 4th Sept., 1511, in which he says that Maximilian wished to obtain the Tiara for Card. Adriano in the place of Julius II., who was hopelessly ill. Maximilian's biographer, Ulmann, in 1888 published a treatise dealing with this question alone. Although we are not in possession of the complete text of the Imperial Instruction of 1507, Ulmann, unlike Böhm, considers this document of the first importance in deciding the question. In that year the Empress was still living, consequently, so this author argues, Maximilian could not then have had any thought of himself becoming Pope. Since in 1511, after the Empress' death, he expresses himself in exactly the same terms as are employed in the Instruction, Ulmann infers "that his meaning must also have been the same, and that therefore the true kernel of his project could not have been a personal occupation of the Chair of S. Peter." Ulmann thinks he finds this "true kernel" in the Emperor's favourite idea of the secularisation of the States of the Church. As this would be incompatible with his being himself the wearer of the Tiara, all this seems to imply that it is to be taken as a diplomatic circumlocution. The one thing that is certain is "that in the years from 1507–1511 he cannot have dreamt of obtaining the Papal Crown for himself, whether as Papal and Imperial Sovereign, or, laying aside the pomp of Empire, as real spiritual Head of the Church ; the thing he aimed at

says: "To-morrow I am going to send Matthæus Lang, Bishop of Gurk, to Rome, to arrange with the Pope about

was to arrogate to himself the 'dominium temporale' of the Papacy. The possession of Rome would secure to him the mastery in Upper Italy, and at the same time, by making him Suzerain of Naples, protect him against injury from Spain on the southern side of the States of the Church. If I am right in my view, he intended to issue a summons from Rome to the whole of Christendom to range itself under the Imperial standard for a Crusade against the Turks" (pp. 47–49). This theory has found unconditional acceptance from very few scholars. ULMANN himself, however, while acknowledging it to be only a hypothesis (II., 441), still holds firmly to it in the 2nd Vol. of his Biography of Maximilian. SÄGMÜLLER, in the Literar. Rundschau (1889), p. 242, agrees with Ulmann that Maximilian had not thought of being Pope as well as Emperor, but sees objections to the view that he aimed at possessing himself of the temporal power of the Papacy. J. BERNAYS, on the contrary, looks upon this latter point as proved from the Instruction of 1507, but holds that in Sept., 1511, Maximilian aspired also to the Papal dignity itself (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1888, pp. 1023–1024). One of Bernay's objections in regard to the suzerainty is answered beforehand by ULMANN, II., 440; but that does not affect his view of the Imperial letter of the 18th Sept. Quite independently of Bernays, G. SULIGER decisively rejects both the reasoning and conclusions in Ulmann's work while fully recognising the clear insight into the political situation which it displays. "The reports of a Florentine living in the French camp," he observes, "on which Ulmann mainly depends, cannot be of greater authority than the Emperor's own words. In the endeavour to fathom his secret intentions they must be our first guide, and their clear, literal meaning cannot be ignored" (Deutsche Literaturztg., 1888, p. 1607). L. G[EIGER] in the Suppt. to the Allg. Zeit. (1888), No. 320, says that he cannot agree with Ulmann, and brings forward some notable objections to his hypothesis. Both ULMANN (p. 32) and Geiger might have avoided the mistake of translating "adoratio" by the word "worship" if they had possessed even a slight knowledge of Catholic doctrine. A letter from Card. S. Gonzaga to the Marchesa Isabella, dat. Macerata, 2nd Oct., 1511, is valuable as evidence on this question, certainly much more so than the documents cited by Brosch. It says: S. B^ne voleva mandare un monitorio al rev^mo Card. di S. Severino et a Labretto, che comparessero personalmente dinanzi a lei infra certo termine sotto pena de

choosing me as his coadjutor with the reversion of the Papacy on his death, and allowing me to take holy orders, so that I may possibly be canonised and you may have to revere me as a saint after my death, which I should value much. I have sent an Envoy to the King of Spain, asking him to support me; which he has willingly promised to do on condition of my abdicating the Imperial crown in favour of my grand-son Charles, to which I cordially agree. The people and nobles of Rome have entered into a compact with each other against the French and Spaniards; they can arm 20,000 men, and have assured me that they will never consent to the elevation of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Venetian, but will choose a Pope who shall be dependent on me and acceptable to the German nation. I am already beginning to canvass the Cardinals, for which purpose from 200,000 to 300,000 ducats would be very useful. The King of Spain has sent word to me through his Envoy that he will desire the Spanish Cardinals to support my candidature. I beg you to keep all this profoundly secret, although I fear that in a very short time the whole world will know it, as too many people have to be employed in the business and too much money is required. I commend you to God. Written by the hand of your good father, Maximilian, future Pope. September 18th.

"*P.S.*—The Pope has had a return of fever; he cannot live much longer." *

la privatione *et questo faceva per essersi inteso che havevano proposto allo Imperatore de farlo papa, cosa non mai vista et inaudita.* I found the original in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and it has now been published by MORSOLIN in L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 14. Morsolin thinks he detects a squib on Maximilian's plan of becoming Pope in a satirical medal of the 16th Century. See Riv. Ital. di Numismatica A°, VIII., fasc. 2.

* After the original in the Archives at Lille in LE GLAY, II., 37;

This letter might quite possibly have been meant as a playful refusal of a project for a fresh marriage presented to him by Margaret, as he had been a widower since the 31st of December; for he was fond of writing jesting letters to her.* But another addressed to the Tyrolese Land-Marschall, Paul von Lichtenstein, and dated 16th September, 1511, cannot be thus humorously interpreted. Maximilian writes:—

"Most noble, beloved, and faithful friend! We do not doubt that what we have imparted to you at various times as to our reasons for intending and desiring to obtain the Papacy is still fresh in your memory; as also we ourselves have never ceased to keep this purpose in mind. Moreover we feel in ourselves, and in fact it is so, that there can be no aim more noble, loftier, or better than that of attaining to the said dignity.

"And as the present Pope Julius has lately been dangerously ill, so much so that, as our Court Chancellor for the Tyrol, Cyprian of Serentin, has informed us, every one in Rome thought that his last moment had come, we have resolved to take the necessary measures for carrying out our intention, and to act in such a manner as shall win for us the Papacy. Consequently we have laid these matters before Cardinal Adriano who, as you know, has been for some time past with us in Germany; who, when he heard it, wept for joy, and advised us strongly to proceed, and thinks that there are many Cardinals who will be of the same mind. And since, as you yourself also must see, it is very likely that the Pope will die (for he eats little, and that nothing but fruit, and drinks so much

cf. 407, 541. The date of the year is wanting in the original, but it must be 1511. *Cf.* BÖHM, 14 *seq.*

* ULMANN, Absichten, 31 *seq.*, and BERNAYS in Gött. Gel. Anz. (1888), p. 1021.

more that his life has no substance in it), if he does die, we have prepared the Bishop of Gurk to post at once to Rome to help us in this affair of the Papacy; but, as this cannot be done without a considerable sum of money which we must provide, we have promised the Cardinals and several other persons, to expend 300,000 ducats for the needs of our undertaking and to arrange that this money shall be obtainable from the Fugger Bank at Rome. As you know, at the present time we have no money, and the only way in which it will be possible for us to satisfy Fugger in regard to this sum will be by pledging our jewels."

The Emperor then proceeds to give detailed instructions as to the negotiations for the loan; the jewels that are to be pledged, to which the feudal mantle worn by Charlemagne is to be added, which, he says, does not belong to the Empire, but is an Austrian heirloom, the property of the Hapsburgs, and will be no longer wanted by him when he is Pope; the manner in which, and the persons to whom, the money is to be paid, and how and when the articles pledged are to be redeemed. Von Lichtenstein is admonished to use all possible diligence to get the matter arranged quickly and secretly, to take no denial, but persist, even if at first he is met by a refusal, and to keep the Emperor thoroughly informed of every step in the proceedings, and is assured that his faithful service will be remembered and amply rewarded.

In the concluding paragraph the Emperor says: "We also wish you to know that to-day we have heard by a private post from our secretary John Colla, that the Orsini, Colonna, and the populus Romanus are quite resolved, and have engaged, not to accept any Pope who is a Frenchman or a Spaniard, or a candidate of either of these nations. And they have sent an Envoy privately to ask us not to fight with the French, so that they may

be induced to remain neutral in regard to the Papal election. Given at Brixen, September 16, Anno 1511."*

There can be no doubt that "in the letter there is no trace of banter of any sort. Also, it is not conceivable that Maximilian should have amused himself by mystifying his confidential servant, to whom he had quite lately given instructions in regard to his purposes, and whom he habitually employed in conducting his political affairs in Italy. The letter must be understood in its plain meaning."†

It is true that we are confronted here by another difficulty which cannot be held to be unimportant. The original letter to Lichtenstein has never been found, and the historical trustworthiness of the author who published it a hundred years after the Emperor's death without indicating the source from which he obtained it, is open to grave doubts.‡

In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to say with certainty that Maximilian did seriously think of uniting the Imperial and Papal crowns in his own person, and thus realising his aspirations after complete sovereignty in Italy. Many things seem to indicate that

* GOLDAST, Polit. Reichshändel, 428–429 (Frankfurt, 1614); and ULMANN, Absichten, 24 *seq.* The text of the Letter on account of its great length, has been placed in the Appendix, N. 90.

† BERNAYS, *loc. cit.*, 1023; *cf.* DE LEVA, I., 124.

‡ BÖHM, 7 *seq.*, and ULMANN, 2 *seq.*, think the letter genuine (see Appendix, N. 90), but the latter expressly observes that the source from which it comes does not guarantee its accuracy in details. Some portions are evidently incorrect; *cf.* those which I have indicated by parentheses. But the letter contains details which, as ULMANN points out, Absichten, 2, note 4, could hardly have been known by a forger. My honoured colleague, Prof. Seemüller, had the kindness to investigate this document for me from a philological point of view, and can find no warrant for supposing it to be a forgery. On Goldast, *cf.* WEGELE, Historiographie, 368; Allg. Deutsch. Biographie, IX., 329; JANSSEN-PASTOR, Gesch. d. Deutsch. Volkes, V., 546, 578 *seq.*, 13th and 14th ed.

this dream did actually cross his mind for a short time as a practical possibility;* but all plans founded on the expected vacancy of the Chair of S. Peter were soon dissipated by the complete recovery of Julius II.

Maximilian was growing daily more and more dissatisfied with the conduct of Louis XII., and alarmed at his increasing preponderance in Italy,† and the Pope now strove to win him to his side by the offer of an advantageous peace with Venice. He was not, however, immediately successful, for "on the 21st of October, 1511, the Emperor desired the Papal Envoys who were on their way to several of the electoral Princes to be stopped at Innsbruck and other places; but when, in November, England also definitely joined the League for the protection of the Church and her possessions, Maximilian began to change his policy." On the 12th, at the instigation of the King of Spain, he asked Julius to act as intermediary between him and Venice.‡ He began also to cool towards the anti-Papal Council. No doubt

* In addition to the letter of Card. S. Gonzaga, which has been already cited, it seems to me that ZURITA'S testimony (IX., c. 37, 38, 40, 43) is very important in regard to Maximilian having really cherished the thought of becoming Papal coadjutor and eventually Pope himself. RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 284, and BÖHM, 16, also LEHMANN, 20 *seq.*, attach great weight to the statements of the Spanish historian, and with reason, for, as a rule, wherever they have been tested they have proved singularly trustworthy.

† *Cf.* MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 14.

‡ ULMANN, Maximilians Absichten, 46. L. Trevisano reports on the 25th–26th November, 1511, from Rome: Et è da saper, che quando fo fata la liga, fo dato al Papa una corniola anticha ligata in argento, ch' è uno caro tirato da doy galli e sopra il caro era una aquila, qual havia una bacheta in man, zoè in le zaffe e bateva li galli, la qual auta il Papa la mandò a l'Imperador dicendoli questa esser profetia e lui come difensor di la Chiexia doveva intrar in liga e bater francesi ch' è nemici di la Chiexia, maxime questo presante Re. SANUTO, XIII., 285–286.

the adverse attitude of the German Episcopate had much to do with this. The Bishop of Brixen refused to act as Imperial representative at the Council, on the ground that he was more bound to the Pope than to the Emperor. The Archbishop of Salzburg declared himself precluded by his ecclesiastical oath from sending even one of his Counsellors to it.* Now that England and Spain also had pronounced against it,† while Hungary held aloof for the present from the opponents of the Pope,‡ the schismatics had no power but France to support them. The Court Bishops, of course, followed the King; but "all who could, as the Flemish clergy, who, in spite of Louis's complaints never appeared at Lyons, tried to keep clear of the Council. The French disliked the Italian policy of their King, the people and the nobles objected to the cost of the war, and the Queen implored her husband to withdraw from a conflict with the Pope which might be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the future heir to the throne."§

* ULMANN, II., 435–436. Dr. Mayr has sought in vain throughout the Statthalter's Archives at Innsbruck for M. von Wolkenstein's Report to Maximilian which is here cited. It is a pity that Ulmann hardly ever gives the numbers of the Documents he quotes.

† Ferdinand had caused the Bull of Indiction for the Lateran Council to be solemnly announced at Burgos on the 16th Nov., 1511, and desired the Bishops to meet for consultation on it. HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 463 *seq.*, gives a full account of the proposals for Reform which were to be laid before the Council, drawn from the documents published (some of them very carelessly) by DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 200 *seq.*, out of the Simancas Archives.

‡ FRAKNÓI, Liga von Cambrai, 92 *seq.*

§ LEHMANN, 31. Girolamo Aleandro, who had been chosen by his colleagues to represent the High School of Paris at the Council of Pisa, refused the dangerous honour. See Nuntiaturberichte, III., Einl., 31. Lehmann has not observed that the Rector's declaration had been already published by HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 488–489.

The Italian clergy as a body were faithful to the lawful Pope. The exceptions consisted only of a few such men as the restless Abbot Zaccaria Ferreri and Cardinal Sanseverino, who was so deeply compromised. Many warning voices were heard from amongst them. The pious hermit Angelo of Vallombrosa adjured Carvajal not to rend the unity of the Church ; what he was doing, he said, was like the crime of Lucifer and would draw down God's judgments upon him.* Angelo, like many other Italians, as Francesco Poggio,† was diligent with his pen in defence of the rights of the Holy See against the schismatics. The most eminent of these writers were Domenico Jacobazzi‡ and the celebrated theologian and philosopher, Thomas de Vio of Gaeta, better known as Cajetanus, who, since 1508, had been General of the Dominicans. In several works which obtained the honour of being publicly burnt by Louis XII., Cajetanus dealt in a masterly and classical style with the false Conciliar theory of which the Council of Pisa was the latest offshoot. He maintained that the power of the Pope in the Church was supreme and monarchical, demonstrated the difference between the authority of Peter and that of the other Apostles, denied the superiority of Councils over the Head of the Church, and refuted the objections drawn from the Councils of Constance and Basle. The theses which he defended were the following:—(1) A Council does not derive its authority immediately from Christ. (2) It does not represent the whole Church unless it includes the Pope. (3) A doubtful Pope, such as the one

* Angelo also addressed Louis XII. himself. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 30, 31.

† De potestate papae et concilii liber, *s. l. et a.* (probably Romae, 1512). *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1511, n. 19.

‡ Particulars concerning his Tract. de Concilio (written 1512, printed 1538) are to be found in HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 438 *seq.*, 476 *seq.*

who presided at Constance, holds a very different position from one whose legitimacy is certain.*

In Italy the only writers who advocated the schismatic Council and the oligarchical revolution in the constitution of the Church at which it aimed, were the Milanese jurist Decius† and Zaccaria Ferreri. This latter, a learned but restless and changeable man, had first been a Benedictine monk, and then joined the Carthusians. Here too, he could not bear the quiet of the cloistered life, and threw himself eagerly into politics, labouring to enlist public opinion in support of the League of Cambrai and turn it against the Venetians, whom he hated, and continued to oppose even after the Republic had been absolved. He wrote poems in praise of the French and was thus brought into connection with Marshal Trivulzio, and initiated into the anti-Papal plans of Louis XII. As Carvajal and he had always been close friends, he was now completely drawn into the schismatical camp. Later he fought so energetically by letters, addresses, and tracts on the side of the mock Council, that he came to be regarded as its chief literary champion.‡

* This summary is taken from HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 474. MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105, says, referring to Cajetanus, "It may be truly said that the Court party had the best of the encounter from a literary as well as from a historical point of view."

† GOLDAST, Monarchia, II., 1167 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 471. On Decius, *cf.* SAVIGNY, Gesch. d. Römischen Rechts, VI., 374 *seq.*, and SCHULTE, Quellen, II., 361 *seq.*

‡ Ferreri's career was described a hundred years ago by TIRABOSCHI, Della vita e delle opere di Z. Ferreri (Modena, 1799), next by MORSOLIN in a (scarce) monograph which appeared at Vicenza in 1877, and again in his valuable work, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 3 *seq.* *Cf.* also MORSOLIN, Un Latinista del Cinquecento imitatore del Dante (Venezia, 1894), and Apologia del popolo Vicentino di Z. Ferreri (Venezia, 1895). Ferreri's important influence on the Council of Pisa has been quite overlooked by Lehmann, and also by MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105 *seq.*

The character of Carvajal very much resembled that of Ferreri. He had early adopted the false theory of Councils;* in addition to which he could not forget that he had once very nearly obtained the Tiara. "He had been forced to yield to Julius II., but he did not relinquish his ambitious plans." Especially since the death of d'Amboise, he had become more engrossed with the hope of attaining the highest dignity. He threw himself into the French movement entirely, because he thought it might be serviceable to him. He had long ago quarrelled with the Pope; he loved pomp and show, and cared for reform as little as his associates did. Like Ferreri he was utterly untrustworthy. Zurita relates that he simultaneously asked Ferdinand for a safe-conduct for Naples, wrote to the Spanish Envoy in Germany to use all his influence to prevent any German prelates from coming to the Council, and begged the Emperor to send them. "He was sincere in nothing, and it was this hypocrite who was the President of the Council, to which he was only held by the impossibility or extreme peril of drawing back."† He was so much alarmed at the small amount of sympathy which the Council had evoked, that even at the last moment he made an attempt to be reconciled with the Pope. He had broken with Cardinal Briçonnet, whose heart like his own was set on obtaining the Tiara; but both he and his companions were too ambitious and too proud to bring themselves to comply with the stern requisitions of Julius II., who insisted on their coming to Rome and asking for absolution.‡ The

* ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 15 *seq.*, which unwarrantably brands the elder Carvajal as an adherent of the false Conciliar theory; on the errors in this book, *cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, II., 376 *seq.*, ed. 2.

† LEHMANN, 26–29, who gives his proofs. On Carvajal's nepotism and ostentation, see ROSSBACH, Carvajal, 100 *seq.*

‡ MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 17 *seq.*

prospects of the schismatics, "not one of whom possessed the support of a genuine conviction,"* were rendered still more gloomy by the behaviour of the Florentines. Florence had for many years been the ally of France and at first agreed to the choice of Pisa as the meeting place for the Council, but very soon she began to hesitate. Machiavelli was commissioned to persuade the schismatical Cardinals to delay, and to represent the true state of things to the French. His instruction of the 10th December says: "No one seems to wish to attend the Council; it therefore only serves to set the Pope against us, and we must consequently request that it may either not be held in Pisa, or at least may be put off. Not a single prelate is coming from Germany and only a few from France, and these are lingering on the way. People are surprised at the announcement of a Council consisting of only three Cardinals, while the others who were given out as supporting them hide themselves and do not appear." Louis XII. was, however, determined to have the Council at Pisa, and the Florentines were forced to yield, though much against the grain. Meanwhile their vacillating conduct did not satisfy France, and incensed the Pope. He laid an Interdict on the city, against which the Florentines appealed to a Council, but did not make it clear whether to that of Pisa or of Rome.†

It was not till the middle of October that some Frenchmen began to appear at Pisa, as yet they were not the Bishops, but only the Bishops' officials. They found the popular feeling so much against them that no one would let lodgings to them and they had to seize their quarters by force.‡

* LEHMANN, 29–30.

† CAMBI, XXI., 266; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 133–135; PERRENS, II., 481; TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 540 *seq.*; FREY, Regesten, 101; the Instructions MACHIAVELLI in the Opere, ed. Passerini, I., 132 *seq.*

‡ MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 20–21.

Further difficulties arose when the Cardinals proposed to come to Pisa escorted by French troops. Florence now announced that if they came with armed men they would be treated as enemies. Upon this they consented to be satisfied with a small company of archers commanded by Odet de Foix and Châtillon.* It was on the 30th October that Cardinals Carvajal, Briçonnet, de Prie, and d'Albret arrived in Pisa with this small escort, and in pouring rain. They were provided with powers from Francesco Borgia, Sanseverino, and, they asserted, from Philip of Luxemburg. The proxy for Borgia lapsed almost immediately through his death.†

In the course of their journey the schismatical Cardinals had encountered so much hostility on the part of the population, that they arrived much discouraged and with little confidence in the success of their undertaking.‡ "In Prato and in Pistoja," the Florentine chronicler Cerretani says, "they found the churches and inns closed, every one fled from them. In Pisa itself they could only get lodgings at the command of the Florentine Commissioners." §

On the 1st November the Council ought to have commenced its sittings in the cathedral, but in accordance with the Pope's commands the Canons had locked all the doors.

* VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 137. In consequence of this action on the part of the Florentines, the Pope suspended the Interdict for fourteen days. See LANDUCCI, 312 and 315, on further suspensions.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 483 ; MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 22.

‡ DESJARDINS, II., 541.

§ *In questo tempo che fu al fine d'Ottobre giunsono li cardinali del concilio in Pisa con 300 cavalli in loro compagnia alli quali in Prato, in Pistoja fu serrato le chiese e negato loro il mangiare e ciascuno gli fuggiva et in Pisa se non s'interponeva il commandamento de commissarii mandato dalla Signoria non erano accommodati ne di vettovaglie ne di allogiamenti. Cerretani's Chronicle in Cod. II., III., 76, f. 376, of the National Library, Florence.

They therefore betook themselves to the Church of S. Michele, close to which Carvajal was lodged. It was a small building, but contained room and to spare in it for the accommodation of the "General Council." The assembly consisted of the four Cardinals, the Archbishops of Lyons and Sens, fourteen French Bishops, five Abbots, all French except Ferreri, and a small number of theologians and jurists. The citizens of Pisa held almost entirely aloof; according to an eye-witness there were not more than ten present. Ferreri delivered an address on the necessity that a General Council should be held for the reform of the Church, and announced at its close that the proceedings would begin on the 5th of November. All who failed to present themselves were threatened with the censures of the Church. Finally an individual who announced himself as the Procurator of the King and the Emperor came forward as notary to execute the deed of constitution. The whole city was searched in vain for two citizens to act as witnesses; none would consent to officiate, and two unknown persons had to be taken.*

Meanwhile orders had been sent from Florence that the use of the cathedral was to be granted to the Council, but that none of the clergy need attend if they were not so inclined.† Thus the General Council was opened in the cathedral as announced, on the 5th November, in the presence of the four Cardinals and about eighteen Bishops and Abbots. Of the inhabitants of Pisa, about fifty appeared. The ceremonies were well carried out, we

* In addition to the important ambassadorial Reports in MORSOLIN, L'Abbate di Monte Subasio, 37 *seq.* (in the deed, p. 38, line 32), a comma should be inserted after "Franzesi," and the two points after "cipta" should be erased; *cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 330. See also SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 436 *seq.*

† VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 137.

are told by an eye-witness, but the attendance of Prelates was so miserable, that many who had hitherto been sanguine of its success, now gave up all hope. Carvajal said the Mass, and then, as President of the assembly, seated himself on the semi-Papal throne prepared for him. Odet de Foix was declared Custos. It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is a fact, that this gathering had the audacity to declare solemnly that it was a lawfully convoked General Council and to proclaim all the censures and measures taken against it by Julius II. to be null and void.* In the second sitting on the 7th of November a resolution was passed which sheds a curious light on the amount of confidence which the schismatics entertained in each other. It was decided that the Council could not be dissolved by the withdrawal of any individual Prelates whoever they might be.†

The hopes cherished by some that the Council might, as time went on, increase in numbers were not fulfilled, and Cardinals d'Este and Sanseverino gave no sign.‡ However earnestly the Pisan assembly might contend that it was the "salt of the earth, and the light of the world," history had accustomed Christendom to see the Church represented after a very different fashion.§ The indifference of all from whom they hoped for support, including the Florentines, their unprotected situation in Pisa, and the marked hostility of the population had from the first

* Report of Joh. Borromeus in MORSOLIN, *loc. cit.*, 40 *seq.*; *cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 233, 330 *seq.*, and on the Florentine Reports, VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 138. *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 484 and 480, note 1, for details concerning the acts of the mock Council.

† *Ibid.*, 42 *seq.*; SANUTO, XIII., 234, 331 *seq.*; LEHMANN, 32; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 484 *seq.*

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi; the Duke of Ferrara persuaded his brother not to attend the Council.

§ HAVEMANN, II., 376.

seriously alarmed the schismatics. Now, in addition to this, on the 9th of November a sanguinary conflict broke out between the Florentine troops combined with the Pisans on one side, and the French soldiers and the servants of the Cardinals on the other. A crowd assembled under the windows of the palace inhabited by the President of the Council, where the schismatics were gathered together, shouting "kill them."* The terrified reformers held a hasty sitting on the 12th instead of the 14th, which had been the day appointed for the next meeting, and passed three resolutions:—(1) The Synod was not to be dissolved until the whole Church had been reformed in faith and morals, in its head and members, all heresies and divisions purged away, and all impending strife between Christian Princes appeased. (2) The decrees of the fifth sitting of the Council of Constance were to be confirmed and made more stringent (though they did not apply to the present situation, as there was no question of the legitimacy of the Pope, nor, strictly speaking, any schism). (3) The Synod, without being dissolved, was to be removed from Pisa, where a hostile spirit has been displayed and it has not the requisite security, to Milan, where its fourth sitting was to be held on the 13th of December.†

* Mantuan Despatch of the 9th Nov., 1511, in MORSOLIN, 44; VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 138. *Cf.* also the account in CAMBI, XXI., 276, and *Cerretani, Cod. II., III., 76, f. 377. National Library, Florence.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 485–486; *cf.* MORSOLIN, 45, and SANUTO, XIII., 332. A *Letter without address, signature, or date, apparently belongs to this time, it says: S. Severino e S. Croce in Pisa ogni giorno visitati per ambasciatori da S^ri^ Fiorentini e dal mag^co^ Juliano et da loro presentati. Domani se expectano qua e cossi a quest' hora m'ha affirmato el p^to^ mag^co^ Juliano. Da voce populare hogi se dicto il summo pontefice esser sta com pericolo de veneno quale gli debbe havere exhibito alcuni cardinali. (State Archives in Milan.) In Rome, at first, a report was

In Milan, even under the shelter of the French cannon, the same general dislike of the Council was displayed as in Pisa; both people and clergy kept away and could not be constrained to receive the schismatics with any tokens of respect. When they made their entry into the city on the 7th of December no Bishop or Prelate of any importance appeared on the occasion.* In spite of the threats of the French Governor, the majority of the clergy observed the Interdict and the populace openly jeered at the "Anti-Papal masqueraders."† Nevertheless, these latter, if less confidently, still obstinately persevered in their enterprise. The ambition of the Cardinals and the fanaticism of Ferreri seemed proof against all rebuffs. Neither the scorn of the Milanese, nor yet a fresh and sterner admonition from the Pope on the 3rd of December,‡ nor even the abstention of a large portion of the French Episcopate, could make them pause or consider. They still continued to call themselves a General Council, hoping everything from the victorious arms of France and the strong hand of Louis XII. A letter from Cardinal de Prie, of 12th January, 1512, to the King asking him to confiscate the revenues of all the "papistical" Bishops, is very significant of this attitude.§ At the same time the

circulated that the *Conciliabulum* was to adjourn to Vercelli. Julius II. endeavoured to prevent this by *Briefs addressed to the Chapter at Vercelli and Duke Charles of Savoy, on the 27th Nov., 1511. On the 17th Dec., 1511, he wrote to Francesco Gonzaga, that if the schismatical Cardinals entered his territory, he was to have them arrested. (See Appendix, N. 87.) I found all these *Briefs in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DESJARDINS, II., 545-546. *Cf.* SANUTO, XIII., 352; PERRENS, II., 487 *seq.*

† PRATO, 285-287.

‡ MANSI, V., 356-362.

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 2. On the sittings of the pseudo-synod, *cf.* LEHMANN, 33, and HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 486. The phrase with

French members of the Council also addressed Louis, claiming the reward of their services in cash. He does not seem to have had much confidence in the honesty of the reformers, for he refused to pay without a voucher attesting that they had been present both at Pisa and Milan.*

The piteous failure of the pseudo-Council, which from the first seemed at the point of death from sheer anæmia,† was an immense gain for the spiritual authority of Julius II. It was universally recognised that the motives of the schismatical Cardinals were purely personal and ambitious,‡ and that in combination with the French Court Bishops it was the interests of Louis XII. and not those of the Universal Church that they were serving.§ "The Pope could afford to wait without any great anxiety" for the inevitable collapse of this little band of "ambitious hypocrites, in whom no one believed and whom no one respected, thus masquerading before the world while in daily fear for their lives."‖ "But he shewed his penetration and prudence in not over-prizing the success which their wretched failure had prepared for him. This triumph was only a negative one; to turn it into a real victory, it was necessary to oppose to this effete assembly a Council at the Lateran which should be universally recognised as truly œcumenical. To this achievement the Pope devoted himself with all his might, and in the

which the Milanese chronicler, PRATO, 287, passed over the resolutions adopted at the fourth sitting is very significant: Li quali io per aver poco inchiostro non mi curo di raccontare.

* SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 446, calls attention to this voucher, to be found in the National Library, Paris, MS. Lat. 1559, f. 16.

† MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 104.

‡ Guicciardini says that the Cardinals were quite as much in need of reform themselves as the people they proposed to set to rights.

§ BROSCH, Julius II., 236.

‖ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 84, ed. 3.

wisest and most practical manner." To meet the pressing need of the moment it had to give way to the political and military measures which claimed immediate attention. No effort was spared to equip a sufficient army. Julius II. strained his financial resources to their utmost limit to accomplish this, but his efforts to be ready in time were frustrated by the "tardiness of the Spaniards, which made it impossible for him to strike at the right moment."* As Venice, also, was too late, and allowed the opportunity to pass, the French succeeded in repelling the attack of the Swiss on Milan. The hardy mountaineers, however, whom Louis had treated with the utmost contempt, announced their intention of returning in the Spring. They had got the French into Italy, they said, and they would drive them out of it.† On the 7th January, 1512, Julius nominated Cardinal Schinner as Cardinal-Legate for Lombardy and Germany with extraordinary powers. In an open Consistory he gave him his Legate's-cross with the words, saying, "In this sign of the Holy Cross mayest thou begin, prosper, and vanquish."‡

In the same month the Pope decided on taking further measures against the rebellious Cardinals — "the sect of Carvajal," as they were called. Almost anything might be apprehended from the sort of blind fury which possessed these Cardinals, and it was seriously feared in Rome that they might set up an anti-Pope. On the 30th of January a Consistory was held, at which Cardinal Bakocs was not present, though he had lately arrived in Rome. At this meeting the deprivation of Cardinal Sanseverino, who still persisted in his revolt, and had even sent agents to Rome to endeavour to stir up an insurrection there, was

* Brosch, Julius II., 237–240.

† Ranke, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 271.

‡ Paris de Grassis in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 4.

pronounced. In February several of his benefices were given to others, Cardinal Schinner received the Bishopric of Novara. On the 13th of February, Zaccaria, Ferreri, and Philip Decius were also condemned as schismatics.*

At the end of January the League at last commenced

* SANUTO, XIII., 445, 446, 447, 470, 471, 490. *Cf.* *Acta Consist., f. 35 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), and the *Chronicle in Varia Polit., 50, f. 61. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) On Bakocs' journey and his pompous entry into Rome, *cf.* FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 111 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*; see also Atti dei Lincei (1892), 4 Serie, Scienza mor., X., 15. Card. Schinner had been forced in July, 1511, to give way to his enemy, the "bold demagogue" (DIERAUER, II., 384), Jörg auf der Flüe (Georg Supersaxo). He fled disguised as a leper (FUCHS, II., 247) to Venice and then to Rome, where in Aug. 1511, he received his Cardinal's-hat and impeached Supersaxo as a traitor. A narrative of the disputes between Schinner and Supersaxo is to be found in the house of the late Pfarrer Joller (to whose kindness I owe my acquaintance with this document) at Glis near Brieg in Switzerland. It is the work of a bitter partisan, representing Supersaxo as an innocent and persecuted man, and painting the Cardinal in the blackest tints as a tyrant and a man to whom nothing is sacred. It is the source from which Boccard, temperately, and Furrer, intemperately and uncritically, have taken the material for their accounts of the conflict between Supersaxo and Schinner. But is it a trustworthy source? far from it! It is drawn up in a tone of venomous hatred, and entirely based on the accusations of Supersaxo's party. It denies many undoubted facts, contradicts contemporaneous authorities, and a considerable portion of it was written after Supersaxo's death. This part cannot have been composed till after 1574, as Josias Simmler's Comment. is mentioned in it. Schinner was a man of strong temper (*cf.* BROSCH, Julius II., 258), and may have been faulty in his manner of dealing with his opponents, but in substance he was in the right, for they were rebels against his rightful authority, both temporal and spiritual. A biography of Schinner is much to be desired. Joller (see Bücherverzeichniss) and G. Blösch in a lecture delivered at Berne in 1890, but unfortunately not published, have collected valuable materials for such a work. Schinner's name appears in the list of the benefactors of the Collegiate Church at Domodossola, the building of which was begun in 1512. His coat of arms is still to be seen there.

operations, attacking simultaneously in different places. On the 25th of January the Venetians appeared before Brescia, and on the 26th the combined Spanish and Papal army, commanded by Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, invested Bologna. On the 2nd of February Brescia fell, and it seemed as if Milan would be lost to France.* At this critical moment Louis's nephew Gaston de Foix appeared on the scene as the saviour of the French. Young as he was in years he was already an experienced general. With that marvellous promptitude which won for him the sobriquet of "foudre de l'Italie," he swooped down, not upon Modena where the enemy was waiting for him, but seawards on Finale. By forced marches he led his troops through deep snow and over frozen marshes and streams to Bologna, in a space of time hitherto unparalleled for shortness. In the night of 4th–5th February, under cover of a snowstorm, he slipped into the city unobserved by the enemy. On hearing that he and his troops were actually within the walls the besiegers broke up their camp. Gaston immediately took advantage of this to march rapidly on Brescia, which, after a sanguinary conflict in the streets, was taken on the 18th of February.†

Bembo says that the Pope flew into a violent rage when he heard of the withdrawal of the troops from before Bologna, but was calmed by the news of the taking of Brescia. Though the night was cold and stormy, he immediately sent for the Venetian Ambassador and kept him in conversation for two hours, shedding tears of joy.‡ How great therefore must have

* HAVEMANN, II., 384 *seq.* ; RANKE, Rom. und Germ. Völker, 272.

† *Ibid.*, II., 388–396. *Cf.* KRIEGER, 49 ; FUMI, Carteggio, 160–161 ; LANDUCCI, 313.

‡ BEMBUS, 516–517 ; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 187 ; HAVEMANN,

been his distress when he heard of its loss only a few days later.* To add to his vexation at the torpor of the Spaniards, fresh troubles now sprung up in Rome itself.† The intrigues of Cardinal Sanseverino amongst the Roman Barons found the soil only too well prepared, and set up a ferment which seemed likely to become very dangerous. Julius II. was most afraid of the Orsini party who were devoted to France. He strengthened the city guard at the gates, and himself withdrew for a time to the Castle of St. Angelo. Many arrests were made, and it was said that a plot had been discovered for getting possession of the Pope's person.‡ But there was worse to come.

Louis XII. saw that everything depended on striking such a blow as would paralyse the Papal and Venetian army before the Swiss had time to invade Milan, and King Ferdinand to attack Navarre, and before Henry VIII. could land in Normandy, or the Emperor distinctly declare against him. A victory should be immediately followed up by the dethronement of the Pope, the

II., 389. Bembus as usual gives no date for the arrival in Rome of the good tidings from Brescia. From SANUTO, XIII., 490–491, we gather that it was on the 10th Feb.; he also gives details of the rejoicings in Rome. On the 14th and 15th Feb. Julius II. addressed three *Briefs to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua pro transitu gentium armigerorum militum favore ecclesiae pro tuenda civitate Bononiae contra Gallos. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* On the passionate grief of Julius II., see Lettres de Louis XII., III., 188; SANUTO, XIV., 7–8, 11; and DESJARDINS, II., 567. On the 25th Feb., 1512, the very day on which the disastrous tidings reached Rome, Julius II. had addressed a *Brief to universis civibus ac populo dilect. civit. nostrae Bononiae, warning them against coming to terms with the enemy and the Bentivogli, and commanding them to return to their allegiance to the Holy See. State Archives, Bologna, Q., Lib. 5.

† *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 568, 571.

‡ SANUTO, XIII., 490; XIV., 7–8; BROSCH, Julius II., 241 *seq.*, 357.

occupation of the Papal States by Cardinal Sanseverino, and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples.* At the end of March, Gaston de Foix left Brescia and began to march southward on the Romagna.† Raymond of Cardona prudently retired before his too able adversary, but the latter succeeded in forcing a battle by turning aside to besiege Ravenna. At any cost this city, which contained the magazines for supplying the army, had to be defended. Thus, on Easter Sunday, the 11th of April, 1512, the two hosts met on the banks of the Ronco about two miles from Ravenna. "This battle was the most sanguinary that had been fought on Italian soil since the days of the Huns and Goths."‡ Gaston's infantry

* DESJARDINS, II., 576; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 85, ed. 3.

† On his campaign of 1512 see ADAMI and LUCIANI'S papers in the Riv. Milit. Ital., 1890-91.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 244; *cf.* 357. On the battle of Ravenna, *cf.* in the first place the numerous contemporary reports in SANUTO, XIV., 126 *seq.*, 132, 145, 148, 151, 154 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*; J. Guicciardini's letter printed in the Arch. St. Ital., XV., 308 *seq.*; FR. GUICCIARDINI, X., c. 4; Fr. Pandolfini's Report in DESJARDINS, II., 581 *seq.*; COCCINIUS, *loc. cit.* (see KRIEGER, 52 *seq.*); Mémoires de Fleurange (Robert de la Marck), p. XXIX.; PETRUS MARTYR, XXV., c. 483-484; JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi Ferrar., Leonis X., Davali Pescarae; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 227 *seq.*; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 86 *seq.*; LUIGI DA PORTO, 296 *seq.*; the Portuguese Report of the 23rd April, 1512, in Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 164 *seq.*; Guido Postumo Silvestri's Report, published by Renier on the special occasion: Nozze Cian-Sappa-Flandinet (Bergamo, 1894), 244 *seq.*; Colec. d. documentos inedit., LXXIX., 231-299 (Relacion de los sucesos de las armas de España en Italia en los años de 1511 a 1512 con la jornade de Rávena); finally, Giov. da Fino's Report from Cod. Vat. Urb. 490, in TOMMASINI, Machiavelli, I., 706-708. I also saw this Report in the Cod. Urb. 1512, f. 58-60, of the Vatican Library. Here, and in GUICCIARDINI and LANDUCCI, 315, the number of the slain is stated as in the text; in some other writers it is still higher. But the lowest figure gives a much larger comparative loss than is found even in modern battles. Cardinal Cesi

was composed of German and Italian as well as French soldiers; his army numbered about 25,000, that of the League 20,000.

The fight was begun by the artillery, the Duke of Ferrara's guns especially doing splendid service. Jacopo Guicciardini, writing to his brother Francesco, then Florentine Envoy in Spain, says: "It was horrible to see how every shot made a lane through the serried ranks of the men at arms, sending helmets and heads and scattered limbs flying through the air. When the Spaniards found themselves thus being blown to pieces without breaking a lance they dashed forward, and then the hand to hand fight began. It was a desperate one, and lasted four hours. When the first onset of the men at arms had been repulsed and those behind them had suffered severely, the rest turned and fled with the light cavalry. The Spanish foot soldiers held their ground alone and made a stubborn resistance, but they were for the most part ridden down by the heavy cavalry. On the French side the men of Gascony and Picardy fought badly, the Germans very well."*

The battle lasted from 8 a.m. till 4 p.m. and was finally won by the Ferrarese artillery and the steady endurance of the German troops. Of the 10,000 corpses left on the field, one-third belonged to the French army, and the other two-thirds to their enemies. The Papal Legate, Giovanni de' Medici, and two generals, Fabrizio Colonna and the Marquess of Pescara, were taken prisoners, and the whole army train of the League with their artillery and banners was captured. But the shouts of triumph from the French

in 1557 erected the well-known Colonna dei Francesi on the bank of the Ronco in memory of this fight. On the picture of it in the Palace of the Signoria at Florence, see VASARI, Opere (Florence, 1832 *seq.*), 1370 *seq.*

* Arch. St. Ital., XV., 308 *seq.*

ranks were quickly silenced when it became known that Gaston de Foix had fallen on the battlefield. The corpse of the young hero was brought into Ravenna on the following day; eighteen captured banners were borne before it.* In a few more days the whole of the Romagna was in the hands of the French. The warlike Cardinal Sanseverino entered Flaminia bent on the conquest of Rome and the deposition of Julius II.† The coalition against France, from which such great things had been expected, had utterly broken down. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the whole of Italy. It was said that various monstrous births had taken place in Ravenna, which were supposed to denote that the French had been sent into Italy by God as a punishment for the sins of the Italians.‡

On the 14th of April the news of the disaster at Ravenna reached Julius II.; when it became known in Rome the whole city was terror-stricken. Every one knew that Gaston had threatened to conquer Rome and have a new Pope elected, and it seemed as if the enemy might at any

* Ravenna was cruelly plundered; see RICCI, Ravenna dopo il sacco del 1512 (Bologna, 1883). In 1515 Francis I. ordered a splendid monumental tomb to be erected in honour of Gaston de Foix, but it was never completed, and portions of it are now scattered over the world in various places. See MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 550 *seq.* The famous, delicately finished statue of Gaston by Agostino Buste is in the Museo Archeol. Milan. *Cf.* BOSSI, Monumento di Gastone di Foix (Milano, 1852). The young hero is represented in a peaceful sleep, a touch of triumph in the expression of the face recalling his victory, as Vasari says.

† *Cf.* Morone's Letter of the 21st June, 1512, in the Lett. di G. Morone, ed. PROMIS-MÜLLER, Miscell. di storia Ital., T. II. Torino, 1863.

‡ LANDUCCI, 314, 315; BERNALDEZ, II., 372 *seq.*; LANGE, Papstesel, 24.

moment appear at the gates, for all had heard of the lightning-like swiftness of his movements. The Florentine chronicler Cerretani states that it was feared that Rome would be sacked and the Prelates murdered.* For a moment, even the Pope's courage gave way and he talked of flight, which the Spanish Envoy strongly advised.† But while the terror of the Cardinals and Romans continued and could not be tranquillised, Julius II. recovered himself immediately and shewed his usual resolution and the resourcefulness which he always displayed under misfortune. On the 15th of April he told the Venetian and Spanish Ambassadors that he would spend 100,000 ducats and pledge his crown to drive the French out of Italy. Orders were at once issued for the equipment of fresh armaments.‡ The news brought to Rome on the 15th April by the Knight of S. John, Giulio de' Medici, who had been sent thither with a French safe-conduct by the captive Cardinal Legate, had no doubt much to do with the "marvellous elasticity" displayed by Julius II. after such a crushing blow.§ Giulio reported that the French loss had been enormous and that the army was completely demoralised by the death of its ablest leader. The new commander, La Palice, was not in the King's confidence and was at daggers drawn with the

* *Cerretani in Cod. II., III., 76, f. 381, of the National Library, Florence.

† So says the Venetian Envoy, an abstract of whose Despatch is preserved in SANUTO, XIV., 158–159. The speeches of the Spanish and Venetian Envoys in GUICCIARDINI, X., c. 5, which are repeated by most modern writers, can hardly be authentic. *Cf.* also Lettres de Louis XII., III., 230, 240, 244.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 124. *Cf.* SENAREGA, 613; JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., II., 47; AEGIDIUS OF VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 386–387; and the Portuguese Envoy's Report of 16th April, 1512, in Corp. dipl. Portug., I., 161–163, which has hitherto escaped notice.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 92–93, ed. 3.

haughty Cardinal Sanseverino. It would be quite out of the question for the French to march immediately upon Rome and there was a rumour that the Swiss were on their way to Italy. It was becoming more and more evident that the battle of Ravenna was a Pyrrhic victory for France. It was significant of the change in the situation that the Duke of Ferrara had retired into his own territory and the Duke of Urbino had offered to send troops to the Pope.* In compliance with the wishes of the Cardinals, who still continued to urge the Pope to make peace, he commenced negotiations with the French; but it is hardly conceivable that a statesman like Julius II. could be seriously anxious to come to terms just then when he would have had to purchase peace at the highest price.† He himself admitted that his only object in these negotiations was "to quiet down the French."‡ If Spain and England remained faithful he had still resources enough to prosecute the war, and every motive for desiring to do so, against an enemy who had wounded him both on the temporal and spiritual side where he was most susceptible, and mocked him on the stage and in satirical poems.§

At the same time the Pope's difficulties at this particular time were increased by the unsatisfactory state of his immediate surroundings; but Julius II. faced this additional peril with unflinching courage, and in a wonderfully short

* GUICCIARDINI, X., chap. 5. The rapid revulsion of feeling in Rome is shewn in the very cautious letter of the Envoy from Orvieto of the 18th April, 1512, in FUMI, 161–162. There is a markedly resolute ring in the **Brief to Cardinal Gonzaga of the 29th April, 1512. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† Such is the opinion expressed in almost identical terms both in REUMONT, III., 2, and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 299.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 185; *cf.* 189.

§ *Cf. supra*, p. 358 *seq.*

space of time succeeded in winning one-half of the Roman Barons with the Colonna, and overawing the others, as was the case with the Orsini.*

* BROSCH, Julius II., 247. The bitter hostility of many in Rome to the authority of the Church may be gathered from *Cerretani, *loc. cit.* National Library, Florence.

CHAPTER VII.

ARROGANCE AND DOWNFALL OF THE SCHISMATICS.—SUCCESS OF THE FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT THE LATERAN.—THE SWISS AS THE SAVIOURS OF THE HOLY SEE.—ANNIHILATION OF THE POWER OF FRANCE IN ITALY.

THE issue of the battle at Ravenna gave fresh courage to the schismatics at Milan. While the fortunes of war seemed still hanging in the balance they had been chary of carrying their proceedings against the Pope too far. Now, on the 21st April, 1512, it was resolved that he should be suspended from all spiritual or temporal administration and threatened with further punishments. His powers were held to have lapsed to the "Holy Synod." "But even the magic halo of victory which now encircled the French arms had not power enough to infuse life into the still-born offspring of the schismatics."* The aversion and scorn of the Milanese was not lessened, and even Louis XII. admitted to the Spanish Envoy that the Council was a mere farce, a bogey set up to intimidate the Pope.† The schismatics had to endure the humiliation of seeing the Milanese in troops throwing themselves on their knees before the captive Cardinal Medici, and imploring him to absolve them from the censures they had incurred by their participation in the war against the Pope.‡

* BROSCH, Julius II., 249; LEHMANN, 33; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 486 *seq.*

† GARNIER, Hist. de France, XXII., 358. Paris, 1788.

‡ JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. 2; ROSCOE, I., 510.

Meanwhile in Rome Julius II. pursued his task with unwearied energy and undaunted courage. The preparations for the Œcumenical Council * were never interrupted even for a moment by all the alarm and anxiety caused by the disaster at Ravenna. The war had obliged him to put off its opening to the 3rd May,† and although the situation was still full of difficulties, it took place at the appointed time.

The Lateran Council forms a landmark in the history of the world. More than eighty years had elapsed since the opening of that of Basle, which, instead of effecting the hoped-for reforms in the Church, had proved a source of revolutionary movements and endless confusion throughout all Christendom. Now another lawful Council was assembling in Rome, in the first place to defend the liberties of the Church against the revolutionary pretensions of France, and after that to deal with the great questions of the century, the reform of the Church and the war against the Turks.

A triduum of impetratory processions was held on the preceding days, and on the evening of the 2nd May the Pope went in solemn state, surrounded by the Swiss guards and with a strong military escort, to the Lateran Palace, where he spent the night. As disturbances from the French party were apprehended, the whole of the neighbourhood was occupied by a detachment of troops. On the following day, the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Council was formally opened in that venerable Basilica which bears the honourable title of "Mother and Queen of all Churches." Besides the Pope, 16 Cardinals (two had been prevented from attending by sickness) were present,

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 416 *seq.* *Cf.* DESJARDINS, II., 574 *seq.*

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 28–30.

100 Prelates (mostly Italian), of whom 70 were Bishops, 12 Patriarchs, and 3 Generals of religious Orders; in addition to these were the representatives of Spain, Venice, and Florence, and of the Roman Senators and Conservators, and finally a number of the Roman nobles. The office of guard of honour to the Council was undertaken by the Knights of Rhodes. They formed an imposing body in their splendid uniform, embroidered with gold and silk and with the white cross on their breasts. An immense crowd filled the church.* The Mass of the Holy Ghost was said by Cardinal Riario; after which an address in classical Latin was delivered by the General of the Augustinians, Aegidius of Viterbo, which was universally admired. He began with a frank exposition of the great evils prevailing in the Church, and the benefits to be derived from General Councils. The preacher explained the overthrow of the troops of the League at Ravenna as a Divine providence, intended, by allowing the Church to be defeated when she trusted in alien arms, to throw her back on her own weapons, piety and prayer, the armour of faith and the sword of light. With these she had conquered Africa, Europe, and Asia; since she had taken up with strange adornments and defences she had lost much. It was the voice of God which had summoned the Pope to hold the Council, to renovate the Church, to give peace to the nations, to avert further blows and wounds in the future. "Thou," said the Lord to Peter, "being once converted confirm thy brethren" (St. Luke, xxii., 32). "Hear ye this, most illustrious Princes of the Apostles, protectors and defenders of the city of Rome. Hearken to the sighs and moanings of the Church which You founded with your blood, which now lies prostrate, overwhelmed

* SANUTO, XIV., 203 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 417. See also Cerretani's *Report in Cod. II., III., 76, of the National Library, Florence.

beneath a flood of calamities. Have you not seen how in this very year the earth has drunk more blood than rain? Bring us help and lift her up out of the waves under which she is submerged. Hear the supplications of all the peoples of Christendom, prostrate at your feet. The Pope unites with the Fathers, the Senate and the whole world to implore your assistance for himself, for the Church, the city of Rome, these temples, these altars which enshrine your sacred relics, this Council which is taking up arms with the support of the Holy Ghost for the salvation of Christendom. We beg of you to obtain the reconciliation of all Christian Princes with each other, so that all may turn their swords against Mahomet the enemy of Christ, and that the charity of the Church, instead of being extinguished by all these waves and storms, may, through the merits of the Holy Cross and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which are commemorated together in the festival of to-day, be cleansed from all stains and glow again in all its pristine purity and splendour."*

When Aegidius had concluded, the Pope, having taken his place with the Cardinals in the Choir of the Basilica, bestowed the solemn Benediction and announced a plenary indulgence. He then intoned the first line of the "Veni Sancte Spiritus" and proceeded to the tribune for the Council which was erected in the nave. There the Litanies of the Saint were sung with the usual prayers, and the Cardinal-Deacon Luigi d'Aragona read the Gospel which narrates the sending forth of the disciples. To spare the Pope's failing strength, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese read his address for him. In it he briefly set forth the reasons for summoning the Council and the advantages that were to be hoped for from its assembling. He had long been

* LABBE, XIV., 18 *seq.*; HARDOUIN, IX., 1573 *seq.*; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 501 *seq.*; ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 413 *seq.*

desirous, he said, of calling a Council, but had deferred it on account of the incessant wars between the Christian Princes; now, however, the need for it seemed to him to have become urgent, in order to prevent the division which Satan had caused in the House of God from spreading further and infecting the whole flock of Christ. He prayed that all might have the fear of the Lord before their eyes, express their opinions freely, and seek rather to please Him than man. He hoped that, with the assistance of Almighty God, all evil customs might be amended, peace be re-established among Christian Princes, and, under the banner of the Cross, all the artifices of the ancient enemy be brought to naught. He now declared the Council opened and fixed the 10th of May for its first sitting.*

When the ceremonies were concluded the Pope made his thanksgiving in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. He was delighted at the way in which the solemnities had been carried through, referred laughingly to his anxiety beforehand lest there should be disturbances, and promised de Grassis a Bishopric as a reward for the admirable way in which he had organised and conducted the whole function.†

The first sitting took place as arranged, under the presidency of the Pope, on the 10th of May. Cardinal Grimani sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and Bernardino Zane, also a Venetian, was the preacher. In his sermon he first touched briefly on the Turkish danger and then proceeded to treat of the unity of the Church. This he defined as consisting: (1) in the union of the members with each other; (2) in their subordination to the Head, the Vicar of Christ; hence all who do not obey the Head, and who

* SANUTO, XIV., 203 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 35-39; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 506-507.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 418.

separate themselves from the other members of the body, are schismatics. As it is a law of justice, both human and divine, that offenders should be punished according to the nature of their offences, schismatics fall under a double penalty; they are cut off from the communion of the faithful, and they lose all their apostolical privileges, offices, and dignities. It is the duty of the Pope and the Fathers in Council to suppress heretics and schismatics, and render them powerless to do harm, so that the evil may not spread nor the spark burst into a flame. The Pope then delivered a short address, reminding those present of what were the objects of the Council. He described these as the rooting out of schism, the reform of the Church, and the Crusade. Then the Bulls of July 1511, and April 1512, were read, and the officers of the Council appointed and sworn in by the Pope himself.*

The second sitting, at which the Council of Pisa was pronounced null and void, was held on the 17th. Over 100 Prelates were present at it.† The High Mass was sung by the Hungarian Cardinal, Thomas Bakocs. The sermon, preached by the General of the Dominicans, Thomas de Vio (Cajetanus), was a very remarkable one. The subject was the Catholic doctrine regarding the Church and Synods. He described the Church as the Holy City of Jerusalem seen by S. John (Apoc., xxi., 1 *seq.*) with her healing powers (the Sacraments), her apostles, pastors, teachers, and gifts, and the close mutual union subsisting between her inhabitants, like that between all the members of the same body. He pointed out how the Church was a city, how she was holy, the city of peace, Jerusalem, how, unlike the synagogue, she remains ever new and strong, how she has come down from Heaven and is built after the pattern of the heavenly

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 507–514; SANUTO, XIV., 224, 228.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 419.

kingdom. This Church, he went on to say, is governed by the Vicar of Christ, to whom all the citizens owe allegiance, not only each individually but as a body. The Pisan Synod possessed none of the notes of the true Church, and appeared rather to have risen up out of Hell than descended from Heaven. It represented only one nation and that but partially, was not universal, could not claim to be the city to which the strength of the Gentiles had come, or the multitude of the sea had been converted (Isaias, lx., 5). This assembly was neither holy nor lawfully convened, was stained with error, subordinated Peter to the Church, the Pope to the Council, set the members above the head, and the sheep before the shepherd. It cannot be called Jerusalem, for it possesses neither peace nor order, but on the contrary aims at undermining the noble order of the Roman Church and wages war against her; and is like the city and tower of Babel, generating nothing but confusion. She is new, but in a very different sense from the newness of the true Church; she is the offspring of Constance and Basle. The Pope should be the mirror of the Power, the Perfection, and the Wisdom of God. He manifests the power of God when he girds himself with his own sword, for he possesses two swords, one which he shares with temporal princes and another which is reserved to him only. This latter is the sword of the spiritual power for the destruction of errors and schisms. The power of the Pope should be combined with the image of the Divine Perfection, which consists in loving-kindness. To this must be added wisdom, and this wisdom is specially displayed in the calling of the present Council, which should manifest it more and more by realising the hopes that are entertained of it and making the Church such as the spirit shewed it to the beloved disciple.*

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 514–516.

It is significant of the change which had come about in the views of the majority of theologians at that time, that this outspoken condemnation of the false Conciliar theory called forth no contradiction.* The evils which this theory, the offspring of a period of almost boundless confusion, had brought upon the Church and the world had come to be very widely recognised. The weakness of the schismatics and the success of the Lateran Council shewed how completely the Catholic view, that no Council could be salutary for the Church that was not held with and under the Pope, had gained the upper hand.

At the conclusion of Cajetan's address, a letter from the King of England on his alliance with the Pope was read; and then another from the King of Spain, accrediting his Counsellor, Hieronymus de Vich, as Envoy from himself and his daughter Joanna, Queen of Castile, to act as their representative at the Council, and support Julius, the rightful Pope, against the schismatics. Next followed the reading of the Papal Bull confirming and renewing the censures pronounced against the pseudo-Council. At the same time, in view of the political situation, and the probability that representatives of other nations might be expected later, and also the coming Summer heats, the next sitting was adjourned to the 3rd of November.†

While England had now definitely joined the League against France, the Emperor of Germany also was gradually drawing nearer to the Pope, who held out hopes of an

* MAURENBRECHER, Kathol. Reformation, 107. *Cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 423–424. On Cajetan, *cf.* WETZER und WELTE, Kirchenlexikon, II., 1675 *seq.*, ed. 2. At the same time, the resolutions of the Castilian Royal Council, amongst other things, in DÖLLINGER, III., 200 *seq.*, shew that the Conciliar ideas still survived to a considerable extent.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 516–517; *cf.* SANUTO, XIV., 242 *seq.* 267.

advantageous peace with Venice. That Julius should have been successful in persuading Maximilian to conclude an armistice with the Republic for ten months "was a great step in advance. The Emperor did not join the League, and his friendship with France remained ostensibly intact; but the position he now took up was unfavourable to her and advantageous for the allies." In April, through Cardinal Schinner,* he gave permission to the Swiss, who were marching to help the Pope, to pass through his dominions and supplied them with provisions.†

At the end of May, the Swiss contingents, numbering in all 18,000 men, met in Verona, where Cardinal Schinner presented to his countrymen, "as loyal and chivalrous defenders and protectors of the Holy Church and the Pope," a cap of honour adorned with gold and pearls, and an ornamented sword, as gifts from Julius II. and symbols of the political independence of the Confederation.‡ This acknowledgment was well-deserved, for it was reserved to these brave mountaineers to strike the final blow which

* The Brief addressed by Julius II., on 18th April, 1512, to Schinner, and which the latter forwarded to the Confederation, is to be found in German in FUCHS, II., 331. The original is in the State Archives, Zurich.

† HUBER, III., 396; ULMANN, II., 447; GISI, 46 *seq.* Hitherto it has been supposed that the Papal diplomatist, Ennio Filonardi, had been sent by Julius II. to Switzerland. WIRZ, E. Filonardi (Zurich, 1894), shews that he did not go there till 1513, when he was sent as Nuncio by Leo X.

‡ DIERAUER, II., 412 *seq.*; GISI, 63 *seq.* The hat and sword were, in accordance with a resolution of the Diet of Baden, left at Zurich, and are still preserved in the City Library there. They are engraved and described by G. v. WYSS in the Neujahrsblatt for 1859 of the City Library at Zurich, "Die Geschenke Papst Julius II. an die Eidgenossen." The sword is also reproduced in the work, Zürich und das Schweizerische Landesmuseum (1890), plate 21. See also DÄNDLIKER, Gesch. der Schweiz, II., 313.

decided the issue of the war in Italy; they were the saviours of the Holy See. Though, no doubt, political and financial considerations had their weight in determining this expedition, a spirit of very genuine religious enthusiasm was by no means wanting amongst the Swiss.* Zwingli, the open-air preacher of Glarus, writing to his friend Vadian in Vienna, says: "The Swiss have seen the deplorable state to which the Church of God, the mother of Christendom, has been reduced, and they think it both wrong and dangerous to permit this rapacious tyrant to remain unpunished."†

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of the Swiss in Italy, Maximilian recalled the German foot-soldiers, which formed practically the core of the French army, and had materially contributed to its victory at Ravenna. At the very moment that it was thus weakened it found itself threatened by four armies at once—the Papal troops under the Duke of Urbino, and the Spaniards, Venetians, and Swiss. No reinforcements could be hoped for from France, as the army at home had not a man to spare from the defence of the frontiers against the attacks of England and Spain. Since the death of Gaston de Foix, the French force in Italy had been left without organisation, spirit, or plans. The Romagna was first evacuated, and soon Upper Italy was also abandoned. On the 14th June the Swiss sat down before Pavia, which capitulated after a short siege. Upon this the whole Duchy of Milan rose against the French, who had made themselves universally hated.‡

Now that it was becoming more and more evident that the battle of Ravenna had been but a Pyrrhic victory, the

* GISI, 48, and DIERAUER, II., 413.

† ZWINGLII Opera, ed. Schuler et Schulthess, IV., 169 (Turici, 1841). *Cf.* HEER, U. Zwingli als Pfarrer von Glarus, 22 *seq.* (Zürich, 1884); DIERAUER and GISI, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* GISI, 53 *seq.*

schismatics found their position untenable. On the 4th of June they decided to remove to Asti. Their departure was more like a flight than anything else, and gave Cardinal Medici the opportunity of escaping.* But even at Asti they found it impossible to remain, and soon had to move on to Lyons. Here the only act of the assembly was to demand a subsidy from the French clergy and the University of Paris, and thus "without any formal dissolution, the French Council disappeared from the scene." †

Genoa also had cast off the yoke of France, chosen Giovanni Fregoso as Doge, and declared herself independent.‡ Rimini, Cesena, and Ravenna returned to their allegiance to the Pope. On the 13th of June the Duke of Urbino took possession of Bologna in the name of the Church.§ The Papal troops now turned back to subdue Parma and Piacenza, which Julius II. claimed as heir to the

* On the 3rd June to Pieve del Cairo on the Po. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 59; LEHMANN, 34; CREIGHTON, IV., 152; and Arch. St. Lomb., X., 381–395 (with Docts of Leo X.). Their flight is painted by Vasari in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; there is also a picture in Pieve which has reference to this event. In my opinion, it is a mistake (*cf. infra*, Chap. 10) to connect Raphael's picture of the deliverance of S. Peter in the Stanze with this occurrence.

† MAURENBRECHER, Kath. Ref., 105; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 518–520; LEHMANN, 34; SANDRET, Concile de Pise, 453; MAULDE, Origines, 135, 325–326. The report of a correspondent in France which reached Venice on the 11th Sept., 1512, says ironically: Papa Bernardin [=Carvajal] stava mal in tal modo che credo ch' el lasserà la mitria. On Papa Bernardino, see also GRUMELLO, 138.

‡ *Cf.* Giov. Fregoso's triumphant **Letter to King Ferdinand, dat. Genoa, 6th July, 1512. I found the original in Fonds Espagn., 318, of National Library, Paris.

§ On the 15th of June, 1512, Julius II. granted faculties to the Card. Leg., Giov. de' Medici, for absolving the city of Bologna from all the Church censures, only excepting the adherents of the Bentivogli. Lib. Q. 5. State Archives, Bologna.

Countess Matilda. On the 20th, Ottaviano Sforza, Bishop of Lodi, entered Milan as the Pope's lieutenant.* On the 28th, La Palice, with the remnants of his army, arrived, broken and hopeless, at the foot of the Alps. Thus Louis XII., after having stirred up a schism and striven to annihilate the Pope, ended by losing in ten weeks not only all the fruits of his victory at Ravenna, but also all his possessions in Italy, including even Asti, which belonged to his own family. "The soldiers of Louis XII. have vanished like mist before the sun," writes Francesco Vettori, without having fought a single battle, and almost without having defended a single town.† That which Julius had been striving with all his might for years to achieve, was now brought about by a sudden turn of events, so unexpected, that Raphael in his fresco in the Vatican has symbolically represented it as a miracle.‡

It was on the 22nd of June that Julius II. received the first detailed account of the rout of the French in a letter from Pavia from Cardinal Schinner. He read the whole letter through first in silence; then, turning with a beaming countenance to the Master of Ceremonies, "We have won, Paris," he exclaimed, "we have won!" "May God give your Holiness joy of it," answered de Grassis, to which the Pope immediately added, "And to all the faithful souls whom He has at last deigned to deliver from the yoke of the barbarians." Then he unfolded the letter again and read it from beginning to end to all who were present. Immediately afterwards he announced his intention of going on the following day to his former titular Church, S. Pietro in Vincoli, to give thanks there to God. Though

* DIERAUER, II., 414; GISI, 56 *seq.*

† VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 287. See also PARIS DE GRASSIS' diatribes against the French, Döllinger's ed., 420, and GISI, 62.

‡ See on Raphael's picture, *infra*, Chap. 10.

far from well, he had himself carried thither on the 23rd and remained for a long time absorbed in prayer before the High Altar. How wonderfully everything was changed. S. Peter's chains were indeed broken; the Italian poets sang of Julius as the liberator of Italy.* On the 27th he received four delegates from Bologna, who had been sent to sue for pardon.† In the evening the whole city suddenly burst into a flood of light. This was to celebrate a fresh victory, the liberation of Genoa, his own native city. Cannon thundered from St. Angelo and fireworks blazed all over the city. The Pope returned to the Vatican in a solemn triumphal procession, accompanied by his whole Court and all the officials, carrying torches. The cry of "Julius, Julius," rose on all sides. "Never," says the Venetian Envoy, "was any Emperor or victorious general so honoured on his entry into Rome as the Pope has been to-day." A universal amnesty was proclaimed and alms distributed to all the convents. "Now God has left us nothing more to ask from Him," he said, "we have only to pour forth our gratitude for the splendour of our triumph."‡

Commands were issued for a triduum of processions of thanksgiving and other rejoicings to be held throughout the States of the Church as well as in Rome. On the same day, 27th June, Briefs were despatched to all parts of Christendom desiring the faithful to celebrate the liberation of Italy and of the Holy See. As a lasting memorial of these events the Pope presented to the Church of S. Peter some splendid vestments and a golden

* ROSCOE, Leo X., II., 404 *seq.*

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 321, 323-327, which contradicts Guicciardini's statement that Julius wanted to destroy Bologna. On earlier accounts of the victory, see SANUTO, XIV., 401, 404.

‡ SANUTO, XIV., 450, 453, 457-458; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 327-330.

altar-frontal with an inscription, saying that it was a votive offering to God and the Princes of the Apostles in thanksgiving for the "liberation of Italy."* At the same time Julius was far from forgetting to whom next to God he was most indebted for his victory, and showered rewards on the stalwart Swiss. In a Bull of 6th July, 1512, he bestowed on them in perpetuity the title of "Protectors of the liberty of the Church," and also sent them two large banners.† One of them bore the Papal tiara with the keys and the inscription, "Pope Julius II., nephew of Sixtus IV., of Savona"; on the other the family arms of the Pope were depicted with the keys and the motto: *Dominus mihi adiutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo* (The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man can do unto me). Every township which had sent a contingent to the army received a silken banner, with the arms of the place and a religious picture, the subject of which they were permitted to choose, embroidered or painted upon it. These gifts admirably corresponded with the character of the people, at once martial and pious. Many of these banners have been preserved to the present day.‡ In addition to these marks of honour, Julius

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 330-331. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 97, ed. 3, gives a fragment of the Brief to the Florentines; they permitted the clergy to hold the processions, but refused to allow any other festivities. NARDI, I., 431. *Cf.* TOMMASINI, I., 574. On the 26th of July a deputation from Piacenza came to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and a similar one from Reggio arrived in September. RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 70-71.

† Brief of the 5th July in Eidgenöss. Abschiede, III., 2, 632-633. *Cf.* ANSHELM, IV., 260; new edition, III., 327 *seq.*, and OECHSLI, Quellenbuch, 259.

‡ *Cf.* BRIDEL, Drapeaux donnés par les Papes aux Suisses. Conservateur Suisse, III. (1813), 344 *seq.*; GISI, 239 *seq.*; VÖGELIN, Gesch. der Wasserkirche und d. Bibl. zu Zürich, 120; Züricher Neujahrsblatt (1859), p. 6 *seq.*; DIERAUER, Das Toggenburg unter äbtischer Herrschaft, St.

granted several spiritual favours to the Swiss, and bestowed the Countship of Vigevano on Schinner.*

To no one was the complete discomfiture of the French so crushing a blow as to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara. It left him absolutely helpless at the mercy of the Pope whom he had treated with such insolence. Trusting to the friendship of the Colonna and of his brother-in-law Gonzaga of Mantua, and also armed with a safe-conduct from Julius, he came to Rome on the 4th of July to endeavour to save what he could. The Pope willingly absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures, but insisted on his giving up Ferrara and accepting Asti instead. The Colonna strove in vain to mediate in his favour; and soon he began to feel that he was not safe in Rome. In this he was not mistaken, for Julius would have had no scruple in detaining and imprisoning him. He resolved, therefore, to

Galler Neujahrsblatt for 1875 (here there is an engraving of the Toggenburg banner); FRICKER, Ein Panner Julius II. in Baden, Anz. für Schweiz. Gesch. (1874), p. 45; J. MEYER and H. STÄHELIN, Die päpstl. Fahne der Stadt Frauenfeld, in d. Thurg. Beiträgen, XXVII. (1887). The corner-pieces of the banner sent by the Pope to Berne were discovered and are described by PFARRER J. STAMMLER, Der Paramentenschatz im Hist. Museum zu Bern, 129 *seq.* (Bern, 1895). Also the banner belonging to the district of Saanen with its puzzling inscription, which I think has been correctly interpreted by STAMMLER in the Anz. für Schweizer. Alterthumskunde (1895), No. 3, is in the Museum at Berne. In a Brief of the 20th Dec., 1512 (to be found, as H. Jos. Joller kindly informs me, in the Niederwald Archives at Wallis), Julius II. bestowed a decoration on the Niederwald flag. On the favours granted to Basle see DESIMONI, Fiorino d'oro di Basilea al nome di Papa Giulio II. dell' anno 1513, in Atti d. Soc. Sav., II., 691 *seq.*, and Julius II.'s Letters of the 10th Sept. and the 20th and 29th Dec., 1512, in the City Archives, Basle. On the origin and significance of Papal gifts of honour, such as the Rose, Hat, Swords, etc., see R. DOWLING in the Dublin Review (1894), p. 619 *seq.*

* GISI, 63, 240.

fly, and with the help of the Colonna succeeded in getting away on the 19th of July. The Pope was extremely indignant and instituted proceedings against him as a rebellious vassal.*

A Congress of the interested powers was held in Mantua in August for the reorganisation of political relations which the war had left in utter confusion. Here it soon became plain that victory had sown dissension amongst the members of the League. There was only one point upon which all the allies were agreed, and that was that Florence must be punished for holding to France as she had done and refusing to join the League, and for harbouring the schismatics. It was resolved that the Medici should be restored, and a combined Papal and Spanish army was despatched to effect this. On the 30th August the Spaniards conquered Prato, and cruelly sacked it. Upon this the Florentines yielded, and in September the Medici returned, first the gentle and attractive Giuliano, later the Cardinal, and took the government of the city into their hands.† The question

* SANUTO, XIV., 479, 480–482, 484–485, 491, 509, 510, 511, 514, 524, 538, 570, 594; XV., 34, 76–77; Lettres de Louis XII., III., 299 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1512, n. 71 *seq.*; and CREIGHTON, IV., 273–274; SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 98; CARPESANUS, 1286; Letter of Alfonso's from Rome to Card. Ippolito on Julius' demands in CAPPELLI, Lettere di L. Ariosto (Bologna, 1866), p. CXLIII; GISI, 57; BROSCH, Julius II., 255 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 37, n. 2; SEMPER, Carpi, 9. Alfonso's flight is mentioned in the *Acta Consist., f. 36. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.) The original of the letter of safe-conduct for Alfonso, in which Julius explains that it is only for the Duke's person and not for his State (SANUTO, XIV., 455), is in the State Archives, Modena, Bolle.

† *Cf.* VILLARI, Machiavelli, II., 151 *seq.*; PERRENS, II., 497 *seq.*; GUASTI, Il Sacco di Prato (Bologna, 1880), 2 vols. On Julius II.'s dissimulation in regard to Card. Soderini, see VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 290. See also the Report in SANUTO, XV., 29 *seq.*, 52 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 101, 105

as to who should have the Duchy of Milan was decided at the Congress of Mantua. Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian desired to secure it for their grand-son Charles, but the Swiss and Julius II., who did not wish to see any foreign power established in Lombardy, succeeded in arranging that it should be bestowed on Massimiliano Sforza, the son of Lodovico Moro; who became a fast friend of the Swiss Confederation.* On the 8th of October, however, Parma and Piacenza were separated from the Duchy and included in the States of the Church. Reggio had already, on the 4th of July, submitted to the Pope; and sent Envoys later to Rome to make their profession of obedience, expressing themselves in very humble terms. A contemporaneous historian remarks that this was the first time since the donation of King Pepin that a Pope had possessed this city.†

But in spite of all these successes there was still a reverse side to the medal. "With the exception of the Pope and the Swiss none of the allies were completely satisfied. The Emperor, whose chief object had been to push a formidable rival out of Italy, now realised with dismay that he had only succeeded in substituting the Pope for France."‡ The appropriation of Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio by Julius

seq., 123, 141 *seq.*, and in Appendix, N. 88, *Giuliano de' Medici's Letter of the 31st Aug., 1512. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

* DIERAUER, II., 418 *seq.*; GISI, 67 *seq.* Julius II. congratulated M. Sforza in a Brief of 19th Aug., 1512, printed in Lettres de Louis XII., III., 308–309.

† CARPESANUS, 1288; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 102, ed. 3; ROSCOE, II., 401 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 39. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 252. On the submission of Reggio see *Riformag., 1512, July 4. (Archives in Reggio.) *Cf.* L. CHIESI, Reggio nell' Emilia sotto Giulio II., Leone X., Adriano VI., 11 *seq.* (Reggio, 1892). Here also are the particulars of the mission from Reggio.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 263. *Cf.* GISI, 66 *seq.*

was felt as a blow at the Imperial Court, and it is not surprising that Maximilian's attitude was far from friendly when the Pope's further wishes came to be dealt with. The feeling in Spain was very much the same as in Germany. Under these circumstances Ferrara had to be left alone, especially as the behaviour of the Duke of Urbino did not inspire confidence in his intentions.* The power of the Swiss also somewhat weighed on the Pope; but his greatest anxiety was the uncertainty as to the intentions of King Ferdinand. He heard with alarm that the Spanish army was marching from Tuscany towards Lombardy. "If, as rumour now whispered, and as indeed became partially the fact afterwards, he was going to embark in a private war of acquisition here without troubling himself about the rights of the League or the claims of Venice, he would then obtain a point of vantage in the north of the peninsula from which, in combination with his legitimate claims in the south, he could stretch out his arms over the whole, and have the Holy See entirely at his mercy."† This made it of the highest importance for Julius to be on the most friendly terms with the Emperor in order to counterbalance the power of Spain. To ensure the complete success of the Lateran Council, also, the co-operation of the Emperor was most necessary. The majority of the Christian Princes (Spain, Portugal, England, Scotland, Hungary, Norway, and Denmark)‡ had all declared in its favour, and France had been laid under Interdict in August;§ but to complete her isolation and that of the

* LUZIO, Mantova e Urbino, 206.

† BROSCH, Julius II., 263. *Cf.* LEO, V., 260. The Brief of 1st Oct., 1512, in which Julius II. warns Card. Schinner against Spain, is in SANUTO, XV., 217 *seq.*

‡ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 53, 82–84; Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 154, 173 *seq.*; SANUTO, XIV., 56 *seq.*

§ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 97, and SANUTO, XV., 9, 32.

Council of Lyons, the adhesion of the Emperor was essential.* Thus, when in the late Autumn of 1512 Matthæus Lang, Maximilian's most trusted and influential adviser,† appeared in Rome, the Pope's joy knew no bounds. The haughty prelate assumed the air of an emperor, but every effort was made to satisfy and win him.‡ In all the cities of the States of the Church he was received with honours, and the Pope gave special orders to his Master of Ceremonies that in Rome his entry should be accompanied with every possible manifestation of consideration and welcome.§

Lang is described by contemporary writers as a handsome man with fair hair, looking about forty years of age.‖ He arrived in Rome on the evening of the 4th November, and sent his people to the apartments prepared for them, while he himself went at once incognito to the Vatican, where Julius II. was burning with impatience to meet him. That no manifestation of regard might be wanting in the welcome of the man upon whom so much depended, the Pope came out as far as the first antechamber to receive him. On the same evening they had a long private interview, and Lang spent the night in the Vatican. On the following day he made his official entry into Rome with

* CREIGHTON, IV., 160; HUBER, III., 398.

† VETTORI, 296, remarks that Gurk ruled the Emperor: Io governava come voleva e si usava dire in quel tempo, non che il primo uomo che avesse in corte sua lo Imperatore fusse il vescovo (Gurgense), ma che il primo Re avesse il vescovo appresso di se, era lo Imperatore. As yet, unfortunately, we have no satisfactory biography of Matthæus Lang; A. SCHOPF'S work, Ein Diplomat Kaiser Maximilian's (Wien, 1882), is quite inadequate. *Cf.* REUMONT in the Hist. Jahrb., III., 501 *seq.*

‡ SCHEURL, Briefbuch, 112.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 424; SANUTO, XV., 307, 318; LANDUCCI, 331; and GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined., VI., 147.

‖ SANUTO, XV., 327.

all possible pomp. "During my whole term of office," writes the Papal Master of Ceremonies, "I have never seen a more splendid pageant: it was like a triumphal procession." At first it was proposed that the College of Cardinals and the whole of the clergy should meet him outside the gates. But the majority of the Cardinals objected to this as an honour which had never been accorded to any but crowned heads; but in every other particular his reception was that of a King. Cardinals Bakocs and Leonardo Grosso della Rovere met him at the foot of Monte Mario, and placed him between them, a token of respect which he at first declined with affected humility. At the Ponte Molle the Senator of Rome and his officials awaited him. At the Porta del Popolo, in accordance with the usual etiquette, the Cardinals took their leave, and were replaced by the Governor of Rome and the Maggiordomo of the Palace. The streets were lined with spectators, all the Envoys took part in the procession, and the guns of St. Angelo shook the old building to its foundation with their noisy welcome. Night had fallen before the procession reached the Vatican, which was illuminated, and where Lang's official reception by the Pope now took place.*

The principal difficulty in the negotiations of the first few days lay not in the relations between the Pope and the Emperor, but in those of the latter with Venice. Throughout the Summer Julius had been labouring to induce the Venetians to yield as far as possible to the Emperor. But the negotiations had all failed, for Maximilian required the Republic to give up Verona and Vicenza, and to pay down a

* Pierius Valerianus in FREHER, II., 292 *seq.*, and the Venetian Envoys in SANUTO, XV., 325 *seq.*, describe Lang's arrival and entry as eye-witnesses. Sanuto gives the 3rd as the day of arrival, while Pierius Valerianus and the *Acta Consist. name the 4th. *Cf.* also PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 424.

sum of 250,000 ducats for the fiefship of Padua and Treviso, with the addition of a yearly toll of 30,000 ducats. The Venetians refused to accede to these terms, and demanded the retrocession of Verona, for which, however, they were willing to pay an annual tribute to the Emperor during his life. When, on the 7th November, the Venetian Envoys gave to the Pope, who had acted as intermediary between them and Maximilian, their final answer declining to accept his terms, Julius II. for the third time reversed his political course. In spite of the urgent remonstrances of the representatives of the Republic and many of the Cardinals and the efforts of the Spanish Envoy, who tried to induce him to defer his decision, the Pope determined at once to conclude a close alliance with the Emperor. He was firmly convinced that both ecclesiastical and political considerations imperatively demanded this measure, and on the evening of the 29th of November the agreement between Julius II. and Maximilian was signed. The Emperor engaged to defend the Pope against all attacks, repudiated the schismatics, acknowledged the Lateran Council, washed his hands of the Duke of Ferrara and the Bentivogli, and handed over Reggio and Modena for the present to the Pope. Julius II. promised to support Maximilian against Venice with both spiritual and temporal weapons if she persisted in her refusal to relinquish Verona and Vicenza, and to pay tribute for the other imperial fiefs; to assist him with spiritual arms against the Flemings, and to grant him in Germany a tax of a tenth on the clergy if the electors would also consent.*

On the same day, in a Secret Consistory, Lang was admitted into the College of Cardinals; but, at his own express wish, his nomination was not yet published, and

* SANUTO, XV., 333, 336, 337, 339, 350, 384 *seq.*; LE GLAY, I., 513 *seq.*; LANZ, Einl. 128 *seq.*; GISI, 80 *seq.*

the Pope also dispensed him from the obligation of wearing a Cardinal's dress. On the 24th of November an open Consistory was held, at which the Swiss Envoys were received, and Lang's elevation to the Cardinalate was also announced, although he still refused to assume the insignia of his rank. The reason which he gave for this was that he was anxious "that the object of his mission should not be misunderstood."* On the 25th of November the new alliance was formally announced in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo.† Ferdinand of Spain also promised to help against Venice if she refused to yield.

The answer of the Republic consisted in entering into close relations with France, which led, in March 1513, to a definite alliance. The Pope had been anxious to prevent this, and in consequence had not as yet pronounced the censures of the Church against Venice. The result of this union with France was again to prevent the allies from doing anything against Ferrara.‡

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 425 *seq.*; SANUTO, XV., 361; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 90; LE GLAY, I., 515; and LANDUCCI, 332; also J. DEL BADIA. According to this passage, ULMANN'S statement, II., 454: "Gurk successfully resisted the publication of his elevation to the Cardinalate, which took place in the Secret Consistory," is not quite correct. ULMANN cites elsewhere, *loc. cit.*, a Letter from Lang to Maximilian of 24th Nov., 1513 (Archives, Vienna), which makes it appear as if he had not accepted the Red-hat until then. In the *Acta Consist., f. 36, there is no mention of Lang's nomination; on the 3rd Dec. he is still called *electus Gurcensis*.

† *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40.

‡ BROSCH, Julius II., 266 *seq.*; LANZ, Einl., 129. On the announcement of Treaty on the 25th, see SANUTO, XV., 380, 383 *seq.* The address delivered by Aegidius on that occasion appeared in a (scarce) contemporaneous tract of which I found a copy in the Manzoni Library, which, alas! has since (1892) been scattered to the winds: Oratio habita post Tertiam Sacri Lateran. Concilii Sessionem: in Ecclīa diue Marie uirginis de Populo: per Fratrem Egidiū Viterbien. Ordinis sancti

The price which Julius II. consented to pay in order to secure the adhesion of Maximilian to the Council, shews how far this Pope was from being the mere politician that many have tried to make him out. Any one who had counted on finding him so absorbed in politics as to be indifferent to the intrigues of the schismatics, would have been utterly mistaken. On the contrary, there is no doubt that the revolt in the Church was a heavier blow to Julius II. than any of his political reverses. Although it was plain that the attempts of the schismatics had completely failed, he could not be satisfied till the movement was entirely extirpated.*

The winning over of the Emperor was the crowning victory in the rapid succession of the Pope's triumphs, and was to be published to all the world. The third sitting of the Council was held on the 3rd of December. Though the Pope had long been ailing, and the weather was stormy and rainy, he was determined to be present at it. One hundred and eleven members attended it. The High Mass was sung by Cardinal Vigerio and the usual sermon preached by the Bishop of Melfi, the subject being the unity of the Church. After this the Secretary of the Council, Tommaso Inghirami, then read the letter from the Emperor accrediting Lang as his plenipotentiary and procurator at the Council, and denouncing the *Conciliabula* set up by the King of France at Tours and at Pisa. Lang, who appeared in lay attire, read a declaration from the

Augustini Eremitar. Generalē: de Federe inito inter Iuliū Secūdū Pont. Max. et Ill'. Maximilianū Imperatorem. *s. a. et l.* (probably Rom., 1512), in 4°.

* It appears from the Reports of the Venetian Envoys in the beginning of December, in SANUTO, XV., 411, that Julius still feared that a French Anti-pope might be set up. The same Reports also shew (*loc. cit.*, 344–350) that his first object in allying himself with Maximilian was to secure a complete victory over the schismatics.

Emperor repudiating the schism of Pisa, and announcing his adhesion to the Lateran Council, and at the same time made his profession of obedience to the Pope in his own name and that of his colleague Alberto da Carpi. At the close of the proceedings the Bishop of Forli read a Papal Bull again declaring all the acts of the Pisan Council null and void, laying France under Interdict, and appointing the 10th of December for the next sitting.*

Encouraged by his recent successes, the Pope now determined to lay the axe to the root of the schismatic movement in France. It was decided that proceedings should be commenced against the Pragmatic Sanction. It had, in fact, become urgently necessary to do away with this law, which had been revived by Louis XII. No lasting triumph of the Church over these schismatic tendencies was possible as long as it remained in force.†

The fourth sitting of the Council was held under the presidency of the Pope himself on the 10th of December. Nineteen Cardinals, 96 Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, 4 Abbots, and 4 Generals of religious Orders were present, besides the representatives of the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Florentines, and the Swiss Confederation. The first business was the reading of the letter from the Venetian Government of 10th April, 1512, accrediting Francesco Foscari as their representative at the Council; and after this Louis XI.'s letter of 27th November, 1461,‡ on the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Upon this a monition was issued, summoning all upholders of the

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 525 *seq.* The Report in SANUTO, XV., 359 *seq.*, 384 *seq.*, should be added to the references there given. Lang had another conversation with the Pope after the sitting, and then, without returning to his residence at the Orsini Palace on Monte Giordano, started at once for Milan. *Loc. cit.*, 384.

† HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 528.

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, III., 138 *seq.*

Sanction in France, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, to appear before the Council within sixty days to give an account of their conduct. The fifth sitting of the Council was fixed for the 16th February, 1513, at the close of this term, and at it the Pragmatic Sanction would be dealt with and resolutions in regard to it adopted, in accordance with Canon Law. A special commission was appointed to institute the necessary preliminary investigations. Then a Bull was read confirming former Papal decrees on the Pragmatic Sanction, the nullity of the acts of the Pisan Council, and the reform of the Court officials. The address at this Council, the last at which Julius II. was present, was delivered by the Apostolical Notary Cristoforo Marcello of Venice. It substantially consisted of an enthusiastic panegyric on the Pope. "Julius II.," the speaker said, "in a most just war against an enemy far stronger than himself, had personally undergone the extremes of heat and cold, all sorts of fatigues, sleepless nights, sickness, and even danger of death without flinching. At his own expense, with unexampled generosity, he had equipped an army, liberated Bologna, driven the enemy (the French) out of Italy, subdued Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, brought joy and peace to his country, and earned for himself an immortal name. Still greater was the glory that awaited him at this present time in the works of peace, the reform and exaltation of the Church, which was groaning under so many evils and threatened by traitors within and enemies without; which had brought up children who despised her, and had so often poured forth her complaint in mournful chants, but now raised her eyes full of joy and hope to the bridegroom who had come to deliver her. The Pope would be her physician, pilot, husbandman, in short, her all in all, almost as though God were again on earth." *

* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 528-531, in referring to Marcello's con-

Certainly Julius II. had good cause to be satisfied with the splendid successes of the last half-year. Nevertheless, both as an Italian and as a Pope, the preponderance of Spain in Italy could not but fail to be a source of anxiety and vexation to him. The knowledge that this was "largely due to his own action must have made the trial all the greater, and the prospect for the future was not improved by the fact that the heir-presumptive of the King of Spain was also heir-presumptive of the Emperor in whose hands so large a portion of Venetian territory was now gathered."* In his near surroundings on all sides Julius could not escape from the consciousness of Spanish influence. He felt it in his dealings with the Colonna, at Florence, in Siena, and in Piombino, and an utterance of his, preserved by Jovius, shews how it galled him. Cardinal Grimani, in conversation with him one day, made an allusion to the foreign sovereignty in Naples, and the Pope, striking the ground with his stick, exclaimed: "If God grants me life I will free the Neapolitans from the yoke which is now on their necks."† No doubt his restless spirit was again

cluding words, remarks: "This phrase, which had already been employed by Gregory II., Ep. I. ad Leon. Isaur., in speaking of S. Peter, is an oratorical figure borrowed from the language of Scripture (Ps. LXXXI., 1; St. John, X., 10, 34, 35). *In terris* adjoining *Deus* indicates the limits of its application." On this *sitting*, *cf.* also SANUTO, XV., 411 *seq.*, and ROHRBACHER-KNÖPFLER, 423 *seq.* The truly Catholic Duke George of Saxony, although not invited to the Council, fully realising that the reform of the Church could only be effected in the closest union with its centre, appointed the General of the Dominicans, Thomas de Vio (Cajetan), to act as his Procurator there (the 9th Feb., 1513); see BRIEGER'S Zeitschr., III., 603, 606 *seq.*; BUDDEE, Nik. von Schönberg, 3.

* REUMONT, III., 2, 43.

† JOVIUS, Vita Alfonsi. SANUTO, XIII., 319, 349, shews how much the power of Spain was dreaded in Rome, even at the end of 1511. *Cf.* also GISI, 89 *seq.*

meditating new efforts and enterprises when the body at last finally broke down.

For a long time past Julius II. had been ailing. He had never wholly recovered from his serious illness in August 1511, although his iron will enabled him to conceal his sufferings so effectually that even those who were constantly in contact with him were for some time deceived. At last, however, he had to confess to himself that his days were numbered. On the eve of Pentecost, 1512, he felt so weak after Vespers that he told his Master of Ceremonies that in future he would not attempt to officiate in solemn functions, he had not strength enough to go through the ceremonial. When some of the Cardinals congratulated him on the freshness of his complexion and said he looked younger than he had done ten years earlier, he said to de Grassis: "They are flattering me; I know better; my strength diminishes from day to day and I cannot live much longer. Therefore I beg you not to expect me at Vespers or at Mass from henceforth." All the same he took part in the procession on Good Friday. On the eve of the Feast of S. John the Baptist he made a pilgrimage to the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which brought on an attack of fever.*

At the end of November he paid one of those short visits to Ostia† which he always thoroughly enjoyed, and returned so much refreshed that he was able to attend the third and fourth sittings of the Lateran Council. But even then it was observed that the Pope was singularly restless. On the second Sunday in Advent he went to his Palace at S. Pietro in Vincoli because he could go out

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 419 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 417.

† Julius II. went down to Ostia with Lang and some of the other Envoys on the 27th Nov., 1512, returning to Rome on 1st Dec. *Acta Consist., f. 36. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

walking there with greater freedom; but from that time forth he changed his residence almost daily. One day he went to S. Croce, the next to S^ta^ Maria Maggiore, then back to S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, or S. Eusebio; striving in vain to escape from the sense of distress which always pursued him. On Christmas Eve, when Paris de Grassis came to tell him that it was time for Vespers, Julius said: "You had better tell the Sacred College and the Sacristan of the Palace to bring me the holy-oils, for I feel very ill. I shall not live much longer."* The Master of Ceremonies could not believe that he was so ill as he thought himself, but others, as the Venetian Envoy, saw plainly that his condition was serious, though his strong will upheld him and enabled him still to attend to affairs as usual. At the end of December one of the Captains of the Swiss Guards predicted that the end was not far off.† The health of the aged Pontiff was no doubt unfavourably affected by the constant vexations and anxieties caused by the Spanish preponderance in Italy. After Christmas he was unable to leave his bed. He could not sleep and disliked all food. He was attended by eight physicians considered the ablest in Rome, but none of them could find out the cause of his malady.‡ "The Pope is not exactly ill," writes the Venetian Envoy on the 16th January, 1513, "but he has no appetite; he eats nothing but two eggs in the whole day; he has no fever, but his age makes his condition serious; he is harassed with anxieties." In

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 426–427.

† SANUTO, XV., 412, 449.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 427. Here it is distinctly stated that the Pope had been ill, and kept his bed ever since Christmas; thus BROSCH, Julius II., 273, is completely in error in writing, "In the last days of January, 1513, the Pope, then seventy years old, sickened."

addition to his uncertainty as to what King Ferdinand meant to do, Julius II. had reason to fear that the Swiss were preparing to ally themselves with France.*

All the efforts of the physicians failed to relieve the sleeplessness and want of appetite. Though they recommended as much rest as possible, the Pope, trusting in the strength of his constitution, would not give up his work, and received both Cardinals and Envoys while in bed;† but he did not conceal the truth from himself that he was slowly passing away. On the 4th of February he called Paris de Grassis to his bed-side and told him with great seriousness and resignation that his end was very near; he put himself into God's hands, recovery was out of the question; he thanked God for not taking him away suddenly, as had been the case with so many of his predecessors, and giving him time to recollect himself and die like a Christian and make his dispositions for time and eternity. He had confidence, he said, in de Grassis and believed that he would faithfully carry out all his wishes. In regard to his funeral, he desired that it should not be penurious, but at the same time that there should be no pomp or display. He did not deserve honours, for he had been a great sinner; but, nevertheless, he wished to have all things ordered decently and not to be treated in the unseemly manner that some of his predecessors had been. He would trust all these matters to the discretion of his faithful servant. He then gave orders on all

* SANUTO, XV., 501, 503–504. Bembo also says that his apprehensions in regard to the course of events in Italy hastened Julius's death.

† SANUTO, XV., 531–532; *cf.* 547; FRAKNÓI, Erdödi Bakócz Tamás, 128. See also the Portuguese Report in Corp. Dipl. Port., I., 187, and Ludovicus de Campo Fregoso's *Letter to the Doge of Genoa, dated Rome, the 22nd Jan., 1513. (State Archives, Genoa.) Roma, Lettere, Mazzo, 1.

necessary affairs, entering into the minutest details, and bequeathed a sum of money to be given to needy priests to say Masses for his soul.*

On the 10th November the Venetian Envoy reports that "the Pope has shivering fits, and negotiations are already beginning for the choice of his successor." The city was in a ferment, but the Cardinals took stringent precautions to preserve order. In the following days the Pope grew worse, but still did not quite give himself up.† He was able to give orders for everything which concerned the fifth sitting of the Council (on the 16th February), and made it a special point that in this sitting the ordinances for the prevention of simony in Papal elections should be re-enacted and made more stringent. On the 19th de Grassis came to him to learn his wishes as to the date of the next sitting. "I found his Holiness," he says, "looking quite well and cheerful, as if he had had little or nothing the matter with him. When I expressed my surprise and joy at this, and congratulated him, he answered smiling, 'Yesterday I was very near dying, to-day I am well again.' He replied to all my questions as far as he could. He was anxious that the Council should be held on the appointed day, whatever might happen, in order not to put off the term fixed for the submission of the King of France and his adherents; but the Assembly was not to deal with any matters except those which had been arranged for at the preceding session. Cardinal Riario was to preside as Dean of the Sacred College. He then granted Indulgences to me and mine, and, to shew me how well he felt, asked me to drink a glass of Malvoisie with him. When I told this to the

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 428.

† SANUTO, XV., 554, 555. On the excitement in the city, see the Report of the Swiss. P. FALK in Anz. f. Schweiz. Gesch. (1892), p. 375.

Cardinals, who were weeping, thinking him at the point of death, they could hardly believe me."*

The improvement, however, was only transitory, and the faithful de Grassis now rendered to his master the last and kindest of services. Hitherto the Pope's attendants, in dread of alarming him, had put off sending for the Holy Viaticum. De Grassis now insisted that this should be done, and he relates how the Pope, having previously made his confession, received the Holy Eucharist on the 20th of February with the greatest devotion.† After this, Julius II. had all the Cardinals summoned to his bed-side, and begged for their earnest prayers as he had been a great sinner and had not ruled the Church as he ought to have done. He admonished them to fear God, and observe the precepts of the Church. He desired them to hold the election in strict accordance with the law and the prescriptions in his Bull on the subject. The election belonged to the Cardinals only, the Council had nothing to do with it. All absent Cardinals, with the exception only of the schismatics, were to be invited to take part in the Conclave. In his own person he forgave these latter with his whole heart, but as Pope it was his duty to exclude them from the Conclave. He said all these things in Latin, in a grave and impressive manner, as though he were addressing a Consistory. Then, in Italian, he expressed his wish that the Vicariate of Pesaro should be granted in perpetuity to the Duke of Urbino. After this he bestowed his Blessing

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 429-430. There is a confusion here in the chronological order.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 431-432. The Portuguese Report, though essentially in agreement with that of the Master of Ceremonies, differs slightly in saying that Julius at first refused the Viaticum, but afterwards, on Sunday, 20th February, asked for it himself. He also says that he communicated with great devotion ; Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 189-190. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 560, 565.

on the Cardinals; all were in tears, including the Pope himself.* He met death with wonderful calmness and steadfastness of soul.† He refused to accede to some other wishes expressed by his relations; thinking only of the good of the Church. In his last hours his attendants gave him a draught containing a solution of gold, which had been pronounced to be an unfailing specific by one of the quacks of that day.‡ During the night of the 20th–21st February, 1513, his strong spirit passed away, clear and conscious to the last.§

The body was immediately laid out in S. Peter's, and afterwards placed beside the remains of Sixtus IV. We are told that the people flocked to S. Peter's in extraordinary numbers, and an eye-witness says that as much honour was paid to the corpse as if it had been the body of S. Peter himself.‖ "Rome felt that the soul which had

* PARIS DE GRASSIS in Raynaldus, ad an. 1513, n. 7–8, and GATTICUS, 434–435. *Acta Consist., f. 37b. (Consistorial Archives.) The Testamentum Julii papae in the Acta Tomic., II., 192–193, in part directly contradicts some of de Grassis' statements, and is evidently a later compilation. The long speech in BERNALDEZ, II., 442 *seq.*, is also unauthentic. A. FERRONUS, Vita Ludovici XII., also adds a good deal of unhistorical embroidery to the last words of Julius II., a fact which GUETTÉE, VIII., 124 *seq.*, has not observed. For a good criticism on Ferronus, *cf.* RANKE, Zur Kritik, 140 *seq.*

† Venetian Report of the 21st Feb. in BROSCH, Julius II., 363, from SANUTO, XVI., f. 4. *Cf.* also SENAREGA, 618–619, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 51.

‡ See the Mantuan Report in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 107–108, ed. 3, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 51.

§ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 432. *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 557, 561; the contemporaneous notices in GORI, Archivio, IV., 244; Lettres de Louis XII., IV., 58; and *Acta Consist., *loc. cit.* Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

‖ See the *Report of N. Gadio, 3rd March, 1513. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

passed from her had been of royal mould."* Paris de Grassis writes in his Diary: "I have lived forty years in this city, but never yet have I seen such a vast throng at the funeral of any former Pope. The guards were overpowered by the crowds insisting on kissing the dead man's feet. Weeping, they prayed for his soul, calling him a true Pope and Vicar of Christ, a pillar of justice, a zealous promoter of the Apostolic Church, an enemy and queller of tyrants. Many even to whom the death of Julius might have been supposed welcome for various reasons burst into tears, declaring that this Pope had delivered them and Italy and Christendom from the yoke of the French barbarians."†

The chronicler Sebastiano de Branca speaks of Julius in the same tone.‡ But it was not in Rome only that Julius II. was popular; the great services which he had rendered to the Holy See were largely appreciated in the States of the Church also, as may be seen from the enthusiastic praises bestowed on him by Bontempi of Perugia.§

At the same time, there were many who judged him very differently. A man who had played such an energetic and effective part in the affairs of his time could not fail to have bitter opponents, who, as was the custom of the day, assailed him after his death with stinging satires;‖ but setting

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 108, ed. 3.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 432, who has not found out that this passage had been printed long ago in GATTICUS, 435-436.

‡ CREIGHTON, IV., 297.

§ Fo ricordo con le lacrime agl' occhi e con gran dolore nel cuore come papa Giulio passò da questa vita presente, la cui vita quanto sia stata laudabile et onorevole alla Sedia Apostolica e a tutta la Cristianità, e la sua morte quanto sia perniciosa, mai dire si potria, e quanto abbia esultato la Chiesa di Dio e le città, quale lui ha ricuperato alla prefata Sede Ap. che a tutto il mondo è noto. Arch. Stor. Ital., 1 Serie, XVI., 2, 263.

‖ *Cf.* SANUTO, XV., 561 *seq.*; ROSCOE, II., 39; N. Antologia (1894), pp. 135 *seq.*, 528 *seq.* The best known pasquinade on Julius II. is the

aside this and similar ebullitions of party hatred, there is no doubt that the verdict pronounced by many serious historians on Julius II. has been the reverse of favourable; while it is also extremely questionable whether this verdict has been well-grounded.

It is certain that the very general acceptance of Guicciardini's dictum, that Julius II. had nothing of the priest in him but the cassock and the name, is an injustice. When the Florentine historian made use of the phrase, he was telling the story of the Pope's winter campaign against Mirandola.* Undoubtedly at that time Julius II. was

work entitled: F. A. F. Poetae Regii libellus de obitu Julii P. M. Anno Domini 1513 (reprinted in HUTTENI, Opp., IV., 421 *seq.*). This work is evidently written from a French point of view; by many Hutten was supposed to be its author (*cf.* STRAUSS, Hutten, 75, ed. 2). Luther attributed it to Erasmus, who denies it in a letter to Campeggio. From this letter we gather that even then there was great uncertainty as to who had written it. "Some say," Erasmus writes, "*Hispanus quidam* composed it, others ascribe it to the poet Faustus Andrelini, others to G. Balbi"; he has made many enquiries, but can get no certain answer. Recent investigators have been equally unsuccessful. The anonymous translator of this Dialogue (Julius II. Ein Gespräch vor der Himmelsthüre; translated from the Latin of G. Balbi. Berlin, 1877) attributes it without any proof to the Bishop of Gurk, while Balbi's biographer, Retzer, concludes his examination with *Non liquet.* Geiger inclines towards Erasmus, who was believed by many of his contemporaries to have been the author: *see* Vierteljahrsschrift für Renaiss., II., 131. The most probable hypothesis seems to be that it was written by the poet Publio Fausto Andrelini, an ardent partisan of the French, with whose opinions the pasquinade agrees; see Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., XIX., 188. FÖRSTER, Lucian in d. Renaiss., in the Archiv f. Litt.-Gesch., XIV., 344, 362 (Leipzig, 1886), thinks it certain. KNOD, Die Bibliothek zu Schlettstadt, 108 (Schlettstadt, 1889), is inclined to take the same view, but his arguments, as GEIGER in the Zeitschr. f. vergl. Lit.-Gesch., III., 489, points out, are not entirely convincing.

* GUICCIARDINI, IX., c. 4. The generalisation of the remark is mostly due to the passage in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 67, 108, ed. 3.

carried away by his eager temperament to violate the *decorum clericale* in a scandalous manner, and deserves grave blame for this as also for the violent outbursts of anger to which he so often gave way.* But to assert in a general way that Julius was "one of the most profane and unecclesiastical figures that ever occupied the Chair of S. Peter," that "there was not a trace of Christian piety to be found in him," and that he was so utterly worldly and warlike that he cared nothing for ecclesiastical obligations or interests, is quite unwarrantable and untrue.†

The Diary of his Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, who was by no means blind to his master's failings, shews in numberless places how faithfully Julius II. fulfilled his ecclesiastical obligations. As far as his health would allow he was regular in his attendance at all the offices of the Church; he heard Mass almost daily and often celebrated, even when travelling and when the start took place before daybreak. After his illness in 1510, when still unable to stand, he did not permit his weakness to prevent him from saying Mass on Christmas Day, and celebrated sitting, in his private chapel. However occupied he might be with political affairs, Church functions were never neglected.‡ In everything that regarded the government of the Church he was equally exact. His name is connected with a whole series of ordinances and admin-

* *Cf. supra*, p. 340 *seq.*, and p. 397. Julius also sinned from time to time against clerical decorum by going out hunting. But MAULDE, Machiavelli, II., 273, is wrong in supposing that fishing is also a forbidden recreation for the clergy.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 108, ed. 3; GISI, 92; and TSCHACKERT, 5. *Cf.* ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 213.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 23, 24, 27, 38, 42, 46, 58, 76, 78, 79–80, 98, 101, 103, 105, 108, 109, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 138, 143, 149, 151, 157, 158, 161, 166, 171, 190, 204, 207, 223, 227, 233, 241, 242, 256, 268, 270, 271, 281, 286.

istrative enactments, some of them of considerable importance.

Amongst them one that specially deserves mention is his severe Bull against simony in Papal elections, designed to prevent the repetition of the disgraceful practices which were resorted to at the election of Alexander VI. This document is dated the 14th January, 1505. It declares all simoniacal elections from henceforth null, and pronounces the severest penalties of the Church on all guilty of such practices. Further, it ordains that all intermediaries and agents, whether lay or clerical, and whatever their rank, whether Prelates, Archbishops or Bishops, or Envoys of Kings or States, who are implicated in a simoniacal election are to be deprived of their dignities, and their goods are to be confiscated. The Bull forbids all promises or engagements to be contracted by Cardinals or any other persons in connection with a Papal election and declares them null and void.* This Bull was not published till October 1510, from Bologna at the beginning of the war with France, and when it had been approved of by all the Cardinals then present: it was then sent to nearly all the Princes of Christendom.† At the Lateran Council it was again approved, re-enacted, and published as is stated in the Bull of 16th February, 1513.‡

In order to carry out more effectually the measures taken by Alexander VI. in 1501 for providing the new American

* Bull., V., 405 *seq.*; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 1 *seq.*; PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 214 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, Papstwahlen, 7 *seq.* PHILLIPS, V., 2, 839, erroneously places the Bull in the year 1506, although Mansi had already conclusively established its date as 1505. On the Theologians who drew up the Bull, see Innsbr. Zeitschr. f. Kathol. Theol., IV., 342 *seq.*; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, VI., 412; and The Month (March, 1895), p. 324 *seq.*

† SANUTO, XI., 530; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 533, note.

‡ Bull., V., 536 *seq.*

Colonies with Bishops, Julius II. in 1504 created an Archbishopric and two Bishoprics in Española (Hayti) and nominated prelates to these sees; but the fiscal policy of Ferdinand placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of the sending out of the newly-appointed Bishops, and after long delay and much tedious negotiation Julius at last gave way in order not to interrupt the work of conversion. By a Papal Brief of the 8th of August, 1511, the arrangements made in 1504 were cancelled, and two new Bishoprics erected in S. Domingo and Concepion de la Vega in Española, and in S. Juan in Porto Rico, and placed under the Archbishop of Seville, which was the seat of the administration for the colonies.* When in 1506 Christopher Columbus the great discoverer who had done so much to enlarge the sphere of the husbandry of the Church died, Julius II. interested himself in favour of his son Diego at the Court of Spain.†

The Pope equally took pains to promote the spread of Christianity in the regions discovered and acquired by the King of Portugal beyond the seas,‡ to which many missionaries were despatched. Preachers were sent to India, Ethiopia, and to the Congo. In the year 1512, Envoys from the latter place arrived in Rome.§ For a short time Julius II. cherished magnificent hopes of the conversion of Ismail the Shah of Persia, and tried to induce the King of Hungary to interest himself in

* *Cf.* Boletin de la R. Academia de Madrid, XX. (1892), 261 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, and EHRLE'S article, cited *supra*, p. 161. Julius confirmed the partition of this colonial possession agreed upon between Spain and Portugal in the Treaty of Tordesillas on the 25th Jan., 1506. See BAUM, 26.

† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 23; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 348.

‡ SCHÄFER, III., 83.

§ HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 405-406.

the question, but these bright dreams were soon dispelled.*

The Pope shewed his interest in the maintenance of the purity of the doctrines of the Church by appointing Inquisitors for the Diocese of Toul,† for the kingdom of Naples,‡ and for Benevento,§ and admonishing them to act with decision.

He interested himself in the conversion of the Bohemian sectaries, and to facilitate this permitted them to take part in Catholic worship. On the other hand, he took strong measures to put down the Picards.‖ A new doctrine, put forward by Piero de' Lucca, on the Incarnation of Christ, was carefully examined by the Pope's orders, with the result that it was solemnly condemned on the 7th September, 1511.¶ In Bologna in 1508 a heretical monk who had been guilty of sacrilege was burnt.** In Switzerland four Dominicans who had imposed on the people by false miracles were executed by his orders; and in Rome in 1503, and again in 1513, he took measures to repress the Marañas.†† In Spain and elsewhere he did his best to put

* ZINKEISEN, II., 557.

† Bull. Ord. Praedic., IV., 217.

‡ *Letter to Barnaba [Capograsso] ord. praedic. in regno Neapolit. heret. pravit. inquisit. Dat. u. s. (24th April, 1505). *Lib. brev. 22, f. 293. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* AMABILE, I., 96 *seq.*

§ *Letter to Bentivolus "commiss. noster," dated the 29th July, 1505. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 349. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ *Cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 536, and PIEPER, Nuntiaturen, 45.

¶ LEA, III., 603.

** SANUTO, VII., 393.

†† SYBEL'S Hist. Zeitschr., XXXVII., 313 *seq.*, and Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 187. *Cf.* also RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1509, n. 22, and on their hypocrisy JANSSEN, Kritiker, I., 17, and Deutsche Gesch., II., 52 *seq.*, ed. 15. SANUTO, XV., 216, mentions a heretical book which was examined by the Pope's orders. *Cf.* also FREDERICQ, Corp. Doc. Inquisit. (Haag, 1889), n. 411, and Rev. Hist., XLIII., 165, 169.

a stop to unjust or too severe proceedings on the part of the Inquisitors.*

In Sicily the Spanish Inquisition had been introduced in 1500, and in 1510 Ferdinand tried to establish it in Naples, but met with a determined resistance. Serious disturbances ensued ; the nobles and citizens combined together in opposing it, and the King, not feeling himself strong enough to carry the matter through, gave way. Julius II. gladly agreed to this ; in fact, the effect of the Spanish Inquisition was only to diminish his authority ; and it is not certain that he may not have encouraged the Neapolitans in their opposition.† He resisted the encroachment of the State on the liberties and rights of his Church, not only at Venice,‡ but in many other places also, and in consequence came into collision with the Government in England, in the Netherlands with the Regent Margaret, in Spain with Ferdinand, with Louis XII. in France, and with the rulers of Hungary, Savoy, and others.§

Julius II. was by no means blind to the need for reform within the Church. On the 4th November, 1504, the subject

* See HEFELE, Ximenes, 316. *Cf.* the *Brief — Bertono Facino Lacco : The Inquisitors who have been endeavouring to extort an acknowledgment from the petitioner on a false suspicion, are forbidden to proceed further against him, as he is prepared to clear himself on oath. Dat. Bonon., 1506, Dec. 15, A° 4°. (*Lib. brev. 25, f. 40b.) *Cf.* also the *Brief of the 5th Nov., 1509, to Antonius archiep. Granat. et consil. consilii generalis inquisit. regnor. Castelle et Legionis. *Lib. brev. 27, f. 730b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† AMABILE, Il Tumulto Napolitano dell' anno 1510 contra la s. Inquisizione (Napoli, 1888), and Il Santo Offizio, I., 93 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 118 *seq.* See also LEA, II., 287.

‡ See *supra*, 301 *seq.*

§ *Cf.* BUSCH, Tudors, I., 238 ; BROSCH, 162 ; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 50 ; *Lib. brev. 25, f. 42, 66, 67b, 210 ; also 28, f. 55. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) *Cf.* also *Brief of 12th March, 1505, in the State Archives, Florence.

was discussed in Consistory, and a Commission of six Cardinals appointed to deal with it; but those who were behind the scenes were of opinion that the only practical point to which the Commission meant to give their attention was the prevention of any fresh creation of Cardinals!* The exceptional difficulties, both political and ecclesiastical, with which Julius was beset on all sides throughout the whole of his reign, drove the larger question of reform into the background; but they did not hinder him from instituting many useful and salutary changes in individual cases, especially in convents. The Pope shewed his strong interest in the Dominican Order by a series of enactments for the renovation of their convents in Italy, France, and Ireland.† He forbade Dominican and Franciscan friars who were pursuing their studies in Universities to reside out of their convents.‡ He established the Congregation of S. Justina on a new footing, which was of the greatest advantage to it. The venerable mother-house of the Benedictines, Monte Cassino, which had been bestowed *in commendam*, was returned to the Order during his Pontificate. In the year 1504 he ordained that the Congregation of S. Justina should from henceforth bear the name of Congregatio Cassinensis:§ and in 1506 he affiliated the Sicilian Congregation also to Monte Cassino.‖

His plan for reuniting the separated branches of the Order of S. Francis into a single body was one which also tended in the direction of reform. The difficulties, how-

* Dispacci di A. Giustinian, III., 286; *cf.* 289, 299.

† Bull. Ord. Praed., IV., 217, 219, 221, 225, 241, 254, 260, 263, 268. *Cf.* the *Brief to the vicarius generalis fratr. praedicat. dat. Bolognae, 1507, Jan. 28. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 133.

‡ Bull., V., 472 *seq.*

§ Katholik (1860), I., 203; Stud. a. d. Benediktinerorden, XI., 583.

‖ Bull of 18th July, 1506, in the State Archives, Palermo. S. Martino delle Scale, n. 913.

ever, in the way of carrying this out proved so great, that he was forced to content himself with obliging all the smaller separate communities to unite themselves with one or other of the two main stems, the Conventuals or the Observantines. At the same time he expressly ordained that those which affiliated themselves to the Conventuals should have power to retain their stricter rule. Though most of the smaller communities very much disliked this measure still all finally submitted to the Pope's command.*

A Bull was issued on the 16th June, 1508, dealing with the reform of the Carthusians, and another on the 24th March, 1511, with that of the Italian Cistercians.†

In England Julius II. took measures for remedying the abuses connected with ecclesiastical immunities,‡ and in Basle he instituted proceedings against the Augustinian nuns of Klingenthal for immorality.§ Many enactments were issued to put a stop to the proceedings of unauthorised persons who went about demanding money in the name of the Church.‖ He also did what he could for the cause of morality in general, by the unfailing support and encouragement which he bestowed on the outspoken mission preachers, who did so much good amongst the mass of the people.¶

All the religious orders found in him a kind and helpful friend. The Order of S. John Gualbert of Vallombrosa,

* GRAMMER in Wetze und Welte's Kirchenlex., I., 670, ed. 2. *Cf.* also EUBEL, Gesch. d. Minoritenprovinz, 278.

† Bull., V., 469 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 404 *seq.*

§ In a *Brief of 28th March, 1505, to the Burgomaster and Council of Basle, Julius II. informs them that he has put the reform of Klingenthal into the hands of Bishop Christopher of Basle. Archives, Basle, 2540, A.

‖ *Cf.* Lib. brev. 25, f. 154, 294. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ See Vol. V. of this work, p. 180, note *.

the Benedictine Congregation of the Blessed Virgin of Monte Oliveto, the Augustinian Hermits and the Regular Canons of S. Augustine were specially favoured by him, and received many privileges. He confirmed the rule of the Franciscan Society of S. John of Guadelupe in Granada and the new Statutes of S. Francis de Paula, and settled many disputes between various religious congregations. He had a great liking for religious orders generally. During the Lateran Council many of the Bishops strongly urged him to take away some of their privileges, but this he steadily refused.*

Amongst other ecclesiastical acts of Julius II., we may mention here the revival of the constitutions of Boniface VIII., Pius II., and Innocent VIII. forbidding persons appointed to benefices to exercise any rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or administration until they had received their Apostolic Letters;† his ordinances against duelling;‡ and for promoting devotion to S. Anne,§ the Holy House at Loreto,‖ the Passion of Christ,¶ and the Blessed Sacrament;** and the introduction of the Processes for the Canonisation of Bishop Benno of Meissen and S. Francis de Paula.††

* For details see HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 537. The enactments of Julius II. in regard to Orders of Chivalry are in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1505, n. 6; 1507, n. 29.

† Bull., V., 408 *seq.*

‡ Bull., V., 474 *seq.*, and RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 29; 1509, n. 35.

§ See Katholik (1850), II., 137 *seq.*; (1878), I., 67; BEISSEL, Reliquienverehrung, 134 *seq.*; SCHAUMKELL, 24.

‖ RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1507, n. 26 *seq.*; TURSELLINUS, 160 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, III., 241.

¶ See Cod. Dipl. Sax., II., 10, 367.

** *Cf.* PIAZZA, 442 *seq.*; MIGUEL ANTONIO ALARCÓN, Biografia de la S. Doña Teresa Enriquez, llamada "La Loca del Sacramento," 49 *seq.*, Valencia, 1895.

†† RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 42; MAULDE, Origines, 67. Julius II.

Another work of his which was of great value in enhancing the solemnity and beauty of the Divine Offices in S. Peter's, was the endowment of the Papal Choir Chapel there, which from his time has in consequence been known as the Cappella Giulia.* "The motives which induced Julius II. to found the 'Cappella Giulia' were partly the desire not to depend on foreign talent, but to train native Romans as singers, and partly his wish to create a preliminary school in S. Peter's for the Papal Chapel, and finally, in order to ensure that the offices in that great sanctuary should be performed in a manner befitting its dignity."†

From all these things it is clear that the reproach that Julius II. was so absorbed in the building up of the external power of the Holy See as to pay hardly any attention to the internal affairs of the Church, is wholly unjust and untrue. But at the same time he cannot be exonerated from blame for having granted undue ecclesiastical concessions to various Governments under the pressure of political considerations. Such was the nomination of Cardinal d'Amboise as Legate for the whole of France in order to conciliate him and the King;‡

also gave orders for the examination of the miracles and virtues of Henry VI. See RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1504, n. 33; HERGENRÖTHER, VIII., 408.

* *Cf.* SYBELS Hist. Zeitsch., XXXVI., 162, and F. X. HABERL in the Vierteljahrsschrift f. Musikwissenschaft, III., 235 *seq.* (1887), who remarks: Before the 20th Sept., 1870, whenever the Pope celebrated mass in any of the Roman churches, the music during the mass was sung by the Cappella Palatina, but the solemn processional chant on entering was that of the Cappella Giulia. And to the present day on solemn occasions, as in Holy Week, when strangers think they are listening to the Sistine Choir, the style and the chants are those of the Cappella Giulia.

† *Cf.* F. X. HABERL, *loc. cit.*, 249. He has made a mistake, however, in the date of the Bull on the Cappella Giulia, printed in the Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.*, putting 1512 instead of 1513.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 234 *seq.* MAULDE, Origines, 132 *seq.*, rightly points out

the granting to the Spanish Government the patronage of all the churches in the West Indies,* and to the King of Portugal the appointments to benefices in his kingdom.† Concessions of a different kind, but many of them far from unobjectionable, were granted to Poland,‡ Norway, § Scotland, ‖ Savoy,¶ and the Swiss. At the same time Julius II. refused the extravagant demands of the Zurich Council, having warned the Swiss beforehand that though he was willing to grant them ecclesiastical privileges he could not go beyond what was right and fitting.**

As regards questions of reform it has been already demonstrated that Julius was by no means inactive in individual cases, and especially in dealing with convents. He was far too clear-sighted not to be aware that much more than this was wanted. The reform of abuses in all departments of the Church, and especially in the Roman

how unusual such a concession as that of making Card. d'Amboise *legatus a latere* for the whole kingdom was.

* Bull of 28th July, 1508; Coleccion de los Concordatos (Madrid, 1848); HERGENRÖTHER in Archiv. für Kirchenrecht, X., 15; PHILLIPS-VERING, VIII., 200. It is doubtful whether the supposed Bull of Alexander VI., dated 25th June, 1493, and granting to the Spanish Kings the patronage of *all* churches and benefices in the kingdom, really exists. See HERGENRÖTHER, *loc. cit.*, and PHILLIPS-VERING, *loc. cit.* On the extension of the rights of Provision granted by Innocent VIII. to the Spanish Government for Sicily to all benefices belonging to Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches, see SENTIS, 102.

† Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 104 *seq.*

‡ CARO, V., 2, 960 *seq.*

§ PALUDAN-MÜLLER, 240, 289; Hist. Polit. Bl., CVI., 346 *seq.*

‖ See **Brief to Jacobus Archiep. Glasguen., dat. Romae, 1509, Juli 28. *Lib. brev. 27, f. 559. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

¶ SCLOPIS, Antica legislaz. del Piemonte, 484; LEA, I., 425.

** *Cf.* Geschichtsfreund, XXXIII., 13 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1878), and ROHRER, on the so-called Concordat of WALDMANN in the Jahrb. f. Schweiz. Gesch., IV., 3–23.

Court, was the primary task of the Lateran Council, as the Pope himself in June 1511,* and again on other occasions, repeatedly declared. Previous to its opening in March 1512, Julius had nominated a Commission of eight Cardinals to deal specially with the reform of the Roman Court and its officials.† On the 30th March, 1512, a Bull was issued, reducing the fees in various departments, and intended to check abuses practised by officials of the Court.‡ The rest was to be settled by the Council. It is hardly fair to accuse Julius of indifference on this point, because he was interrupted by death just at the time that he was beginning to take the question seriously in hand.§ "It may, of course, be asked whether it would not have been better to have begun with the internal reformation of the Church, and then proceed to work for her external aggrandisement." The answer is obvious. The conditions created by the Borgia were such that, before the new Pope could do anything else, it was absolutely necessary to secure some firm ground to stand upon. How could a powerless Pope, whose own life even was not secure, attempt to attack questions of reform in which so many conflicting interests were involved? Julius II. saw plainly that his first official duty was the restoration of the States of the Church in order to secure the freedom and independence of the Holy See.

He was firmly convinced that no freedom in the Church was possible, unless she could secure an independent position, by means of her temporal possessions. On his

* SANUTO, XII., 243.

† See Brief, dat. 10th Mar., 1512, in DESJARDINS, II., 575; RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1512, n. 31; and Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 153 *seq.*

‡ A copy of this document is in the State Archives, Bologna.

§ In his last Bull of 19th Feb., 1513, the Pope mentions his plans of Reform. Bull. Vat., II., 349.

death-bed he declared that the whole course of his reign had been so thickly strewn with anxieties and sorrows, that it had been a veritable martyrdom.* This clearly proves that, as far as his wars were concerned, his conscience did not reproach him; he had no doubt of this necessity, and his motives were honest and pure.

It is, however, objected, the Vicar of Christ should not be a warrior. This objection completely ignores the two-fold nature of the position created for the Papacy by its historical development. Ever since the 8th Century the Popes, besides being Vicars of Christ, had also been temporal princes. As such they were compelled, when necessary, to defend their rights against attacks, and to make use of arms for the purpose. During the course of the Middle Ages the great Popes were again and again placed in this predicament. Even a Saint like Leo IX. betook himself to his camp without scruple. Of course it is taken for granted that the war is a just one, and for purposes of defence and not of aggression.† This was eminently the case in regard to the wars of Julius II. It is undeniable that when he ascended the Throne the rights of the States of the Church had been seriously violated, and that later the liberty of the Holy See was in the greatest danger from its enemies. At that time it was clearly a case of being "either anvil or hammer."‡ Thus it was possible for Julius II. not only openly to avow his intentions but also to maintain that his cause was just.

* RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1513, n. 9.

† *Cf.* BELLARMINE'S treatise, De Potestate S. Pontif., c. II., printed in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1513, n. 12. See also NOVAES, IV., 162 *seq.*, and DE MAISTRE, Du Pape, 210 *seq.* Inghirami's contemporaneous remarks on the question are interesting; see FEA, Notizie, 59; JOVIUS, De Vita Leonis X., lib. II., 33.

‡ BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3, with express reference to Julius II.

The world of that day appreciated the recovery of the States of the Church as a noble and religious enterprise.*

If the necessity of the temporal power is admitted, then the Head of the Church cannot be blamed for defending his rights with secular weapons;† but of course this necessity is denied, and was denied, though only by a small number, even in his own day. Vettori maintains that in the interests of religion the ministers of the Church, including her Head, ought to be excluded from all temporal cares or authority over worldly things.‡ The truth that the care and preservation of the States of the Church entails a danger of secularisation for the clergy lies at the root of this view. But though this danger exists, the perils and impossibilities for the Holy See and for the whole Church of the opposite situation are so great that no Pope would be justified in allowing her temporal possession to be taken away from her. Even such a man as Guicciardini, who on the whole in his judgment of Julius II. inclines to agree with Vettori,§ is found in another place to admit that, though in itself it would be a good thing if the Pope had no temporal sovereignty, still, the world being what it is, a powerless Head of the Church would be very likely to find himself seriously hampered in the exercise

* RANKE, Päpste, I., 37, ed. 6.

† Practically those who reproach Julius II. with his wars, do so because they contest the necessity of the temporal power. *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 110, ed. 3. The writer of a review of Brosch, in the Allg. Zeit. (1878), n. 73 Suppl., remarks: "The only point that one can blame in Julius II. is the end that he proposed, the founding (really the restoration) of the States of the Church, in fact, that he was more of a temporal prince than a spiritual ruler. But all in all he was a great man, and a unique figure in the series of the Popes."

‡ VETTORI, ed. Reumont, 304.

§ REUMONT, III., 1, 49.

of his spiritual office, or indeed reduced to absolute impotence.*

As a matter of fact this was a time in which no respect seemed to be paid to anything but material force, and the secular powers were striving on all sides to subjugate the Church to the State. Purely ecclesiastical questions were regarded merely as counters in the game of politics, and the Popes were obliged to consolidate their temporal possessions in order to secure for themselves a standing ground from which they could defend their spiritual authority. As practical politicians they thought and acted in accordance with the views of one of the speakers at the Council of Basle, who made this remarkable confession: "I used formerly often to agree with those who thought it would be better if the Church were deprived of all temporal power. I fancied that the priests of the Lord would be better fitted to celebrate the divine mysteries, and that the Princes of the world would be more ready to obey them. Now, however, I have found out that virtue without power will only be mocked, and that the Roman Pope without the patrimony of the Church would be a mere slave of the Kings and Princes."† Such a position appeared intolerable to Julius II. Penetrated with the conviction that, in order to rule the Church with independence, the Pope must be his own master in a territory of his own, he set himself with his whole soul to the task of putting a stop to the dismemberment of the temporal possessions of the Holy

* GUICCIARDINI, Opere inedite, I., 389. It is worth noting that in this passage, the Florentine historian who has so little love to the Popes approaches Bellarmine's view; the latter writes: Propter malitiam temporum experientia clamat, non solum utiliter, sed etiam necessario ex singulari Dei providentia donatos fuisse Pontifici . . . temporales aliquos principatus. De Rom. Pontif., Lib. v., c. 9.

† DITTRICH, Contarini, 151 *seq.*, 298; DE LEVA, I., 303 *seq.* *Cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, V., 90.

See and saving the Church from again falling under the domination of France,* and he succeeded. Though he was unable to effect the complete liberation of Italy, still the crushing yoke of France was cast off, the independence and unity of the Church was saved, and her patrimony, which he had found almost entirely dispersed, was restored and enlarged. "The kingdom of S. Peter now included the best and richest portion of Italy, and the Papacy had become the centre of gravity of the peninsula and, indeed, of the whole political world."† "Formerly," says Machiavelli, "the most insignificant of the Barons felt himself at liberty to defy the Papal power; now it commands the respect of a King of France."‡ The great importance of this achievement was made evident later in the terrible season of storm and stress which the Holy See had to pass through. If it would be too much to say that without its temporal possessions the Papacy could never have weathered those storms,§ it is quite certain that, without the solid support which it derived from the reconstitution of the States of the Church, it is impossible to calculate to what straits it might not have been reduced; possibly it might have been forced again to take refuge in the Catacombs. It was the heroic courage and energy of Julius II., which Michael Angelo thought worthy of being symbolised in his colossal Moses, which saved the world and the Church from some such catastrophe as this.

Thus, though Julius II. cannot be called an ideal Pope,

* HÖFLER, Roman. Welt, 256, rightly signalises this last as the greatest danger.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 105, ed. 3. *Cf.* AEGIDIUS VON VITERBO, ed. Höfler, 387, and JOVIUS, Vita Leonis X., lib. III., 55, and Vita Pomp. Col., p. 144.

‡ It is interesting to note that Inghirami speaks in a similar tone. See FEA, Notizie, 60.

§ This is what CREIGHTON, IV., 167, thinks.

he is certainly one of the greatest since Innocent III.* No impartial historian can deny that Julius II. in all his undertakings displayed a violence and want of moderation that was far from becoming in a Pope. He was a genuine child of the South, impulsive, passionate, herculean in his strength; but possibly in such a stormy period as was the beginning of the 16th Century some such personality as his was needed to be the "Saviour of the Papacy." This honourable title has been bestowed upon him by one who is not within the pale of the Catholic Church,† and no one will be inclined to dispute it. There still remains, however, another point of view from which Julius II. is a marked figure in the history of the world. He was the restorer not only of the States of the Church, but was also one of the greatest among the Papal patrons of the Arts.

* GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 125, calls him "the greatest Pope since Innocent III." SUGENHEIM, 391, also compares him to Innocent. ARTAUD-MONTOR, IV., 219, says of Julius II., that as a monarch he carried off the palm amongst all the occupants of the Chair of S. Peter, and though this may not make him one of the greatest (DE MAISTRE, 210), nevertheless, it certainly entitles him to rank as one of the great Popes. *Cf.* also Leo and Hase, in MÖHLER, Kirchengeschichte, II., 523. BROWNING also, in The Age of the Condottieri, 1409-1530 (London, 1895), speaks very appreciatively of Julius.

† BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 111, ed. 3, and REDTENBACHER, 4, agree with him. DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 521, calls Julius, "after Innocent III. and Albernoz, the third founder and restorer of the States of the Church."

CHAPTER VIII.

JULIUS II. AS THE PATRON OF THE ARTS.—THE REBUILDING OF S. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN.—BRAMANTE AS THE ARCHITECT OF JULIUS II.—THE SCULPTURE GALLERY IN THE BELVEDERE AT THE VATICAN.—DISCOVERIES OF ANTIQUE REMAINS.—BUILDING IN THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—THE GLORIES OF THE NEW ROME CREATED BY JULIUS II.

NOTHING so impresses on the mind the sense of the real greatness of the Pontiff who occupied the Chair of S. Peter from the year 1503, as the amount of attention that he found time to bestow on Art. When we consider the incessant and harassing anxieties, both political and ecclesiastical, and all the labours of his reign, the quantity and quality of what he left behind him in Rome and elsewhere in this respect are really amazing. At the beginning of the 16th Century, Rome, representing as she did the art of antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, was already the most beautiful and interesting city in the world.* But it is to the patron of Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, to the Pope who, even as a Cardinal, was such a generous friend of artists, that she owes the proud position that she now holds of being the ideal centre of æsthetic beauty for all its devotees throughout the whole world.† It was under his rule that the foundations were laid for most of those magnificent creations of architecture, sculpture, and painting

* *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 261 *seq.*; CIAN, Cortegiano, 165.

† See Vol. V. of this work, pp. 328, 368, and *supra*, p. 165.

which constitute by no means the smallest part of the magic charm of the Eternal City, and are a source of never-ending delight to both thinkers and poets.

The aspirations of Julius II. were in perfect accordance with those of his great predecessors Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. He took up their work where they left it, and continued it on the same lines. He too aimed at embodying the religious, regal, and universal spirit of the Papacy in monumental works of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and vindicating the intellectual supremacy of the Church, by making Rome the centre of æsthetic development for the great Renaissance movement. As with Nicholas V., family or personal aggrandisement was nothing to him. The fruit of all his wars was to be reaped not by his relations but by the Church; and equally all that "he did for Art was done for the honour of the Church and the Papacy." Thus, though under Julius II. Roman, like all Italian art was under the patronage of a Court, the spirit of that patronage was wholly different from anything which prevailed elsewhere. The importance for art of these "Courts of the Muses" consisted not so much in their character, as a rule, as in their number. The encouragement of art and of artistic culture in general was merely an essential part of a princely style of living. In contrast to this, the artist in Rome at the Court of Julius II. was called upon to bear a part in the realisation, if only for a few years, of a magnificent dream, the perfect fusion of two ages, the antique and the Christian, into one harmonious whole. Bramante's S. Peter's, Michael Angelo's ceiling in the Sistine, Raphael's frescoes in the Stanze, all devoted to the idealisation of Christian worship and doctrine and the supremacy of the Vicar of Christ, are the undying memorials of the aim and purport of the reign of Julius II.*

* SPRINGER, 102, 103 (I., 142–43, ed. 2); *cf.* also in Appendix, N. 89,

In spite however, of the close resemblance in their aims there is a considerable difference between the spirit of Nicholas V. and that of Julius II. While Nicholas V. patronised learning quite as much as art, with Julius even more than with Sixtus IV. art was the chief interest.* And in his

Aegidius of Viterbo's account of the Pope's *Declaration in regard to the building of S. Peter's. Bibl. Angelica, Rome.

* Julius II. was undoubtedly not a scholar. Both Nicholas V. and Leo X. did much more for literature and literary men than he did. FEA'S attempt, Notizie, 47, to rank him with Leo X. in this respect is quite a failure. See TIRABOSCHI, VI., 1, 266 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 2, 319, 360 *seq.*; and MÜNTZ, Raphael, 273. Nevertheless Julius II. was far from disliking learning or learned men, as is shewn by his solicitude for the Universities of Perugia (RANKE, I., 251, ed. 6), Lisbon (Corp. Dipl. Portug., I., 56 *seq.*), and Rome (see RENAZZI, I., 200 *seq.*; FEA, 68 *seq.*; and in Appendix, No. 54, *Brief of 5th Nov., 1507 (Secret Archives of the Vatican), as well as the patronage he bestowed on various scholars, and his friendly relations with them. The most distinguished of these were Sigismondo de' Conti (*cf.* Arch. St. Ital., 4 Serie, I., 71 *seq.*; XII., 265 *seq.*; and GOTTLOB in Hist. Jahrb., VII., 309 *seq.*), Tommaso Inghirami (see MARINI, I., 218 *seq.*; NOLHAC, Érasme, 68; Anecdot. Litt., II., 129 *seq.*), the Saxon Nic. von Schönberg (Prof. of Theology in the Roman University from 1510; he was frequently called upon to lecture in the Pope's presence; *cf.* BUDDEE, 3), Sermonino da Vimercate (see SIG. DE' CONTI, II., 390), Laurentius Parmenius (see *infra*), Theod. Gaza (see Anecd. Litt., IV., 368), Bembo, who was generously rewarded for succeeding in deciphering a MS. written in Tyrian characters (see Ep. famil., V., 8, and ROSCOE, II., 42 *seq.*). While still a Cardinal, and under great difficulties, Julius had taken considerable interest in the collection and copying of MSS. (MÜNTZ, La Bibl. du Vatican, 5-6). From this one would naturally gather that as Pope it was unlikely that he should have added nothing to the Vatican library, though the lacunæ in the records in the Roman State Archives and the Secret Archives of the Vatican make it impossible to prove that he did. This seems all the more improbable, as ALBERTINI, 35, says that Julius II. adorned the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli and that of SS. Apostoli with paintings, and also decorated his own private library. See the Report of the Mantuan Envoy in Appendix, Nos. 43 and 44. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.)

patronage of art he also displayed the true Rovere spirit, confining his plans to what was possible and practicable, and not giving the reins to his imagination to the extent that his two predecessors had done.* Splendid as his projects were, he undertook nothing without providing ample means for carrying out his plans.†

It is undeniable that Julius II. was singularly happy in the time in which he lived, which produced such men as those whose services he was able to command. But this does not lessen his merit. He deserves lasting honour for his sympathetic appreciation of their genius, which enabled him to attract them to Rome, and to stimulate their powers to the utmost by the kind of work which he demanded from them — nothing small or trivial, but monumental creations corresponding to the largeness of his own nature.‡ Thus, the great masters found free scope for their genius in

Under Julius II., G. Maffei of Volterra, Archbishop of Ragusa (*ob.* 1510), and Tommaso Inghirami were Custodians and Prefects of the Vaticana, also Demetrio of Lucca and, after his death in 1511, Lorenzo Parmenio and Jean Chadel of Lyons; when the latter died in 1512, Romulus Mammacinus was his successor (MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 11 *seq.*). On Demetrio see CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IX., 450, note 4. The extreme liberality with which MSS., since the time of Sixtus IV., were lent for the use of scholars even outside Rome (see Vol. IV. of this work, 458 *seq.*) was still maintained with certain precautions. Julius found himself obliged to make some stricter rules in regard to the use of documents in the Archives of the Camera Apostolica, as the privilege had been seriously abused (see MUNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 15 *seq.*). On Julius's private library, *cf.* ROSCOE, II., 47; CIAN in the Giorn. d. Lett. Ital., IV., 450; and *infra*, Chap. 10. On the coronation of a poet under Julius II., see LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40, and CREIGHTON, IV., 274–275.

* See Vol. II. of this work, 173 *seq.*

† SPRINGER, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 274; SPRINGER, 103; GSELL-FELS, Rom, I., 663. See also SYMONDS, Michelangelo, I., 128. (There was nothing of the dilettante about him.)

all its fulness, and nascent talent was fostered and developed. The home of Art was transferred from Florence to Rome. A world of beauty in architecture, painting, and the plastic art sprang up in the ancient city, and the name of Julius II. became inseparably united with those of the divinely gifted men in whom Italian art attained its meridian glory. "He began, and others went on with the work on the foundation which he had laid. The initiative was his; in reality the age of Leo X. belongs to him."* It was through him that Rome became the classical city of the world, the normal centre of European culture, and the Papacy the pioneer of civilisation.†

The resemblance between the spirit of Julius II. and that of Nicholas V. is most apparent in his architectural undertakings. The laying out of new streets and districts, the enlargement of the Vatican Palace, and the erection of the new Church of S. Peter, works which had been interrupted by the premature death of Nicholas V., were energetically resumed by him.

The Florentine architect, Giuliano da Sangallo, was one of Julius II.'s most intimate and congenial friends in his earlier days while he was still only a Cardinal. It was he who planned the magnificent structure of Grottaferrata, the buildings at Ostia, and the Palace at Savona. Giuliano shared his patron's voluntary banishment during the reign of Alexander VI., and during this time (1494) was introduced by the Cardinal to the French King, Charles VIII.‡

* REUMONT, III., 2, 383; *cf.* SPRINGER, 101; MINGHETTI, Raffaello, 106; and VON GEYMÜLLER, 344.

† *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 113, ed. 3, who observes, "The world-wide historical atmosphere, the monumental and ideal grandeur of the city banished every trace of provincialism from Roman art, and impressed on it the stamp of its own essential greatness."

‡ *Cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, II., 627, ed. 2, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, 407; J. DE LAURIÈRE, Giuliane de San Galle et les monuments

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, if when Julius II. became Pope, Sangallo soon appeared in Rome to recall himself to the memory of his old master, and to offer his services. He was first employed on some repairs in the Castle of St. Angelo, which the troubled times made urgently necessary, and on the 30th of May, 1504, he received an instalment of pay for this work, to be completed later by a larger sum.* After this, Julius continued to make use of him in various ways; in 1505 he made a drawing for a tribune for musicians (Cantoria),† and he seems to have been the Pope's chief adviser at this time in all matters of art. It was through him in the Spring of the year 1505 that Michael Angelo and Andrea Sansovino were invited to Rome.‡ Sansovino was called upon to erect a monumental tomb to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in S^ta^ Maria del Popolo; Michael Angelo's task was a tomb for the Pope himself. The plan which the great sculptor drew, and which Julius approved, was of such colossal dimensions that no church in Rome, not excepting the old S. Peter's, could contain it. Later, it was thought that the tribune begun by Rossellino for the new church of S. Peter might be adapted to receive this monument. But this had first to be finished and connected with the old building; and thus the work fell into

antiques du Midi de France, in Vol. 45 of the Mem. de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France, and REDTENBACHER, 97, 102. All that now remains of the Palace of Savona besides the courtyard is the northern façade, entirely of white marble, and a portion of the offices at the back. See GAUTHIER, Les plus beaux édifices de Gènes et ses environs (Paris, 1850), Pl. 64, 65; REDTENBACHER, 102; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, I., 199. See also SCHMARSOW'S Note on Albertini, 55.

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 74.

† The work was never carried out. See REDTENBACHER, 98 *seq.*; VON GEYMÜLLER, 74.

‡ SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 104 *seq.*; REDTENBACHER, 98

the hands of the architects.* At this moment the great master appeared on the scene to whom from henceforth almost all Julius II.'s architectural works were to be entrusted. This man was Donato Bramante, who had been working and studying in Rome since the year 1500.

In affording to "the most original architect of his time" the opportunity of putting forth all his powers, Julius II. rendered an inestimable service to Art. Bramante very soon came to occupy the position of a sort of minister of public works and fine arts at the Papal Court;† apartments in the Belvedere were assigned to him, as well as to the famous goldsmith, Caradosso;‡ the great architect accompanied Julius in all his journeys and planned all his fortifications; to him was entrusted the rebuilding of the Vatican and of the church of S. Peter, in which a suitable site was to be provided for the Pope's tomb.§

* SPRINGER, *loc. cit.*, 105; *cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 145 *seq.*, and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 384.

† VON GEYMÜLLER, 24.

‡ *Cf.* Costabili's *Despatch, dat. Rome, 11th Aug., 1508, who reports that at that time alcuni maestri et architectori li quali sono Abramante et Caradosso were residing in the Belvedere. State Archives, Modena.

§ The account which follows is mostly, though not quite in all points, founded on the results of Geymüller's researches, which are extremely thorough, though in several particulars JOVANOVITS, 82 *seq.*, differs from him considerably. *Cf.* REDTENBACHER'S articles in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 261 *seq.*, 302 *seq.*; X., 247 *seq.*; XI., Suppl., 829 *seq.*; XIII., 124 *seq.* (against him JOVANOVITS, Zu den Streitfragen in der Baugeschichte der Peterskirche zu Rom. Wien, 1878); XIV., Suppl., 543 *seq.*; XVI., 161 *seq.* REDTENBACHER and also BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER (Renaissance, 125) agree with Geymüller in essentials. It is naturally impossible to enter into the details of these difficult and complicated controversies. Many points will be made clear when GEYMÜLLER'S 2nd vol. appears, in which he and MÜNTZ together will publish all the documents relating to the building of S. Peter's. Meanwhile, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Les Architectes de S. Pierre de Rome d'après des documents nouveaux,

It is impossible to determine with certainty when Julius II. adopted the plans for the new S. Peter's. A writer on architecture, who has made the study of the plans and projects for the church the special task of his life, believes that the design of rebuilding S. Peter's occupied the Pope's mind in connection with the restoration of the Vatican Palace as early as 1503.* This would quite correspond with what we know of the character of the new Pope; but as yet we have no contemporaneous testimony to support this view, and the extremely constrained and difficult position in which Julius found himself at the outset of his reign is against the probability of his having immediately contemplated such a work as this, though, considering his sanguine temperament, this would have been far from impossible. It is not till the year 1505 that unmistakeable signs appear that the thought of the new S. Peter's and its adjuncts had taken root in his mind.† According to Vasari the

in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIX. (1879), 353 *seq.*; XX., 506 *seq.* For earlier works see BONANNI, Hist. Templi Vaticani, 50 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI'S Vità di Bramante, and PLATTNER, II., 1., 136 *seq.*

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 81.

† In his zeal to defend Bramante from the suspicion of having ousted Sangallo from his post, von Geymüller goes so far as to say: "Bramante was already in the Pope's service before Giuliano arrived (in Rome), and consequently could not have taken measures to supplant him." But Redtenbacher justly remarks that as yet we have no proof that Bramante was in the service of Julius II. before Sangallo's arrival, and that on the 30th May, 1504, the latter was practically the Pope's architect. See LÜTZOW'S Zeitschrift, XVI., 162, and REDTENBACHER, Architektur, 182. Here again he very urgently remarks: "Even though Bonanni, on whom H. v. Geymüller relies, asserts that Julius had planned the Vatican buildings as early as 1503; in the first place Bonanni is not a very trustworthy authority (he ascribes Raphael's plan of S. Peter's to Bramante), and, secondly, even supposing that he is right, this does not necessarily involve that he had also fixed on Bramante

deliberations preliminary to the work constituted a sort of duel between the Umbrian and Lombard tendencies of Bramante and the Florentine spirit represented by Sangallo and his protégé Michael Angelo. It is not unlikely that there is some truth in this statement, as Vasari knew the son of Giuliano da Sangallo intimately ; but, on the other hand, this author is often confused and inaccurate.* However this may be, it appears certain that as soon as Julius II. saw Bramante's magnificent plan for S. Peter's, he determined to put the work into his hands ;† while everything else, even his own tomb, retreated into the background. Even for S. Peter's alone on this scale the means at his disposal were not sufficient. "And knowing his disposition, no one can be surprised that S. Peter's was the work that lay nearest to the

as the architect." To this I should like to add, that in his very meritorious work, VON GEYMÜLLER also more than once (pp. 81 and 345) cites MIGNANTI, II., 11, who there states that Julius II. determined, immediately on his accession to the Papacy, to rebuild S. Peter's. He believes that Mignanti "rests his assertion on unnamed documents"; but the existence of these documents is only a hypothesis, no one has seen them, and Mignanti gives no reference. In addition to this, as REUMONT, in 1867, in the Allg. Zeit., N. 266, has observed, historical criticism is not the strong point in this writer's book ; in fact, it contains historical inaccuracies. The only thing that is certain is that the rebuilding had been determined upon in Nov. 1505 (see *infra*), and until some new documents turn up we must, as JOVANOVITS, 43, says, content ourselves with this.

* REDTENBACHER, 183, does not seem to have noticed this, for he speaks of Vasari's narrative as trustworthy throughout.

† Giuliano da Sangallo felt himself aggrieved and went back to Florence, but with liberal rewards from the Pope. An old German legend represents the Pope surrounded with a multitude of models for S. Peter's and laughingly begging that all these nuts might be cleared away as he had but one church to build, and had an excellent plan for that. B. Ochini, Apologen., Bk. I., Apol. 23, in BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, 112.

Pope's heart. His preference even in Art was always for the colossal. *Magnarum semper molium avidus* was said of him, and though Michael Angelo's design must have satisfied him in that respect, the tomb was only for himself, whereas the magnificent Basilica would be a glory for the whole Church. For Julius the larger aim, whether for State or Church, was always more attractive than anything that was merely personal." *

In the history of the building of S. Peter's in the time of Julius II. there are three distinct periods. The first idea (March, 1505) was to build a Chapel for the Pope's tomb. In the second period (before 11th April, 1505) the completion of the works commenced by Nicholas V. and Paul II. was contemplated; in the third (from the Summer of that year) it was finally determined that the building should be on entirely new lines, far more splendid and more beautiful. Even then, however, the idea of making use of the buildings already commenced by former Popes was not abandoned, and the attempt was frequently made, but they were only utilised in a fragmentary way as portions of a wholly new design.† The immense number of drawings for S. Peter's which are still extant, shew with what energy the work was undertaken. Some of these were executed by Bramante himself, then sixty years old; many others, from his instructions, by artists working under him; amongst these were the youthful Baldassari Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo.‡

* SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 106.

† VON GEYMÜLLER, 145 *seq.*, 373 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 157 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*; *cf.* 98 *seq.* This writer thinks that the influence of the immense number of studies for S. Peter's made by Bramante between 1505–6 was so great, and the staff employed by him in his office or in the building so large, that in a very short time many young architects were capable of carrying out less important undertakings in the S. Peter's style of the master. "Thus we see the

For a long time all that was known on the subject was that the outline of Bramante's plan was a commanding central dome resting on a Greek Cross, with four smaller domes in the four angles. It is only quite recently that modern research has eliminated out of the immense mass of materials afforded by the collection of sketches in the Uffizzi at Florence (about 9000 sheets), a series of studies and plans for S. Peter's, from which Bramante's original design can be determined. With these sketches before us we begin to realise what the world has lost by the later changes in what, as originally conceived, would have been an artistic creation of perfectly ideal majesty and beauty.

The new Basilica, "which was to take the place of a building teeming with venerable memories, was to embody the greatness of the present and the future," and was to surpass all other churches in the world in its proportions and in its splendour.* The mausoleum of the poor fisherman of the Lake of Genesareth was to represent the dignity and significance, in its history and in its scope, of the office which he had bequeathed to his successors. The idea of the Universal Church demanded a colossal edifice, that of the Papacy an imposing centre, therefore its main feature must be a central dome of such proportions as to dominate the whole structure. This, Bramante thought, could be best attained by a ground-plan in the form of a Greek Cross with the great dome

young Antonio da Sangallo in the Church of S. M. di Loreto in the Piazza Trajana in 1507, and Peruzzi in the Cathedral of Carpi in 1514, and in part of the plans for the completion of S. Petronio in Bologna in 1521, introducing features in Bramante's style (not to mention Raphael's Church of S. Eligio). The same may very likely have been the case in Todi, as it certainly was in the Madonna di Macerato at Bisso."

* See Bull of Julius II. of 19th Feb., 1513, in Bull. Vat., II., 349.

in the centre, over the tomb of the Apostles. In the old Basilica, however, the tomb was at the end of the church, and this created difficulties which led to the adoption at first of a Latin Cross.* Bramante's contemporaries were enthusiastic in their admiration of his design, and the poets of the day sang of it as the ninth wonder of the world.† Bramante is said to have himself described his design as the Pantheon reared on the substructure of the Temple of Peace in the Forum (Constantine's Basilica); a truly noble thought, worthy of the great architect and his large-minded patron.‡

Two complete drawings,§ which are still preserved, exhibit Bramante's plan in detail; it consisted of a Greek Cross with apsidal ends and a huge cupola in the centre on the model of the Pantheon, surrounded by four smaller domes; pillared aisles led into the central space. In one design the arms of the cross are enclosed in large semicircular ambulatories; in the other these do not appear. They may be a reminiscence of the very ancient Christian Church of San Lorenzo in Milan, which was justly very much admired by Bramante, or they may have been intended to strengthen the great pillars which supported the cupola. In both designs the dome is of colossal proportions. "Bramante, borrowing the idea from older structures, designed with admirable effect immense niches corresponding with the

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 221. *Cf.* HOFFMANN, Studien uber Italien, 5 (Frankfurt, 1876), and JOVANOVITS, 33.

† PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 112.

‡ REDTENBACHER in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 304. BURCKHARDT, Cultur, I., 112, ed. 3, says of this design that perhaps it was a manifestation of greater power than any other single mind had ever displayed. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 111, ed. 3, remarks: "The man who was capable of conceiving such a work of art as S. Peter's, and of beginning to execute it, deserves by that fact alone to live for ever in the memory of mankind."

§ Marked by Von Geymüller as B and D.

pillars, which would also ingeniously serve to suggest the curved outline for all spaces which is the predominant form in the whole scheme of building. The four smaller cupolas in the corners, the diameters of which are half that of the central dome, by dimming the light, were to prepare the eye for the vast central space; on the exterior, as Caradosso's medal shews, they were not to rise above the gabled roofing of the arms of the Cross." Four sacristies and chapels and bell-towers were to be distributed around the external angles. As this plan appears upon Caradosso's medals it must have been for some time the accepted one. The other plan, in which the arms of the Cross were encased in spacious ambulatories, would have occupied a still larger area. Here the drum of the central dome would have been encircled with pillars forming a crown over the tomb of the Apostles, which would have been bathed in light from the dome.* The victory of

* VON GEYMÜLLER, 222 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 244 *seq.*, 257 *seq.*; LÜBKE'S Review in the Allg. Zeit. (1882), N. 216, Suppl.; LÜBKE, Gesch. d. Architektur, II., 361 *seq.*, ed. 6 (Leipzig, 1886); BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, Renaissance, 126. The medals with the inscription Templi Petri Instauracio, are reproduced in GEYMÜLLER, Pl. 2, and excellently in the handsome work, Le Vatican, 532. It appears that after the laying of the foundation-stone, the directors of the works changed their minds as to the form of the building, and decided, possibly for Liturgical reasons, to make it oblong. Semper thinks that the Cathedral at Carpi is a faithful copy of this second design of Bramante's. SEMPER had already expressed this opinion in 1878 in his Bramante, 46 47. In his magnificent work on Carpi, 54 *seq.*, he developed it in greater detail in opposition to VON GEYMÜLLER'S article in Lützow's Zeitschrift, XIV., 289 *seq.*; *cf.* also JOVANOVITS, 46 *seq.*; VON GEYMÜLLER, Notizen über die Entwürfe zu S. Peter in Rom, 26 *seq.* (Karlsruhe, 1868), and in the larger work, 220; and BURCKHARDT-HOLTZINGER, 125. The passage out of Panvinius is in MAI, Spicil., IX., 466. On Caradosso's commemorative medals, see PIOT in the Cabinet de l'Amateur (3ie Année, 1863), 38.

Christianity over Paganism was to be represented by the Cross on the summit of the most beautiful creation of antique architecture.

The colossal dimensions of this majestic though singularly simple design, aptly symbolising the world-wide fold into which all the nations of the earth were to be gathered, will be realised when we find that Bramante's plan would have covered an area of over 28,900 square yards, while the present church on the plan of Michael Angelo, without Maderna's additions, occupies only a little more than 17,300, more than a third less.*

There is, however, one consideration which mars the pleasure with which we should otherwise contemplate Bramante's splendid conception, and this is the regretful recollection that its realisation involved the sacrifice of one of the oldest and most venerable sanctuaries in all Christendom. "These ancient walls had been standing for nearly 1200 years; they had, so to speak, participated in all the fortunes and storms of the Papacy; they had witnessed the rapid succession of its triumphs, its humiliations, and its recoveries; and again and again been the scene of epoch-making events, focussed in Rome, and stretching in their effects to the furthest limits of Christendom. The Vatican Basilica was scored all over with mementos of this long history. Though now falling to pieces and disfigured by the traces of the debased art of the period of its origin, it was an imposing building, and far more interesting from its age-worn tokens of the victory of Christianity over Paganism, than it could have been in the days of its pristine splendour. All that might be distasteful in the inharmonious jumble of its styles and materials was forgotten in retracing the ever-living memorials which recalled the times of Constantine, of S. Leo and S. Gregory the Great, Charles

* REDTENBACHER in Lützow's Zeitschrift, IX., 308.

the Great, and Otho, S. Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III."*

This was strongly felt by many of Bramante's contemporaries, as it had been when the rebuilding of S. Peter's was contemplated in the time of Nicholas V., which we see from the words of the Christian humanist, Maffeo Vegio.† This time the opposition was even more serious, as nearly the whole of the Sacred College seems to have pronounced against the plan. Panvinius reports that people of all classes, and especially the Cardinals, protested against Julius II.'s intention of pulling down the old S. Peter's. They would have gladly welcomed the erection of a new and splendid church; but the complete destruction of the old Basilica, so consecrated by the veneration of the whole world, the tombs of so many saints, and the memorials of so many great events, went to their hearts.‡

The opposition to the rebuilding of S. Peter's continued even after the death of Julius II. In the year 1517 Andrea Guarna of Salerno published a satirical Dialogue between S. Peter, Bramante, and the Bolognese Alessandro Zambeccari. Bramante arrives at the gates of Heaven and S. Peter asks if he is the man who had demolished his church. Zambeccari replies in the affirmative, and adds, "He would have destroyed Rome also and the whole world if he had been able." S. Peter asks Bramante what could have induced him to pull down his church in Rome, which by its age alone spoke of God to the most unbelieving. The architect excuses himself by saying that it was not he

* REUMONT, III., 1, 451.

† *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 179 (Engl. trans.).

‡ FEA, Notizie, 41, was the first to bring to light this passage from PANVINIUS, De rebus antiquis eccl. basilicae S. Petri; it is to be found in MAI, Spicil., IX., 365–366. Panvinius expressly mentions here a model in wood by Bramante.

who pulled it down but the workmen at the command of Pope Julius. "No," answers S. Peter, "that will not serve, it was you who persuaded the Pope to take down the church, it was at your instigation and by your orders that the workmen did it. How could you dare?" Bramante replies, "I wanted to lighten the Pope's heavy purse a little." On S. Peter inquiring further whether he had carried out his design, he answers, "No! Julius II. pulled down the old church, but he kept his purse closed; he only gave Indulgences, and besides he was making war." Further on, the conversation becomes broader and more farcical. Bramante refuses to enter Heaven unless he is allowed to get rid of the "steep and difficult way that leads thither from the earth. I will build a new broad and commodious road so that old and feeble souls may travel on horseback. And then I will make a new Paradise with delightful residences for the blessed." As S. Peter will not consent to this, Bramante declares he will go down to Pluto and build a new hell as the old one is almost burnt out. In the end S. Peter asks him again, "Tell me seriously, what made you destroy my church?" Bramante answers, "Alas! it is demolished, but Pope Leo will build a new one." "Well, then," says S. Peter, "you must wait at the gate of Paradise until it is finished." "But if it never is finished?" Bramante objects. "Oh," S. Peter answers, "my Leo will not fail to get it done." "I must hope so," Bramante replies; "at any rate, I seem to have no alternative but to wait."*

Julius II. is still often blamed for having allowed the old church to be destroyed, but whether the reproach is just

* This curious and rare Dialogue appeared under the title of "Simia" at Milan in 1517. An extract from it, shewing that most people at that time did not believe that Leo X. would finish S. Peter's, was published by Bossi, Del cenacolo da Lionardo da Vinci, 246, 249. Milano, 1810.

seems very doubtful. If even under Nicholas V. the old Basilica had become so unsafe that in 1451 the Pope could say it was in danger of falling—and we have trustworthy testimony to this effect *—no doubt its condition must have been considerably worse in the reign of Julius II.† In the well-known letter to the King of England on the laying of the foundation-stone of the new S. Peter's, the Pope distinctly asserts that the old church was in a ruinous condition, and this statement is repeated in a whole series of other Briefs.‡ The inscription on the foundation-stone also

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 179–180.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 458 *seq.*

‡ In his Briefs to the King of England, Julius says that he has laid the foundation of the new building firma spe ducti quod dominus et salvator Jesus Christus, cuius monitu *basilicam ipsam vetustate consumptam* augustiori forma et aedificio renovare aggressi sumus, meritis et precibus ipsius apostoli vires nobis tribuet, ut quod tanto fervore incoeptum est, absolvi et perfici possit ad laudam et gloriam Dei. In another *Brief, also dated 18th April, 1506, addressed to Abati et conventui monast. S. Augustini Ord. S. Benedicti : *Cum decreverimus basilicam b. Petri principis apostolorum de urbe *vetustate prope collabentem* dante Domino funditus reedificare atque novo et decenti opere instaurare nos hodie processionaliter una cum ven. fratribus nostris S. R. E. cardinalibus et magna prelatorum et populi multitudine propriis manibus nostris in eius fundamento primum lapidem posuimus He is resolved opus absque intermissione aliqua concedente Domino persequi, and admonishes him to contribute. Fuerunt expedita XXVIII. similia sub eadem data. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 489. (Secret Archives of the Vatican.) The Brief to the King of England in App., N. 49a, dated 6th Jan., 1506, is to the same effect. *Cf.* also the Encyclical in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1508, n. 6, which says : Quis merito non admiretur coeptam a nobis ad omnipotentis Dei ejusque intactae genetricis Mariae ac principis apostolorum b. Petri honorem et laudem *necessariam basilicae eiusdem sancti iam vetustate collabentis reparationem et ampliationem.* Similar language is employed in the Encyclical written shortly before his death, already quoted from Bull. Vat., II., 349. If the old S. Peter's had not been in a dilapidated condition, he could not have so repeatedly and so

supports this opinion.* Well-informed contemporaneous writers, such as Lorenzo Parmino,† Custodian of the Vatican Library, and Sigismondo de' Conti, say the same.‡ It seems, therefore, that he cannot be accused of having wilfully pulled down the old Basilica.

Considering what the plans of the Pope and his architect were, it was clear that the rebuilding of S. Peter's would be very costly, and on the 10th of November, 1505, Julius commanded that the property left by a certain Monserati de Guda should be set apart for the building of S. Peter's.§ This is the first authentic document which shews that the work had been practically begun. On the 6th of January, 1506, Julius wrote to the King of England and also to the nobility and Bishops of that country begging them to help him in this great undertaking.‖ A money order for Bramante for the payment of five sub-architects is dated 6th April, 1506; on the 18th the Briefs announcing the

distinctly mentioned it as such. Most recent writers also think that it was in a ruinous state. See MICHELANGELO LUALDI, Romano, Canonico de S. Marco, in his *Memorie del tempio e palazzo Vaticano, II., f. 1b, 4b, in Cod. 31, D. 17, of the Corsini Library, Rome.

* See Paris de Grassis in THUASNE, III., 424 N.: Aedem principis apostolorum in Vaticano vetustate ac situ squallentem a fundamentis restituit Julius Ligur. P. M. A. 1506. According to BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 422, the Inscription was: Julius II. P. M. hanc basilicam fere collabentem reparavit A.D. 1506, pontif. sui anno 3. The third version in ALBERTINI, 53, refers, as the date shews, to the laying of the foundation-stones of the other pillars in April 1507; *cf.* BONANNI, 52–53.

† Tu divi Petri principis apostolorum aedem plurimorum annorum ictu *pene collabentem* instaurare in animum induxisti. L. PARMENIUS, 310.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344; *cf. infra*, p. 479.

§ ZAHN, Notizie, 178.

‖ See text of this *Document in Appendix, N. 49a, taken from the Secret Archives of the Vatican.

laying of the foundation-stone by the Pope himself were sent out.* At this time Julius II. was preparing for the campaign against Perugia and Bologna.† It is certainly a striking proof of the courage and energy of Julius II., that at his advanced age, and in the face of such arduous political undertakings, he should have had no hesitation in putting his hand to a work of such magnitude as this.

We have two accounts of the laying of the foundation-stone, which took place on "Low Sunday" (18th April) in the year 1506; one is by Burchard, the other by Paris de Grassis.‡ The Pope, accompanied by the Cardinals and Prelates and preceded by the Cross, went down in solemn procession to the edge of the excavation for the foundation, which was 25 feet deep. Only the Pope with two Cardinal-deacons, some masons, and one or two other persons entered it. Some one who is called a medallist, probably Caradosso, brought twelve medals in an earthen pot, two large gold ones worth 50 ducats; the others were of bronze. On one side was stamped the head of Julius II., and on the other a representation of the new Church. The foundation-stone was of white marble, about four palms in length, two in breadth, and three fingers in thickness. It bore an inscription declaring that Pope Julius II. of Liguria, in the year 1506, the third of his reign,

* The Brief to the King of England in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1506, n. 45, is the only one at present known; but similar Briefs must have been sent to most of the Christian Princes. *Cf. supra*, p. 471, note ‡.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 262.

‡ Both published by Thuasne in BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 422 *seq.* In some details they differ from each other. *Cf.* also the *Brief in SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344, quoted *supra*, p. 471, note ‡, and ALBERTINI, 53, with a wrong date both for the day and the year, which are copied by TSCHACKERT, 9. The *Diarium in V. Polit., 50, f. 61, only says: A. di XVIII. de Aprile, 1506, comincio papa Julio a murare in S. Pietro. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

restored this Basilica, which had fallen into decay. After the Pope had blessed the stone he set it with his own hands, while the masons placed the vessel with the medals underneath it. The ceremony concluded with the solemn Papal benediction, a prayer before the crucifix, and the granting of a Plenary Indulgence,* which was announced in Latin by Cardinal Colonna. After this the Pope returned to the Vatican.

Entries of disbursements in April 1506, shew that 7500 ducats were paid at that time to five contractors for the building of S. Peter's. These, as well as other sums, all passed through Bramante's hands, who signed the agreements with the builders in the Pope's name. Hitherto, no entry of any payment to Bramante for his own services has been found, although he undoubtedly acted as master of the works. He employed by preference Tuscan architects, and pushed on the work with energy.† Sigismondo de' Conti's statement that the building made but slow progress, not owing to want of funds, but from Bramante's supineness,‡ is unsupported by any other writer. It may possibly be due to personal spite. It comes from one who knew nothing of architecture, and is contradicted by authentic documents. It is quite possible that the work may have flagged to a

* On this spot the pillar was erected which now supports the loggia containing the head of S. Andrew.

† MÜNTZ in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIX. (1879), 363 *seq.*; XX., 506. The first mention of Bramante's name in connection with any payment occurs on 30th Aug., 1505, but, unfortunately, the nature of the work to which it related is not specified. The notice in SANUTO, VI., 327, is dated, like the other, in April 1506. This is the earliest statement relating to this subject in the excerpts from the Venetian Ambassadorial Reports in this author's compilation. Those which follow were not accessible to Müntz and Von Geymüller, and are used for the first time in the present volume.

‡ SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 344.

certain extent in the year 1506, but not from any fault of Bramante, who, by the Pope's orders, accompanied his master to Bologna.* A document in the Secret Archives of the Vatican,† dated 15th December, 1506, and hitherto unknown, shews with what anxious care Julius strove to guard against any interruption in the progress of the building during his absence in that city. Many proofs are extant of the diligence with which it was prosecuted from the moment the Pope returned to Rome. In March, 1507, Giuliano di Giovanni, Francesco del Toccio, and others were at work on the capitals of the pillars of the new Basilica.‡ On the 7th of April the Modenese Envoy reports that the Pope is delighted with the new building and visits it frequently; it is evident that the completion of this work is one of the things that lie nearest to his heart.§ On the 12th, he writes, "To-day the Pope went to S. Peter's to inspect the work. I was there also. The Pope brought Bramante with him, and said smilingly to me, 'Bramante tells me that he has 2500 men at work; one might hold a review of such an army.' I replied that

* There is an entry on 29th Dec., 1506, of a payment to magistro Bramante, architectori S. D. N., pro expensis per eum cum sociis factis et faciendis Bononie et in reditum ad urbem in ZAHN, Notizie, 180.

† Brief dat. Bologna, 15th Dec., 1506. To the Archbishop of Tarento Henrico (Bruni), thesaurar. generalis. Redit Romam dil. fil. Nicolaus Nicius, beneficiatus basilice S. Petri apostolorum principis de urbe homo valde aptus ad excitandum fabros cementarios ut operi fabrice dicte basilice instent et opus ipsum sine intermissione continuent. Quare volumus ut eum huic negocio praeficias. *Lib. brev., Julii II., 25 f. 8. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ VON GEYMÜLLER, 355; MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, XX., 509.

§ La S^ta^ del papa si demonstra tuta alegra e spesso v[a] su la fabrica de la chiesa de S. Petro demonstrando presente non havere altra cura magiore cha de finire la d [etta] fa[brica]. *Costabili's Despatch dat. Rome, 7th April, 1507. I found this and the other very interesting one (which follows it) in the State Archives, Modena.

one could indeed compare such a band with an army, and expressed my admiration of the building, as was becoming. Presently, Cardinals Farnese, Carvajal, and Fiesco came up, and the Pope granted them their audience without leaving the spot."* This report is in flat contradiction with Sigismondo de' Conti's statement. So far from idling over the work, Bramante can hardly be acquitted of the charge of vandalism in the ruthless haste with which he tore down the venerable old church.

It is certainly startling to find that apparently no expert was consulted, and no attempt made to find out whether it might not still be possible to retain and repair the old Basilica. We should have expected that before proceeding to destroy so venerable a sanctuary the opinion of some unbiassed person, not included in the circle of the enterprising architects eager for the fray, should have been sought, as to what could be done in the way of preserving at any rate some portion of the ancient building. We find no trace of any such attempt, and probably this is due to the extravagant admiration of the votaries of the Renaissance for their new style of architecture which led them to look down with utter contempt on all the productions of the preceding periods. From this point of view Sigismondo de' Conti's account of the rebuilding of S. Peter's is singularly significant. Christian humanist as he was, he betrays not the smallest trace of reverence for, or interest in, the Basilica of Constantine. Although he calls the ancient building grand and majestic, he adds immediately that it was erected in an uncultured age, which had no idea of elegance or beauty in architecture.†

* See the text of this *Report in Appendix N. 74.

† SIGISMONDO DE' CONTI, II., 343–344. In his interesting essay "Die alte Peterskirche zu Rom und ihre frühesten Ansichten" GRISAR remarks: "Our knowledge of the Basilica of Constantine, of its early

But what was still more inexcusable was that no inventory should have been taken of the inestimably precious memories which it contained, and also the way in which these venerable relics were treated. In truth, the men of the Renaissance had as little sense of reverence for the past as those of the Middle Ages ; * not that they had any desire to break with the past ; this would have been in complete contradiction to the whole spirit of the Papacy, for which more than for any other power in the world, the past, the present, and the future are bound together in an indissoluble union ; but the passion for the new style stifled all interest in the monuments of former days.† In

Christian and mediæval decoration, its changes and its fortunes, is not nearly so full as might have been expected when we consider the important position that it occupied. Although this venerable building, with all its memorials of Christian piety in so many ages and so many countries, survived for a considerable period after the revival of art, and well into a time when hundreds of draughtsmen and painters were busily copying the antique buildings in Rome, we have hardly any representation of it. The artists of the Renaissance, in their one-sided enthusiasm for classical antiquity, had not a thought to spare for these sacred and touching mementos. Nothing seemed worthy of notice to them that was not dressed in their favourite garb." Röm. Quartalschrift, IX. (1895), 237–238.

* It would be unjust in blaming the Renaissance period for its reckless destruction of precious memorials, not to point out that the men of the Middle Ages were not one whit less indifferent ; in the 13th Century, the famous tomb of S. Bardo at Mayence was demolished, and not a trace of it is left. When the western choir in the Cathedral there was built in 1200–1239, the old building was pulled to pieces. The Carolingian tombs at S. Alban near Mayence completely disappeared during the early mediæval times. In the 13th Century, the old cathedrals at Cologne, Spires, Worms, etc., were treated in a similar manner. The feeling that we designate as piety, reverence, seemed unknown in the Middle Ages.

† REUMONT in the Allg. Zeit. (1858), N. 67, Suppl. *Cf.* also, GREGOROVIUS' Essay on Roman inscriptions in the Allg. Zeit. (1867), N. 166, Suppl., and NOLHAC, Érasme, 81.

his strong consciousness of power, Bramante was more reckless than any of the other architects of his day in regard to ancient memorials, or even the creations of the centuries immediately preceding his own time. His contemporaries reproached him with this. Paris de Grassis says he was called the destroyer (*Ruinante*), because of his merciless destructiveness in Rome, as well as in other places for instance, in Loreto.* Michael Angelo complained to Julius II., and later, Raphael made similar representations to Leo X. in regard to Bramante's barbarism in knocking to pieces the noble ancient pillars in the old church, which might so easily have been preserved if they had been carefully taken down.† Artistic merit was no more regarded than antiquity, and Mino's beautiful later monuments, and even the tomb of Nicholas V., the first of the Papal Mæcenas, were broken to pieces, together with those of the older Popes.‡ There can be no excuse for such vandalism as this. Attempts have been made to lay the blame on the carelessness of the Papal Maggiordomo Bartolomeo Ferrantini, or on the sub-architects.§ No doubt, Ferrantini and Julius himself are partially responsible, but it is in consequence of Bramante's ruthless methods that Christendom and the Papacy have been robbed of so many venerable and touching memorials. Those which are preserved in the Crypt and the Vatican Grottos, far from exculpating him, only bear witness to the extent of his guilt. This magazine of defaced and dismembered monuments, altars, ciboriums, which formerly

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 287.

† CONDIVI in the Quellenschriften, VI., 49 (1874). *Cf.* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 381, ed. 5.

‡ *Cf.* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 428 ; GREGOROVIUS, VIII. 129, ed. 3, and Grabmäler, 31.

§ PUNGILEONI, Bramante, 35, 98 *seq.*

adorned the atrium, the porticos and the nave of the old Basilica, are the clearest proof of the barbarous vandalism which began under Julius II., and continued until the completion of S. Peter's.*

If we may believe Aegidius of Viterbo, who is usually well-informed, and was a contemporary, Bramante's destructive spirit actually carried him so far as to lead him to propose to move the Tomb of the Apostles. Here, however, Julius II., usually so ready to lend himself to all the great architect's plans, stood firm, and absolutely refused to permit any tampering with a shrine which, through all the changes during the centuries which had elapsed since the days of Constantine, had been preserved untouched on the spot where he erected it.† Aegidius narrates in detail the efforts made by Bramante to overcome the Pope's objections. He wanted to make the new Church face southwards, instead of to the east, as the old one had done, in order to have the Vatican Obelisk, which stood in the Circus of Nero on the south side of the Basilica,‡ fronting the main entrance of the new Church. Julius II. would not consent to this plan, saying that Shrines must not be displaced. Bramante, however, persisted in his project. He expatiated on the admirable suggestiveness of placing this majestic memorial of the First Cæsars in the Court of the new S. Peter's of Julius II., and on the effect that the

* REUMONT, III., 2, 380; see also his article in the Allg. Zeit. (1867), N. 266, on Mignanti's Hist. of S. Peter's. GRIMM, I., 381, ed. 5; and the very interesting remarks of GNOLI, in Arch. St. dell' Arte, II., 455.

† The fact has been recently placed beyond the reach of doubt by the researches of Fr. GRISAR, S.J., published in his valuable work, Le tombe apostoliche di Roma (Roma, 1892). Further particulars are to be found here also on the Pope's anxious care that the remains of the Prince of the Apostles should be preserved from all risks of desecration in any way.

‡ The spot where the obelisk (Guglia) stood is now marked by an inscription. *Cf.* PASTOR, Gesch. Päpste, 719-720, ed. 2.

sight of this colossal monument would have in stimulating religious awe in the minds of those who were about to enter the church. He promised to effect the removal of the tomb in such a manner that it should be impossible that it should be injured in any way. But Julius II., however, turned a deaf ear to all his arguments and blandishments, and assured him that he would never, under any pretext, permit the tomb of the first Pope to be touched. As to the Obelisk, Bramante might do what he pleased with that. His view was that Christianity must be preferred to Paganism, religion to splendour, piety to ornament.*

In addition to this most interesting conversation between Julius II. and Bramante, we have other proofs that in all their undertakings, religious interests, and not his own glory, held the first place in his mind. One such is the Rule of 19th February, 1513, on the Cappella Giulia, which was the last official document issued by him before his death. In it he sums up the reasons which led him to found this institution. "We hold it to be our duty," he says, "to promote the solemnity of religious worship by example as well as by precept. While yet a Cardinal we partly restored and partly rebuilt many churches and convents in various places, and especially in Rome. Since our elevation to the Chair of S. Peter we have endeavoured to be more diligent and liberal in such works in proportion to our larger duties and responsibilities. The wise King Solomon, although the light of Christianity had not dawned upon him, thought no sacrifice too great to

* I found this passage in the *Historia viginti saecul. of Aegedius of Viterbo in the Bibl. Angelica in Rome, Cod. C., 8, 19. It has hitherto escaped the notice of all the historians of the new S. Peter's, including Von Geymüller and Müntz. In view of its great importance, I have given the original passage in App., N. 89. It also indirectly bears additional witness to the ruinous condition of the old church.

make in order to build a worthy House for the Lord of Hosts. Our predecessors also were zealous for the beauty and dignity of the sanctuary. This was especially the case with our Uncle, Sixtus IV., now resting in the Lord. Nothing lay nearer to his heart than to provide for the majesty of the Offices of the Church and the splendour of God's House." The Pope desired to follow in his footsteps.*

On the 16th of April, 1507, Enrico Bruni, Archbishop of Tarento, laid the foundation-stones of the three other pillars of the Dome. Various entries of payments and contracts, though, unfortunately, scanty and unconnected, mark the progress of the work. On the 24th of August, a Roman, Menico Antonio di Jacopo, undertook a contract for some capitals of pillars, and in another document, which only bears the date of the year 1507, the same sculptor joins with Giuliano del Tozzo, Franco, Paolo Mancino, Vincenzio da Viterbo and Bianchino, in an agreement for executing the capitals of the pillars and the balcony on the outside of the Tribune, and the cornice inside, after Bramante's designs. A contract with Francesco di Domenico of Milan, Antonio di Giacomo of Pontasieve and Benedetto di Giovanni Albini of Rome for the capitals of the large pilasters in the interior is dated 1st March, 1508.† In August 1508, the Venetian Envoy reports an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Pope to obtain the fourth part of the tithes granted by him to the King of Spain for the building of S. Peter's. In December, the same Envoy mentions the zeal of the Pope for this great work.‡ There are no accounts of the year 1509. On the 16th January,

* Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.* Provisions for the Cappella Giulia follow on this preamble.

† Von Geymüller, 355–356.

‡ Sanuto, VII., 606–678.

1510, Antonio di Sangallo received 200 ducats for preparing the centering for the arches of the Cupola. A similar payment is again entered on the 15th November.*

Julius II. was unwearied in his efforts to obtain funds for the building. A portion of the revenue of the Holy House at Loreto was assigned to this purpose, and commissioners were appointed everywhere for the collection of charitable gifts with power to grant Indulgences on the usual conditions to all contributors.† How large the sums thus obtained were, may be gathered from the report of the Venetian Envoy who says that one lay-brother alone brought back from his journey 27,000 ducats. Even then, in April 1510, it was plain that a long time must elapse before the work could be completed.‡ It was no doubt a beautiful thought that the whole of Christendom should bear a part in the erection of a worthy shrine for the Princes of the Apostles, but considering the hostile feeling in many places in regard to all such collections, and the bitter opponents who were always ready to misrepresent everything that the Popes did, there were serious objections to the attempt to carry it out. When Julius II. became involved in the great conflict with France it was asserted by many that money collected for the Church was spent in the war.§ When the pressure was very great this may have been the case; in the year 1511, a slackening in the work is observable; still even in that year there are entries of payments,‖ and the Venetian Envoy's Report in August 1511 shews that

* Von Geymüller, 356.

† *Cf.* Bangen, 278 *seq.*; Reumont, III., 2, 48; Paulus, in the Hist. Jahrb., XVI. (1895), 38 *seq.* On the collection in Poland, see Acta Tomic., I., 56; in Hungary, Theiner, Mon. Ung., II., 578 *seq.* On England, see *supra*, p. 473, note *, and Busch, Tudors, I., 244.

‡ Sanuto, X., 80.

§ Acta Tomic., I., 56.

‖ Von Geymüller, 356.

even in the most trying times Julius II. never forgot his Church.* The very last document to which the Pope put his hand, the day before he died, testifies to his zeal in this work.†

The disbursements for the payment of contractors and overseers for the works of S. Peter's in the time of Julius II., amount, according to the Papal registers, to 70,653 gold ducats, not too large a sum compared with those of succeeding Popes. In the period between the 22nd December, 1529 and the 2nd January, 1543, the building cost 89,727 scudi, and from the 9th January, 1543, to the 25th February, 1549, 160,774 scudi.‡

When Julius died, the four pillars for the Cupola, each of which was more than 100 paces in circumference at the base, with their connecting arches, were finished. These were strengthened by the introduction of cast-iron centerings, a method which Bramante had rediscovered. The choir, begun under Nicholas V. by Bernardo Rosselino, was utilised by Bramante in part for the posterior walls of the transept and in part for a choir, which, however, was only meant to be a provisional one. Besides these, the tribunes for the nave had been begun and an enclosure adorned with Doric pillars for the Pope and his Court at High Mass, which was finished later by Peruzzi, but eventually done away with. The high altar and the tribune of the old church were still in existence at that time,§ but by All

* SANUTO, XII., 362 ; *cf.* 370.

† Bull. Vat., II., 348 *seq.*

‡ PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 96 ; and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 387 ; FEA, Notizie, 32.

§ PLATTNER, II., 1, 136 ; JOVANOVITS, 33 ; VON GEYMÜLLER, 134 *seq.*, 175 ; especially on the Provisional Choir done away with in 1585, by which the Pope and Bramante tried to keep up a pretence of making use of the works of their predecessors. VON GEYMÜLLER also shews, p. 224 *seq.*, that the present pillars supporting the Dome are Bramante's

Saints' Day in 1511, the solemn masses were celebrated in the Sistine chapel, and no longer in the old church.*

Bramante had drawn out a wonderful design for the rebuilding of the Vatican Palace as well as for the church of S. Peter's. Here too, the plan, for both precincts and Palace, was practically a new building, but the death of Julius II. interrupted it. Still even then, what had been accomplished was so important that even in 1509 Albertini could say "Your Holiness has already made more progress with the Vatican than all your predecessors together have done in the last hundred years."†

Bramante's genius was not less admirable in secular architecture than in sacred. Every one knows the famous Cortile di Damaso. The design for this building, which so marvellously combines dignity in composition with exquisite grace and delicacy in detail, was his, though it was only executed in Raphael's time, and part of it even later.

A further project, and one that could only have come into such a mind as that of Julius II., was to connect the old Vatican Palace, a mere heterogeneous aggregation of houses, with the Belvedere situated on the rise of the hill about 100 paces higher up. Bramante drew a magnificent plan for this. In it two straight corridors lead from the old Palace to the Belvedere. The space between them, measuring about 327 yards by 70, was divided in two; the part next the Palace (now the great lower Court) was to form the arena of a theatre for tournaments or bull-fights; from thence, a broad flight of steps led up to a terrace and from that again a massive double staircase ascended to the upper half, which was laid out as a garden (now the Giardino della

(*cf.* JOVANOVITS, 36), and vindicates his title to the discovery of the cast-iron arch-centres.

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 415.

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 19. *Cf.* LAURENT., Parmenius, 311.

Pigna). The two long sides of the theatre were broken by three Loggie, while the lower narrow side was occupied by a semi-circular amphitheatre for the spectators. The two upper Loggie joined the long sides of the garden above the terrace; its narrow end was closed by a colossal niche roofed with a half-dome and crowned by a semi-circular course of pillars and facing the amphitheatre.* It was a design which, had it been carried out, would certainly have been unrivalled in the whole world.† Although the work was energetically begun, the only portion that had been completed when Julius II. died was the eastern gallery. Later, so many alterations and additions were made that the original plan is hardly recognisable. It was Sixtus V. who cut the large Court in two by building the Vatican Library across it. The effect of the whole design was completely destroyed by this, and also that of the great niche which now looks monstrous, not having sufficient foreground.‡ He also walled up the open Loggie. The long corridor, commanding an exquisite view of Rome and the Campagna, is now used to contain the Vatican collection of Christian and ancient inscriptions.§ Under Pius VII. the Braccio Nuovo was built parallel with the Library to serve as a museum.

The extension and embellishment of the Belvedere was

* Bramante's whole design is in GEYMÜLLER, Plate 25; VASARI, IV., 155 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI, Vita di Bramante, 31; REUMONT, III., 2, 375–376; BURCKHARDT, Renaissance, 52, 88, 97, 204, 256. VON GEYMÜLLER, 75 *seq.*, thinks it improbable that Bramante in any way considered Rosselino's plans; but he would naturally have arranged his design so as not to clash with the axis of S. Peter's. On bull-fights in Rome in the time of Julius II., see NOLHAC, Érasme, 75.

† See BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 199.

‡ SEMPER, Bramante, 41.

§ No one who has seen the Vatican Library can ever forget this corridor.

another of the works undertaken by Bramante to improve and put the Papal residence "into shape," as Vasari expresses it. A new two-storied façade was added to the whole building, looking southwards towards the garden, and having for its centre the gigantic niche already mentioned, which is about 80 feet high. From its exposed situation the Belvedere was often called the tower of the winds (*Tor de venti*). Adjoining the Belvedere, on the eastern side, was the tower-shaped hall through which Bramante's famous pillared spiral staircase led into the rampart garden. Baths and aviaries were also added to this building and decorated with views of all the principal cities in Italy.*

The Belvedere was destined soon to contain the most splendid collection of ancient sculptures the world then possessed. Julius II. was an ardent collector, and the nucleus was formed out of the numerous Roman remains which were discovered during his reign. No doubt, by the middle of the 15th Century Rome was already rich in ancient statues, but in Poggio's time only five of these had been publicly erected.† Paul II.'s valuable collection of antique gems, vases, etc., had been dispersed at his death. Sixtus IV. opened a museum of antique art in the Capitol, which was the first public collection of this kind in Italy, and, indeed, in Europe. It consisted for the most part of large bronzes. Innocent VIII. added some newly-found works in brass and the colossal head of Commodus.‡ The example of Sixtus IV. at first does not seem to have found any imitators. "During the lifetime of this Pope very few

* Von Geymüller, 77 ; Michaelis in the Jahrbuch des Deutsch. Archäol. Instituts, V., 13 ; Reumont, III., 2, 382. A drawing by Letarouilly, Le Vatican, Cour du Belvédère, Plate 5 ; *cf.* Plate 8, which shews what the Belvedere looked like at the time of Bramante's death.

† Müntz, Raphael, 589.

‡ *Cf.* Pastor Gesch. Päpste, II., 330 *seq.*, 628, ed. 2 ; and Michaelis, in Mittheil. d. Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäol. Instituts, VI., 11 *seq.*

in Rome seem to have taken any interest in the larger ancient marble sculptures, or made any attempt to form collections; whereas at the same period in Florence, where the opportunities were so much fewer, the famous Medicean gallery had long been in existence. It was not till the close of the 15th Century that the feeling for ancient sculpture awoke in Rome, but once started in such a fruitful soil it naturally developed rapidly." *

As Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the Pope was a diligent collector. In the time of Innocent VIII. apparently he succeeded in obtaining a newly discovered statue of Apollo, which he placed in the garden of S. Pietro in Vincoli.† It created quite a furore amongst all lovers of art, and soon acquired a world-wide reputation.‡

When he became Pope he transferred the statue to the Vatican and placed it in the Cortile di Belvedere. This Cortile about 100 feet square, was laid out as a garden with orange trees and running streamlets. Bramante designed semi-circular niches for the statues which adorned it. Besides the Apollo, an incomplete group, Antæus in the grasp of Hercules, and the Venus Felix, were placed here.§

* MICHAELIS, Statuenhof, 9 *seq.*

† Not in SS. Apostoli as almost universally stated; see MICHAELIS, 10–11.

‡ A drawing of it in the sketch-book of an Italian artist of the latter decade of the 15th Century is in the Escurial; see MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 161. There can be little doubt that Dürer made use of a similar sketch for his Apollo with a sheaf of rays (before 1504); see WICKHOFF in the Mittheil. d. Instituts, I., 422; THODE, Die Antiken, 2; MICHAELIS, 11. In the Venetian Ambassador's Reports of 1523 in ALBÈRI, 2nd Series, III., 114, there is mention of the Apollo famoso nel mondo.

§ MICHAELIS, 13 *seq.*, who quotes from the earliest edition of the Antiquario of Julius II., out of Albertini's booklet, published in 1510. But here (Schmarsow's ed., 39), only the Laocoon is mentioned as having been placed in the Belvedere; of the Apollo and Venus it is merely said that the Pope had them taken to the Vatican. At the same

In the year 1506, a fresh discovery added another treasure to these marbles which, in the eyes of the art-lovers of that day, surpassed everything that had as yet been known. This was the Laocoon which was found in a vineyard belonging to a Roman citizen, Felice de' Freddi. The vineyard was situated in the so called baths of Titus,* which later proved such a veritable mine of art treasures. It was discovered on the 14th of January in that year, not far from the water-tower of the Sette Sale. The moment the Pope heard of it he sent Giuliano da Sangallo to see it. Michael Angelo and Giuliano's son, a boy of nine, accompanied him. The latter says: "We then set off together, I on my father's shoulders. Directly my father saw the statue he exclaimed 'this is the Laocoon mentioned by Pliny;' the opening had to be enlarged to get the statue out."†

The Pope had several rivals also desirous of purchasing the treasure, but finally on the 23rd of March, 1506, a few weeks before the laying of the foundation-stone of S. Peter's, he succeeded in obtaining it. The finder and his son Federigo received in exchange for their lifetimes a charge on the tolls of the Porta S. Giovanni to the amount of 600 gold ducats annually.‡

time we find in the Report of the Mantuan Envoy of 12th July, 1511 (in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 21): Il Papa ha fatto conzar in Belveder un Apollo, et judicato non manco bello di Laocoonte. Thus it does not seem certain which were first placed in the Belvedere, the three statues, or the Laocoon. Perhaps some other report may be found later, which will settle the question.

* According to Prof. Lanciani the ruins on the south-western slope of the Esquiline, which have hitherto been supposed to be the baths of Titus, are really only an off-shoot of the baths of Trajan; the true baths of Titus having only been discovered in 1895 quite close to the Colosseum.

† FEA, Miscell., I., 329 *seq.* MICHAELIS has enumerated all the other early witnesses of the discovery, p. 16, note 36.

‡ MARINI, Iscriz. Albane, 11, n. 2; Bull. d. Ist. Arch. (1867), p. 190 *seq.*; NAUMANN'S Archiv, XIII., 108; MICHAELIS, 17, note 40.

The Laocoon was installed in a niche in the Belvedere. It inspired the greatest enthusiasm in Rome: "it was felt to be the most perfect embodiment of the life and spirit of the ancient world that had yet been seen. It and the Apollo became from henceforth the most admired and most popular of works of art."*

While Sadolet and other poets sang the praises of the Laocoon in their lyrics the influence it exerted on the minds of contemporary artists was striking and important. Michael Angelo's painting of the execution of Haman on the roof of the Sistine was evidently inspired by this group.† In Raphael's Parnassus in the Camera della Segnatura there is a suggestion of the Laocoon in the head of Homer, and other figures in the same fresco are also taken from antique models.‡ Bramante commissioned several sculptors to make models in wax of the Laocoon for the mould of a copy to be executed in brass; he appointed Raphael judge of the competition; the young Jacopo Sansovino was awarded the palm. Federigo Gonzaga asked the famous goldsmith, Caradossa, to copy the Laocoon for him. Another interesting point about this group is that it was "the subject of the first attempt at antiquarian criticism." The question arose whether Pliny's assertion that it had been carved out of a single block of marble was true. Michael Angelo and Cristoforo Romano, "the first sculptors in Rome," were asked to decide the point. They found that it consisted of several pieces and shewed four joints in it, but so skilfully concealed that

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 136, ed. 3. *Cf.* LUZIO, F. Gonzaga. 21.

† *Cf.* JANITSCHEKS Repertorium, XIII., 146. GRIMM, I., 277, ed. 5, does not think that the arm with a snake twined round it, which now lies by the side of the group, is Michael Angelo's work.

‡ The Calliope which is taken from the statue of Cleopatra-Ariadne. MÜNTZ, Raphael, 594. *Cf.* also *infra*, Chap. 10.

it was not surprising that Pliny should not have remarked them.*

Hardly less interest was aroused by the discovery of another antique group, Hercules with the infant Telephus on his arm, which was found in May 1507 in the Campo di Fiore. The Pope lost no time in securing the statue, which he placed at the entrance of his museum with an inscription forbidding any to enter who had no sympathy with ancient art (*Procul este profani*).†

Subsequently the collection in the Belvedere was enlarged by the addition of the so-called Tigris statue and the reclining figure of Ariadne, which was supposed to be Cleopatra, and celebrated under this name in the poems of Capodiferro and Castiglione.‡ Finally, in January 1512, the great statue of the Tiber, found near the Minerva, was also brought to the Belvedere.§ The statues were artistically arranged either beside the fountains or on Sarcophagi ornamented with reliefs, so that the effect of the whole, with the orange grove in the centre, was rather that of a decorated garden than of a museum. "From the garden

* GRIMM, I., 276, ed. 5; MICHAELIS, 18; Arch. d. St. dell' Arte, I., 148 *seq.*; LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 40 *seq.*

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 39. *Cf.* MICHAELIS, 18, to whom this is the only report of the discovery known. There exists, however, a more detailed one in a letter of Georgius de Negroponto, dat. Rome, 19th May, 1507, which I saw in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and which has since been published by LUZIO, Lettere inedite di Fra Sabba di Castiglione, 6, note.

‡ MICHAELIS, 18 *seq.* Capodiferro's poems are in JANITSCHEKS Repert., III., 55. Castiglione's hexameters are still to be seen as an inscription near to the statue.

§ On the discovery of the statue of the Tiber, see the Mantuan Report in BERTOLOTTI, Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga, 70 (Modena, 1885), and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 30–32, which shew that Michaelis is mistaken in his view (also adopted by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 139, ed. 3) that this statue was found in the reign of Leo X.

it was only a step to the eastern balcony, with its exquisite view over the city and the wide plain to the encircling hills beyond. A spacious covered hall, enclosing the principal fountain, seems to have opened into the cortile, on the other side." Probably the statue of Hermes, now in the Uffizi Palace in Florence, and a sarcophagus of Meleander, which had been dug up from behind the church of S. Peter's, stood here.*

Each new discovery, as it stimulated the eagerness of the collectors, gave rise to fresh excavations and researches in Rome and the Campagna.† The demand for antiquities became so keen that the extreme difficulty of procuring them is often mentioned. George of Negroponte, writing from Rome in 1507, says, "The moment anything is found, innumerable bidders for it start up." From the same letter we gather that a flourishing trade in such things was carried on by speculators, the prices constantly rising and falling.‡ For some time past, many antiquities had been carried off by foreign dilettanti.§ In the beginning of the 16th Century the demand for collections

* MICHAELIS, 23. See *ibid.*, 9, the plan of the Court of Statues in the Belvedere, founded on LETAROUILLY'S Le Vatican, Cour du Belvédère, Plate I.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 53. In the year 1506, Julius II. gave permission for excavations near S. Niccolò in Carcere : see Bullet. di corrisp. Archeol. (1867), p. 191. The rage for discoveries of course produced many forgeries inspired by vanity or desire for gain. The Dominican, Titus Annus of Viterbo, published imaginary writings, by no less than seventeen authors of his own invention, and also forged many inscriptions ; even Pomponius Laetus, the Principal of the Roman Academy, had several forged inscriptions in his collection. See J. MÜLLER, Alte u. neue Fälschungen, in Allg. Zeit. (1891), N. 111, Suppl., 14th May.

‡ LUZIO, Lettere inedite di Fra Sabba da Castiglione, 5-6, N. *Cf.* also Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, I., 148.

§ On the exportation of Antiques, see, besides Bertolotti's rather inaccurate writings, MÜNTZ'S very valuable Antiquités. 54 *seq.*

in Rome itself was no less eager. Julius II. had to compete not only with Cardinals, such as Riario, Caraffa, Galeotto della Rovere, and, more especially, Giovanni de' Medici, but also with rich merchants such as Agostino Chigi, members of the Court, like the German Goritz, and finally, with the Roman nobles, who loved to fill their palaces with antiques. They set them up in their gardens and court-yards, and built inscriptions and even sculptures into their walls and staircases, a custom which still survives.*

The good effect of this "Pantheon of classical sculpture"† in the Vatican, was not confined to its results in stimulating research and the knowledge of antiquity; it also furnished the sculptors of that time with the noblest examples and models. The Pope himself encouraged the revival of this art by giving employment to its most distinguished masters. He took Cristoforo Romano,‡ Andrea Sansovino and Michael Angelo into his service. We shall deal fully in the next chapter with the commissions given by Julius to the greatest sculptor of modern times.§ Andrea Sansovino, who had been residing in Rome from the year 1504,‖ was charged with the erection of two marble tombs in memory of Cardinals Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere, in the favourite church of the Rovere, S^ta^ Maria del Popolo. Both were completed before the end of the year 1509. In his main design the master

* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 140 *seq.*, ed. 3. *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 590 *seq.*, and Hist. de l'Art, II., 105 *seq.*

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 134, ed. 3.

‡ It has not yet been discovered what precisely were the works on which Cristoforo was employed. All that is known is that the Pope desired him to make a medallion of himself in the year 1506. See Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 149.

§ See *infra* Chap. 9.

‖ SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 14.

adhered to the traditional form, but the composition is free, and the distribution of the parts broader and clearer. "The figures recline in peaceful slumber in a sort of a niche in the wall surmounted by a triumphal arch."*

In the year 1512, Sansovino carved a marble group of the Madonna and Child and S. Anne for the church of S. Agostino by order of the German Prelate, Johann Goritz, whose house was the rendezvous of all the best scholars and artists in Rome. "This is one of the most perfect productions of the new style." Its special characteristic is great tenderness and depth of expression, and the wonderful delineation of the three different ages which it represents.†

Our admiration of Julius II.'s indefatigable energy is still further increased when we turn to the numerous other works, which he undertook and carried out in Rome for the improvement of the existing streets, and the laying out and adorning of new ones. He connected all that he did in these directions with the works begun by Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. In April 1505, he determined to complete the Via Alessandrina; the cost of this work was divided between the Pope, the Cardinals, the officials

* LÜBKE, Gesch. der Plastik, 694; SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 14 *seq.*; SEMPER-BARTH, Bildhauerarchitekten d. Renaiss., 11 *seq.* (Dresden, 1880), and Plates 14 and 15; LETAROUILLY, Édifices, III., Pl. 239-242. According to VON GEYMÜLLER, 84, the tomb of Ascanio Sforza bears traces of Bramante's influence; indeed, he thinks it possible that the architectural part was after a design of his. The inscription on A. Sforza's grave is to be found in VAIRANI, II., 116 *seq.* Julius II. announces his intention of erecting a tomb for Ascanio in a *Brief addressed to Gundisalvo Fernandi duci Terrenove, dat. 12th June, 1505. *Lib. brev. 22, f. 327b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 385; LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, 695; SCHÖNFELD, Sansovino, 21 *seq.* On Andrea Galletti who was also employed by Julius II., see Appendix, N. 45.

of the Court, and the Hospital of S^to^ Spirito.* Many other streets, as the approach to the Lateran, the streets of S. Celso, S^ta^ Lucia and many of the Piazza were embellished by Julius II.† Amongst the new streets which he made, and many of which still determine the ground-plan of the city, the Via Giulia bears his name up to the present day. Beginning at the Ponte Sisto it runs westwards in a straight line until it reaches the Tiber near the ruins of the old triumphal bridge. This latter was to have been rebuilt and was already spoken of as the Julian Bridge,‡ and so the whole would have formed a new and splendid approach to S. Peter's. The Via Giulia was then the broadest thoroughfare in Rome, and was to have been made the handsomest. We still see the trace of his plans in the now unfrequented street from which traffic has been diverted to other ways. Between the churches of San Biagio and del Suffragio we see the commencement, consisting of huge rough-hewn square stones, of the basement of an immense building which was intended to contain the Law Courts and Notarial Offices of the city, and also a handsome chapel. It was to have had four corner towers with a loftier one in the centre of the façade over the main entrance. If it had been completed, the Julian Palace "would have ranked as Bramante's greatest work

* 28th April, 1505. R^mus^ D. Card. S. Giorgii fecit verbum de via Alessandrina ut sterni posset et fuit conclusum quod S. D. N. et collegium rev. dominor. cardinalium solverent 600 ducatos et officiales 800 et hospitale S. Spiritus cum ecclesia S. Petri solverent 100 ducatos. (Acta Consist., f. 12 in Cod. T., 8, 12, in the Angelica Library, Rome.) CIACONIUS, III., 246, gives this memorandum ex antiquis MS. Vatic., with the date of 28th Aug., 1505. In Contelorius' extracts from the Acta Consist., the 26th of April is given. Arm. 37, T. 40, f. 296. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

† ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 42 *seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 50.

after S. Peter's and the Vatican. The immense blocks of travertine, the largest in Rome, shew on what a colossal scale the edifice was designed.*

The district lying between the Via Giulia and the Bridge of St. Angelo, which had been improved under Sixtus IV. was still further embellished by Julius. The church of S. Celso was restored, and not far from it the new Mint was erected.† The Banking-house of the wealthy and artistic Agostino Chigi, who was on such intimate terms with the Pope as financial adviser that Julius received him into the Rovere family,‡ stood in this quarter; and Galeotto della Rovere now inhabited the Cancellaria which had formerly belonged to Rodrigo Borgia. An inscription on marble, somewhat in the tomb-stone style, was put up in 1512 in the Via di Bacchi by the ediles Domenico Massimo and Hieronymo Pico, praising Julius II. for all he had done for the States of the Church and the liberation of Italy, and especially for having "made Rome the fitting capital of such a state by enlarging and embellishing her streets." The improvements effected in the Lungara, the street running along the right bank of the Tiber between the Leonine city and the Trastevere, quite altered the appearance of that district. The intention was to carry it on as far as the Ripa Grande as a parallel

* See Aegidius of Viterbo in GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117, ed. 3. *Cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 57; Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst (1878), p. 244; ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 11, 22; REUMONT, III., 2, 376, 451; Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., I., 147.

† ALBERTINI, 49; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117, ed. 3.

‡ Concerning A. Chigi, of whom we shall have more to say in our forthcoming volume, *cf.* CUGNONI in the Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., II., 37 *seq.*, 209 *seq.* (*cf.* 224, Privileges from Julius II.), 475 *seq.*; III., 213 *seq.*, 291 *seq.*, 422 *seq.*; IV., 56 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*; VI., 139 *seq.*, 497 *seq.* REUMONT, III., 1, 441 *seq.*, and 2, 398 *seq.* GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 118 *seq.*, ed. 3, and LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 24 *seq.*

to the Via Giulia on the other side, but it did not make rapid progress. The Riarii and Cardinal Ferarri had country-houses and gardens where it terminated, and in the time of Julius II. Agostino Chigi's splendid Villa, the Farnesina, which was celebrated all over the world for the decorative paintings on its walls, stood there.*

Amongst the Roman churches, for which Julius did more or less, Albertini mentions S. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Biagio della Pagnotta, SS. Apostoli and S^ta^ Maria del Popolo.† Clinging closely as Julius always did to the traditions of Sixtus IV. it will be understood that he took a special interest in this church. The Chapel of the Choir was enlarged by Bramante,‡ and the windows filled with stained glass by two French masters, Claude, whose family name is unknown, and a Dominican, Guillaume de Marcillat. These artists were also employed by the Pope for the stained glass in the Sala Regia adjoining the Sistine Chapel, and in the Papal apartments in the Vatican, and liberally rewarded.§ The tombs of Cardinals Basso and Sforza were placed in this chapel, and it was further embellished, apparently in the year 1505, with frescoes by Pinturicchio at the Pope's command. The exquisite harmony of colouring in this work even surpasses that of his Siena paintings. The roof seems to open in the centre to reveal a vision of the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in a blue sky surrounded with a glory of cherub faces. Four circular openings in the direction of the cross axes of the central painting contain half-length figures of the Evangelists, while at the four

* REUMONT, III., 2, 451; GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 117 *seq.*, ed. 3. Further particulars in regard to the Farnesina will appear in our next vol.

† ALBERTINI, 6 *seq.* On the SS. Apostoli, see Brief of 11th Dec. 1507, in Appendix, N. 56. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‡ MÜNTZ in the Gazette des Beaux Arts (1879), p. 366; VON GEYMÜLLER, 85.

§ REUMONT, III., 2, 393, 856.

corners of the roof square architectural frames enclose reclining forms of Sybils, painted in colour on a golden mosaic background. The depressed intermediate spaces are filled with highly-coloured *grotesques* on a dark ground while the architectural lines of the roof are defined in pale stone-colour.* It was probably Julius II.'s partiality for S^ta^ Maria del Popolo which led Agostino Chigi to commence the building of a chapel for himself there, which, however, was only completed under Leo X. Julius II. had only possessed a modest conventual-looking house near S. Petro in Vincoli as long as he remained a Cardinal, but when he became Pope he built himself a Palace by this church.† The Villa Maglione, which had already been embellished by the art-loving Cardinal Alidosi, was further improved by Pope Julius II.‡

Outside Rome one of the first interests of this warrior Pope was to strengthen the fortresses in the States of the Church and add to their number. Work of this description was executed in Civita Vecchia,§ Ostia,‖ Civita Castellana, Montefiascone, Forli,¶ Imola,** and

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rom, 82 *seq.* *Cf.* GRUNER, Décorations des Palais, Pl. XIII., 49.

† ALBERTINI, 22; SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio, 22; REUMONT, III., 1, 418.

‡ *Cf.* PLATTNER'S Preface to L. Gruner, I freschi della Villa Magliana (Leipzig, 1847). On Alidosi's patronage of Art, see SPRINGER, 108; he also befriended Erasmus.

§ *Cf.* BURCHARDI Diarium, III., 219 *seq.*; SANUTO, VIII., 23; CIACONIUS, III., 241.

‖ *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 1, 519. The Ferrarese Envoy mentions the building in Ostia in a *Report of 30th Oct., 1508. (State Archives, Modena.) In August 1511, when he began to recover from his serious illness, one of the first things that Julius II. spoke of was the carrying on of the works in Viterbo. SANUTO, XII., 482.

¶ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Döllinger, 26 (Civ. Castellana), 32 (Montefiascone), 63 (Forli).

** FANTI, Imola, 19.

Bologna.* The building of churches, however, was by no means neglected. Julius assisted in the construction of the Cathedrals of Perugia † and Orvieto,‡ and in that of churches in Bologna,§ Ferrara,‖ S. Arcangelo,¶ Corneto, and Toscanella.** He also gave a commission to Bramante for very extensive works at Loreto. While yet a Cardinal he had had the sacristy there decorated by Signorelli with a series of paintings;†† now he employed Bramante to embellish this venerated sanctuary, which was a focus of

* *Cf. supra*, p. 286. See also the *Brief, dat. Bologna, 18th Dec., 1510, to the Marquess of Mantua, which says: Ceterum cogitamus addere arci nostre Bononiae quasdam munitiones in quibus ingenio et arte dil. filii Nicolai Marie Griffoni uti volumus; est enim ut accepimus har. rerum fabricator egregius. This man is to be sent to him. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

† *Brief of 10th July, 1512. Capitular Archives, Perugia.

‡ Studi e documenti (1890), p. 106 *seq.*

§ *Brief, dat. Bologna, 21st Feb., A°. 4°. The church of S. Dominic in Bologna contains the relics of this Saint, who is the patron of the city, and held there in special veneration. In order to encourage their devotion, and obtain funds for keeping the building in good order, the Pope granted an Indulgence to all who should visit the church on the next Feast-day of the Saint, confess their sins and give a small alms for this purpose. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 168b; *ibid.*, f. 259, *Indulgence (dat. Rom, May 7, 1507), for the restoration and decoration of the church of S. Petronio in Bologna. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

‖ *Indulgence for the building of the church of S. John in Ferrara, Bologna, 8th Feb., 1507, A°. 4°. Ecclesiarum fabrice manus porrigere adiutrices pium et magnum apud deum meriti esse putantes fideles . . . ut per temporalia, que illis impenderint auxilia, premia consequi valeant felicitatis aeternae etc. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 183b.

¶ *Indulgence for the church B. V. M. in terra nostra S. Archangelo prope Rimini, dat. Viterbo, 3rd Mar., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 218.

** *Brief of Indulgence for the building of the church S. Johannis Cornetani et S. Leonardi de Tuscanella, dat. Viterbo, 19th Mar., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 219.

†† WOLTMANN, II., 230.

devotion to the Blessed Virgin for the whole of Italy and a large part of Europe. Paris de Grassis gives an account of these works,* of which the most important were the decorated casing of marble with which the Holy House was covered, and which belongs to Julius II., though the arms of Leo X. appear on the pedestal, and the Palace of the Canons, called subsequently the Palazzo Apostolico or Palazzo del Governo. This building was to have occupied the three sides of the piazza in front of the church, so as to form a closed atrium leading up to it, but only a portion of the design was completed.†

Next to the Sanctuary of Loreto the decoration of the Cathedral of Savona, the Pope's native city, was the work that lay nearest to his heart.‡ Before he was made Pope he had enriched it with many gifts, and after his elevation he spent no less than 27,000 scudi on its endowment and embellishment. He also built a new Palace for the Bishop there and a Chapter-house, finished the Chapel of S. Sisto, supported the Hospital with liberal alms, and sent a yearly contribution to the keeping up of the harbour.§

* PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 286.

† *Cf.* VON GEYMÜLLER, 93 *seq.*; SEMPER, Bramante, 42. See also TURSELLINUS, 160 *seq.*; VOGEL, II., 238 *seq.*; PUNGILEONI, 94; Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, 1891, I. (XL.), p. 168 *seq.* P. GIANNIZZI, La chiesa di S. M. di Loreto in the Rassegna Naz., 15 Sett., 1884, and Arch. St. dell' Arte, I., 156 *seq.*

‡ In a *Brief to de Alegra reg. Savonæ gub., dat. Viterbo, 23rd Sept., 1505, Julius speaks of the peculiaris caritas qua dilectissimam patriam nostram Savonam prosequimur. (*Lib. brev. 22, f. 373.) Julius II. more than once interceded with Louis XII. for the citizens of Savona. See *Briefs to Louis XII. and Cardinal d'Amboise, both dated Bologna, 8th Jan., 1507. *Lib. brev. 25, f. 82b, 83. Secret Archives of the Vatican.

§ See ASSERTO, in the Atti d. Soc. Savon., I., 451; II., 466, and the extract: O. VARALDO, Un inventario della Masseria del duomo di Savona (anno 1542) per Agost. Abati. (Savona, 1891). See also ALBERTINI, 55.

But with Julius II. the city in which the Holy See had its seat and held its Court naturally took the first place, and under him Rome became the true centre of the Art-life of Italy. The Pope's love of architecture roused the prelates, the aristocracy, and the wealthy merchants, to follow where he led, and builders, sculptors and painters were in request in all quarters of the city.* He did not, however, content himself with merely beautifying Rome; he aimed also at making the city safe and wholesome. The walls were restored in many places, and the charge of these fortifications and the chief offices of the city was handed over to men belonging to the noble Roman families, such as the Massimi, Altieri, Frangipani, Pici, della Valle, Cassarelli, Capodiferri, etc.† The works begun by Alexander VI. for strengthening the defences of the Castle of St. Angelo were continued. Guglielmo de Piemonte, a friend of Michael Angelo, and the younger Antonio Picconi da Sangallo were the architects here employed, and they also completed the entrance and the arcade leading to the Vatican. The handsome Loggie at the top of the Castle, on which Julius's name is inscribed, and from whence there is a magnificent panoramic view of Rome and the Campagna, are ascribed to Bramante.‡ The repairing of the old Cloacæ and the building of new ones, an important sanitary improvement, was the work of the Pope.§ He also constructed a new aqueduct from S. Antonio, two miles out of Rome, to the Vatican,

* TSCHACKERT, 14 ; *cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 279 *seq.*

† MAZIO, De' curatori delle mura di Roma, in Saggiatore, I., 83 ; REUMONT, III., 2, 452, 859 ; and MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 84, 111, 113, 114, 117, 130. See also p. 151 on the restoration of the Ponte Molle.

‡ VON GEYMÜLLER, 92 ; MÜNTZ, Antiquités, 60, 67 *seq.*; BORGATI, 112. The author of this latter work, an Italian officer, laments the partial destruction of these by the Italian military administration.

§ ALBERTINI, 52.

and repaired that of the Aqua Virgo.* Tommaso Inghirami, in his address to the Cardinals on the death of Julius II., referring to all that he did in these respects, says, "He found the city mean, uncleanly, and without dignity, and has so purified and embellished it that it is now worthy of the great name it bears. The buildings erected by the Savonese Popes within the last forty years make Rome what it is; all the other houses, if I may be pardoned the expression, are merely huts."†

During the lifetime of Julius II. the learned Canon Francesco Albertini compiled a guide in which, side by side with the old Rome, he describes the "new city" created by Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., and Julius II. It is really enjoyable to perambulate Rome under the guidance of this contemporary writer, and behold all the glory and beauty of the magic city as it appeared in the days of Julius II. No other source brings home to the mind so vividly as this little book does, the almost universal feeling for art which prevailed in that "happy generation where not a single house was to be found, belonging to any one who had the least pretence to culture, that did not possess some artistic feature. It might consist in the grandeur of its plan, or in some majestic pillared court, into which all the other rooms opened, or an exquisitely decorated library, the beloved sanctum of its owner, or blissful resort of his most congenial friends, or again, some precious collection of statues, or gems, or vases, or curious stuffs, the admiration and wonder of all who visited Rome. Frescoes on the walls of reception rooms or studies were so common that no attempt is made to describe them or name their painters. So little account was made of them that whole series would

* ALBERTINI, 51; REUMONT, III., 2, 451.

† FEA, Notizie, 52.

be ruthlessly wiped out, as was done in the cloisters of the Minerva, founded by Cardinal Torquemada, to make way for new and better ones."* Albertini's little book on the Wonders of old and new Rome is dedicated to Julius II. In the Preface he says "Sixtus IV. began the restoration of the city, his successors followed in his footsteps, but your Holiness has outstripped them all." At the close we find the date 3rd June, 1509. At that time Raphael was only just beginning to paint the Camera della Segnatura, and Michael Angelo was still at work in the Sistina;† so that the greatest of all Rome's wonders, those immortal monuments of religious art, had not yet been created.

* SCHMARSOW in the Intr. to his ed. of ALBERTINI, XVII.–XVIII.

† ALBERTINI, 13, only mentions Michael Angelo's work; he says nothing of the Stanze.

CHAPTER IX.

MICHAEL ANGELO IN THE SERVICE OF JULIUS II. TOMB AND BRONZE STATUE OF THE POPE. PAINTINGS OF THE CEILING IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

NICHOLAS V. and Sixtus IV. while doing so much for architecture and painting had, owing to unfavourable circumstances, paid but little regard to plastic art. Julius II. following in their footsteps, had the good fortune to be able to secure for sculpture, as well as for painting, the services of the greatest genius of his time. His name will always be associated with that of Michael Angelo, as well as with those of Raphael and Bramante. It was he who afforded to all three the opportunity for displaying and developing their wonderful gifts.

Julius II. knew Michael Angelo's Pietà in the Chapel of S. Petronilla in S. Peter's. No doubt, it was his acquaintance with this work which is one of the most noble and soul-stirring creations of Christian sculpture,* which led him in the Spring of the year 1505 to invite the artist to Rome. The great sculptor, then 33 years of age, put aside his cartoon of the battle of Cascina, which he had just begun, and obeyed the Pope's call. He arrived in March,† and found at once in Julius the most artistic of all the Popes, a patron who understood and appreciated his power. He took the strongest personal interest in the sculptor's work,

* See Vol. V. of this work, p. 79, note **, and K. HASE, Erinnerungen an Italien, 184.

† Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 426; VON GEYMÜLLER, 147.

followed every step, and pressed for its completion with the impatience of a boy. Between two such hot-tempered men as the Pope and the artist, collisions were inevitable; but they soon made friends again. They understood each other, both were *Terribili* in the Italian sense,* great, vehement souls and lovers of all great and colossal things materially and spiritually; both crowned heads, one with the diadem of Christendom, the other with that of genius.†

The first commission which the Pope gave to the artist was characteristic of both men. A colossal marble tomb was to be carved for him during his lifetime. Michael Angelo at once set to work to prepare several designs, of which one was accepted, and an agreement was drawn up binding the sculptor to complete the monument within five years, and fixing the price at 10,000 ducats;‡ meanwhile he was to draw a monthly provision of 100 ducats. Michael Angelo threw himself into his task with the greatest enthusiasm. He went at once to Carrara to obtain the material for his work and remained there eight months, superintending with the greatest care, first the quarrying, and then the transport of the marble, which weighed in round numbers about 110 tons.§

In the beginning of the new year (1506) he returned to Rome and set up a workshop in the Piazzo San Pietro.‖

* *Cf. supra*, p. 212.

† HASE, Erinnerungen an Italien, 183.

‡ FREY, Studien, 92.

§ GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 272 *seq.*, ed. 5; FREY, Studien, 93. Frey deserves credit for being the first to attempt to fix the dates of Michael Angelo's various works under Julius II.

‖ Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 426, 493. Michael Angelo here describes his workshop as una casa che m' aveva data Julio dietro a Santa Caterina. This church (S. Caterina delle Cavallerotte) was in the Piazza Rusticucci (see ARMELLINI, 175). The exact date of Michael Angelo's return to Rome cannot be determined. FREY says, correctly,

He was burning with eagerness to begin his work. "Most honoured father," he writes on 31st January, 1506, "I should be quite satisfied with my position, if only my marble had arrived; but I seem to be most unfortunate in this matter, for in all the time that I have been here we have had only two days of favourable weather. Some days ago one of the ships arrived after a narrow escape of running aground owing to the bad weather. Then, while I was unloading it, the river suddenly rose and flooded all the wharf, so that as yet I have not been able to do anything. I have only good words to give to the Pope, and hope he will not get angry. I trust I may soon be able to begin, and then to get on quickly. God grant it."*

There was, however, a much worse difficulty in the way, owing to the change in the Pope's mind which was now turning more and more away from the thought of the tomb and towards the building of the new S. Peter's.† In compensation for this disappointment Michael Angelo was to be given a commission to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel;‡ but the master felt himself deeply aggrieved: the money he had received was not sufficient to pay even the freights of the marble. On the strength of the Pope's order he had set up his workshop at his own cost and procured assistance from Florence. On the 17th of April, 1506, he heard that the Pope had said to a goldsmith and to his Master of Ceremonies that he would not give another farthing for stones, large or small. In much astonishment, Michael Angelo demanded before he left the Vatican a portion of the money

before the 14th Jan., 1506 (Studien, 93); SYMONDS, I., 130 131, makes it still earlier.

* *Ibid.*, 6; GUHL, I., 121.

† *Cf. supra*, p. 463.

‡ It is uncertain whether this plan was the Pope's own thought, or was suggested by Bramante. See FREY, Studien, 93.

that he required for the prosecution of his work. The Pope put off seeing him till the Monday following, but when the day came the promised audience was not granted. The same thing was repeated on the following days. When on the 17th April he appeared again he was refused admittance by the express command of the Pope. Upon this he flared up. "Tell the Pope," he is said to have exclaimed, "that if he wants me any more he will have to find me wherever he can." Then he rushed out of the Palace, desired his servants to sell his things, and mounting his horse left Rome at once, with a firm determination never to set foot in it again.*

When Julius was told of Michael Angelo's flight (it was on the eve of the day of the laying of the foundation-stone for S. Peter's) he commanded that the sculptor should be pursued at once and brought back by force if necessary. But Michael Angelo had ridden fast, and it was not till he had arrived safely in Poggibonsi, on Florentine soil, that the messengers succeeded in overtaking him and handing him a letter from the Pope, commanding him to return at once under pain of his serious displeasure. The angry artist, however, had no notion of complying. At 11 p.m. he wrote to the Pope that he would never return to Rome. "For the good service which I have rendered to your Holiness, I have not deserved to be turned out of your Palace as if I were a worthless lackey. Since your Holiness no longer requires the monument I am freed from my obligation, and I will not contract any new one."†

* *Cf.* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 279 *seq.*, 519 *seq.*, ed. 5. The divergencies in Michael Angelo's own accounts of the incident are here carefully examined.

† CONDIVI, 38–39; ed. FREY, 74. According to this writer, Michael Angelo arrived at Poggibonsi a due hore di notte. Michael Angelo himself says later, it was circa a tre ore di notte. GRIMM, Michelangelo

Michael Angelo's friends, and especially Giuliano da Sangallo, did their best to bring about a reconciliation between him and the Pope. On the 2nd May, Michael Angelo wrote to Giuliano from Florence, "I beg you to read my answer to the Pope. I wish His Holiness to know that I am ready, indeed, more willing than ever, to go on with my work. If he wishes, whatever happens, to have the tomb, he ought not to mind where I execute the work, provided I keep to my agreement, that at the end of the five years it shall be put up in S. Peter's where-ever he chooses, and that it shall be well done. I am certain that when it is completed there will be nothing to equal it in the whole world. If His Holiness will agree to this I should be glad to receive his commission in Florence, from whence I will correspond with him. I have several blocks of marble at Carrara at my disposal which I can have sent here, and the persons that I shall want to assist me can also come here. Though I shall be considerably out of pocket by doing the work here I shall not mind that. As each portion is finished I shall send it at once to Rome, so that His Holiness will have as much pleasure in it as if I were at hand, and, indeed, more, as he will only see the finished work and have no anxieties about it."*

A week later a friend of Michael Angelo's wrote to him from Rome, "Last Saturday, I and Bramante were called up to report to the Pope while he was at table, on a number of drawings and plans: I was first, and after dinner Bramante was called, and the Pope said to him, 'to-morrow

I., 517, ed. 5, mistranslates "2 ore di notte" as 8 o'clock p.m. FREY, Studien, 93, falls into the same error. The night from 15th April, according to the Italian reckoning, begins about 8 p.m. (See LERSCH, Ewiges Calendarium, 7. Münster, 1877); thus between the second and third hours of the night would be between 10 and 11 p.m.

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 377 *seq.* GUHL, I., 123.

Sangallo is going to Florence and will bring Michael Angelo back with him.' Bramante answered, 'Your Holiness, Sangallo had better not count on it: I know Michael Angelo well, and he has said to me more than once that he did not intend to paint the Chapel; your Holiness was pushing him hard, but he would not undertake anything but the tomb.' Bramante said further, 'Holy Father, I do not think he trusts himself for this work; he will have to paint figures greatly foreshortened to be seen from below; that is a very different thing from painting on the flat.' The Pope answered, 'If he does not come, it will be a slight to me, and, therefore, I believe that he will.' Then I shewed that I too was there and spoke out, somewhat as you would have done if you had had to speak for me. I called him a knave straight out before the Pope, at which he was struck quite dumb, for he saw that he had said what he ought not. At last I said, 'Holy Father, this man has never spoken with Michael Angelo about these things, if what I say is not true may my head fall at my feet. I will stick to it; this conversation never took place, and Michael Angelo will return if your Holiness really desires it.' Thus the matter ended, and no more was said. God be with you. If I can do anything for you you have only to tell me. My respects to Simone Pollajuolo."*

On the 8th of July the Pope made another attempt to induce the sculptor to return, writing the following Brief to the Signoria. "Beloved Sons—Greeting and Apostolic blessing—Michelangelo the sculptor, who left us without reason, and in mere caprice, is afraid, we are informed, of returning, though we for our part are not angry with him, knowing the humours of such men of genius. In order then that we may lay aside all anxiety, we rely on your loyalty to convince him in our name, that if he returns to

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 283–284, ed. 5.

us he shall be uninjured and unhurt, retaining our Apostolic favour in the same measure as he formerly enjoyed it." *

Michael Angelo, who apparently had now resumed work on his cartoon and the bronze statues of the Twelve Apostles for the Cathedral of Florence, adhered resolutely to his refusal. Meanwhile, another letter arrived from the Pope. The Gonfaloniere Soderini sent for the artist, to remonstrate with him. "You have behaved towards the Pope," he is said to have told him, "in a way that the King of France himself would not have ventured upon. There must be an end to all this. We are not going to be dragged into a war, and risk the whole State for you. Make up your mind to go back to Rome." It was all in vain : it has even been asserted that Michael Angelo now thought of leaving Italy, and betaking himself to the Sultan, who had asked him to build a bridge for him from Constantinople to Pera.† The poems composed at that time, in which he denounces the corruption in Rome in the strongest terms, betray tension and irritation with which his mind was filled during this period.‡ The good offices of Cardinal Alidosi, the Pope's favourite, whose mediation had been invoked by the Florentine Government proved equally unavailing.

Meanwhile Julius II. had set out on his march against Bologna, and entered the city in triumph on the 11th of November, 1506.§ It was felt that this magnificent success should be immortalised by some monumental work of art. A statue of the Pope in stucco had already on the 17th

* GRIMM, Michelangelo, 284-285, ed. 5 ; GOTTI, I., 45 ; SYMONDS, I., 180.

† *Ibid.*, I., 285 *seq.*, ed. 5.

‡ *Cf.* Sonnet, 3 (Rime di Michelangelo, ed. Guasti, 156). SYMONDS, I., 182 *seq.*, assigns the fourth sonnet (*loc. cit.*, 157. Qua si fa elmi d. calice e spade) to this date, while FREY, Studien, 101, thinks it was not written until April 1512.

§ See *supra*, p. 281 *seq.*

of December been put up in front of the Palace of the Government at Bologna.* But Julius II. had set his heart on a more durable work, a colossal bronze statue, to be a perpetual memento always under the eyes of the Bolognese of the greatness of their new ruler. The natural result was a fresh letter from Cardinal Alidosi to the Florentine Government, requesting them to send Michael Angelo to Bologna, where he would have no cause to complain of his reception. Now at last the sculptor gave way. Towards the end of November he started for the city, provided with a letter from Soderini, which ran as follows:—"The bearer of these presents will be Michelangelo the sculptor, whom we send to please and satisfy His Holiness. We certify that he is an excellent young man, and in his own art without a peer in Italy, perhaps even in the Universe. It would be impossible to recommend him too highly. His nature is such that he requires to be drawn out by kindness and encouragement; but if love is shewn to him, and he is well treated, he will accomplish things which will make the whole world wonder." The letter was dated November 27. A postscript was added which said, "Michelangelo comes in reliance on our plighted word." Subsequently, the artist said that he had gone to Bologna with a halter round his neck.†

His reception was stormy. "It was your business to have come to seek us," the Pope said, "whereas you have waited till we came to seek you;" alluding to his march to

* *Cf.* PODESTA, Due Statue, 109 *seq.*; and GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 77.

† GAYE, Carteggio, II., 91; GUHL, Künstlerbriefe, I., 124–125; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 297 *seq.*, ed. 5; SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 109; the expression: Mi fu forza andare là con la coreggia al collo, is in his famous letter to Giov. Francesco Fattucci, of Jan. 1524. Lettere de Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 427.

Bologna. Michael Angelo fell upon his knees and begged for pardon in a loud voice. He declared his flight had not been deliberate. He had gone away in a fit of rage because he could not stand the way in which he had been driven from the Palace. Julius II. made no answer, but sat there frowning, with his head down, until one of the Prelates who had been asked by Soderini to put in a good word for Michael Angelo if necessary, intervened and said "Your Holiness should not be so hard on this fault of Michael Angelo; he is a man who has never been taught good manners, these artists do not know how to behave, they understand nothing but their art." On this, the Pope, in a fury, turned on the unlucky mediator. "You venture," he shouted, "to say to this man things that I should not have dreamt of saying. It is you who have no manners. Get out of my sight, you miserable, ignorant clown." Then reaching out his hand to Michael Angelo he forgave him, and at once commissioned him to execute a statue of himself in bronze, which was to be 7 cubits high (about 14 feet). Then he asked what the cost would be, to which the sculptor replied, "I think the mould could be made for 1000 ducats, but foundry is not my trade, and therefore I cannot bind myself." "Go," answered Julius, "set to work at once, and make as many moulds as you like, until the statue is perfect; you shall have no reason to complain of your pay."* This famous audience which terminated the estrangement between these two fiery spirits, probably took place on the 29th November, 1506.† It shews how well the Pope understood that genius levels all distinction of states.

Michael Angelo now set to work at once at Bologna.

* CONDIVI, 41–42. Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 429; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 298 *seq.*, ed. 5. SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 110.

† FREY, Studien, 93.

The Pope often visited him. In a letter to his brother Buonarroti, dated 1st February, 1507, he says, "Last Friday evening His Holiness spent half an hour in my work-room. He bestowed his blessing on me and gave me to understand that he was pleased with my work. We have all great cause to thank God, and I beg you to pray for me."* On the 28th April the wax model was finished, and at the end of June the casting was begun, but was unsuccessful; only the bust came out, the other half stuck in the mould.† Michael Angelo, however, was not discouraged, and worked day and night, until an entirely satisfactory result was attained. From the 18th of February, 1508, the statue was exhibited for three days in the Cathedral of S. Petronio. The whole city flocked to see it. The Bolognese magistrates wrote to Rome. "It is a wonderful work, equal to your own ancient remains." On the 21st February the statue was placed in a niche over the door of S. Petronio with great demonstrations of joy.‡

The figure was three times the size of life. The Pope was represented sitting in full pontificals, with the Tiara on his head, the keys in one hand, and the other raised in blessing. The work seemed calculated to last for ever; in reality, its duration was of the shortest. On the 30th December,§ 1511, it fell a victim to the hatred of the

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 65. The well-known story of the sculptor's having asked Julius whether he should put a book into his left hand, and the Pope's reply, "Give me a sword, I am not a scholar," sounds like a later invention. If it had been true, Michael Angelo would hardly have ventured to put S. Peter's keys into the hand of the statue.

† Lettere, *loc. cit.*, 148, 78, 79.

‡ *Cf.* PODESTA, Due Statue, 107, 111, 124 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 79; GOTTI, I., 66. The date given by Tizio (in FEA, Notizie, 25) is incorrect.

§ Not in September as SPRINGER, III., and GUHL, I., 125, say.

Bentivogli party, who had already in May destroyed the stucco figure of the Pope.* When the immense mass of metal, weighing over 14,000 pounds, fell to the ground, it made a deep hole in the earth although straw and bundles of sticks had been prepared to receive it. The noble statue was broken to pieces amidst gibes and jeers, and the Duke of Ferrara had a cannon made from the metal which was called La Giulia, in mockery of the Pope. The head of the figure, weighing 600 pounds, was preserved for a long time in Ferrara, but finally disappeared. This was the end of the finest statue in Italy, as the Bolognese chronicler calls it.†

Michael Angelo had returned to his home in Florence as soon as the statue was finished, but he was not allowed to remain there long. In March 1508, Julius II. recalled him to Rome, not, however, to proceed with the tomb, but to paint the roof of the Sistine Chapel.‡ "It is to the honour of Julius that he again set his own personal glory, in employing the artist on work of a wider scope." § Michael Angelo, who only felt the fulness of genius with chisel in hand, at first resisted, saying that painting was not his trade.‖

* PODESTA, Due Statue, 114 *seq.*

† *Ibid.*, 119 *seq.*; GOZZADINI, Alcuni avvenimenti, IV., 243; FEA, Notizie, 25; GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 401, ed. 5; HAVEMANN, II., 364. Letters published by CAMPORI in the Atti dell' Emilia, N. S. VI., 1, 131 *seq.*, retail the anger of the Pope and the lame excuses of the Duke. The story of the statue formed the theme of several contemporary poems. See CAMPORI, *loc. cit.*, and CAPPELLI, Prefaz. alle Lettere di L. Ariosto, LIX. Bologna, 1866.

‡ SYMONDS, I., 198; FREY, Studien, 94.

§ GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 147, ed. 3.

‖ Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 17. *Cf.* the Sonnet to Giovanni da Pistoja (Rime, ed. Guasti, 158), which closes with the words: nè io pittore. In almost all the letters of this period, he signs himself with a touch of ostentation: Michelangiolio, *Scultore* in Roma. *Cf.* WOLTMANN, II., 577; and SYMONDS, I., 200.

But the iron will of the Pope prevailed, and forced the brush into the unwilling fingers that were tingling to clasp the sterner instrument. An agreement was concluded between Julius II. and the artist, in which the latter engaged himself to paint the central vault of the roof of the Sistine Chapel for a sum of 3000 ducats.

Michael Angelo, having received 500 ducats on account from the Pope, set to work at once on the cartoons with his wonted energy. According to the artist's own account, in the first plan the Twelve Apostles were to be painted in the lunettes, and all the other spaces were, according to the usual practice of the time, to be filled with decorative designs.* Before the end of May the scaffolding had already been put up. On the eve of Pentecost (10th June) the Chapel was so full of noise and dust that the Cardinals could hardly get through the office.†

Meanwhile Michael Angelo had conceived a more extensive plan for his paintings, connecting them with the frescoes already existing in the Chapel, the superiority of which was at once appreciated by Julius II. In consequence a new agreement was drawn up in the Summer. The whole roof down to the windows was to be covered with figures, and the fee was to be 6000 ducats instead of 3000. All the materials were to be supplied to the artist.‡ Michael Angelo

* See his Letter to G. F. FATTUCCI. Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 427. *Cf.* also WÖLFFLIN, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 178 ; and FREY, Studien, 94.

† PARIS DE GRASSIS in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 Periode, XXV., 385–386 ; FREY, Studien, *loc. cit.* The bill for the scaffolding is in ZAHN, Notizie, 187 (*cf.* SYMONDS, I., 201), also in NAUMANN'S Archiv., XIII., 109. The receipt for the 500 ducats on account in Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 563, had already been printed in FÖRSTER-KUGLER, Kunstblatt, 1844, N. 105.

‡ Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 30, 430. FREY, Studien, 95. On Michelangelo's Studies for the figures on the roof, see ROBINSON,

now began to look about for assistants, ordered his colours, and probably began to paint in the late Autumn of 1508.* The Pope was as usual desperately eager and impatient, and refused to grant the artist a short leave of absence for a journey to Florence.†

On the 27th January, 1509, Michael Angelo complained to his father that the work was not getting on, as his assistants had proved worthless, and he had had to dismiss them. The result of this was, that this gigantic work was not only designed by Michael Angelo, but almost entirely painted by his own hands.‡ Besides the enormous amount of labour involved in this, he had also to master the technique of fresco painting, in which he had had no experience. In consequence, the hot-tempered artist had many a passage of arms with his impatient patron. But the two passionate natures understood each other, and were soon friends again. "Probably the alternations of merciless pressure and unmeasured vituperation with the frankest indulgence and kindness, which characterised the relations between Julius II. and Michael Angelo, were the means of obtaining more from him than any other treatment could have done." § In June, 1509, the Roman Canon Albertini saw the paintings already commenced in the central vault of the roof.‖

The drawings of Michael Angelo and Raphael in the University Galleries, 27 *seq.* (Oxford, 1870); SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 115 *seq.*, and SYMONDS, I., 204 *seq.*

* *Cf.* H. WILSON, 126, 194; SYMONDS, I., 202 *seq.*; FREY, 95 *seq.*

† GAYE, II., 107.

‡ *Cf.* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 17. Michael Angelo's statements in this letter, that he had not for a whole year received a penny from Julius II., is not accurate, as FREY, Studien, 97, shews. The same writer says that the work of other hands can be detected, both in the sacrifice and the drunkenness of Noe, and elsewhere also. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 112.

§ BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 644.

‖ ALBERTINI, ed. Schmarsow, 13; *cf.* FREY, Studien, 97-98, who

In May 1510, after a Winter of strenuous labour, Michael Angelo took a short holiday, which he spent in Florence.* With all his diligence and energy, the painter could not work fast enough for his impatient task-master. Julius II. climbed up on the scaffolding (Michael Angelo had to lend him a hand to help him up the last ladder) with the sole object of worrying the artist with questions as to when the work would be finished.†

But the time was approaching when the life or death struggle for the independence of the Papacy and the liberation of Italy from the French was to absorb the Pope's whole energies and thoughts. On the 17th August, 1510, he left Rome, and on the 1st of September he began his march on Bologna, where he found himself reduced to the greatest straits.‡ For the present it was out of the question to spare anything for Art.§ Already in September all payments ceased, and Michael Angelo did not know what to do. At first he wrote to the Pope, but at the end of the month he decided on going himself to Bologna. In October he returned to Rome where, by the orders of Julius, the Datary, Lorenzo Pucci, gave him 500 ducats. But the payments soon again came to an end ; on which the artist repeated his personal appeal to the Pope and was once more successful. "Last Tuesday," he writes from Rome to his brother on the 11th January, 1511, "I got back here safely, and the money has been paid to me."

rejects, I think rightly, the opinions of GRIMM, I., 526, ed. 5, and WÖLFFLIN, in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 272, and SYMONDS, I., 211, who state that Michael Angelo had finished the figures on the first half of the roof by All Saints' Day, 1509.

* FREY, Studien, 99.

† *Cf.* CONDIVI, 48, 50 ; and FREY, *loc. cit.*, 99.

‡ *Cf. supra*, pp. 332, 336.

§ SPRINGER, Raffael und Michelangelo, 117.

He enclosed a bill of exchange for 228 ducats; but by the end of February the needs of the campaign had again absorbed the promised instalments. "I believe," he writes to his brother on the 23rd February, "that I shall soon have to pay another visit to Bologna. When the Pope's Datary with whom I returned here last time, went back thither, he promised me that he would see that I should have money to go on with. But now he has been gone a month, and I have heard nothing from him. I shall wait another week and then, if there is still no news, shall go to Bologna, taking Florence on the way. Tell my father this."*

He was able to put off this journey, for the money arrived, and the work was resumed, and in spite of all those difficulties, was approaching completion. In the short period of 22 months (from November, 1508, to August, 1510), not counting interruptions, the painting of the whole central vault was finished.† But at what a cost of almost superhuman toil. Day after day the artist had to work lying on his back with the paint dropping on his face. Vasari says that his eyes had become so accustomed to looking upwards, that for some time, when he wanted to read a letter he had to hold it above his head. In a sonnet, addressed to Giovanni da Pistoja, he describes his sufferings in a vein of somewhat bitter humour:

I' ho già fatto un gozzo in questo stento
Come fa l'acqua a' gatti in Lombardia,
O ver d'altro paese che si sia,
Ch 'a forza 'l ventre appicca sotto 'l mento.

* Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 99, 101, 109. *Cf.* GRIMM, I., 389 *seq.*, ed. 5; and FREY, 99–100.

† GRIMM, *loc. cit.*, 390; and FREY, 100.

La barba al cielo, e la memoria sento
In sullo scrignio, e 'l petto fo d' arpia ;
E 'l pennel sopra 'l viso tuttavia
Mel fa, gocciando, un ricco pavimento.

E lombi entrati mi son nella peccia
E fo del cul per contrapeso groppa
E' passi senza gli occhi muovo invano.

Dinanzi mi s' allunga la corteccia
E per piegarsi adietro si ragroppa
E tendomi com' arco soriano.

Però fallace e strano
Surgie il iudizio che la mente porta ;
Chè mal si tra' per cerbottana torta.

La mia pittura morta
Difendi orma', Giovanni, e 'l mio onore
Non sendo il loco bon, nè io pittore.*

* Rime di Michelangelo, ed. Guasti, 158. The following translation is by Mr. T. A. Symonds :

I've grown a goitre by dwelling in this den,
As cats from stagnant streams in Lombardy,
As in whatever land they hap to be
Which drives the belly close beneath the chin :
My beard turns up to heaven : my nape falls in,
Fixed on my spine : my breast bone visibly
Grows like a harp : a rich embroidery
Bedews my face from brush-drops thick and thin.
My loins into my pannels like levers grind :
My buttock like a crupper bears my weight :
My feet unguided wander to and fro ;
In front my skin grows loose and long ; behind,
By bending it becomes more taut and strait ;
Crosswise I strain me like a Syrian bow,
Whence false and quaint I know,
Must be the fruit of squinting brain and eye ;
For ill can aim the gun that bends awry.
Come then, Giovanni, try
To succour my dead pictures and my fame,
Since foul I fare and painting is my shame,

SYMONDS' *Michelangelo*, I., 234–235.

In order fully to estimate the amazing power and energy of the artist it must be remembered that the surface to be covered measured more than 10,000 square feet, and with its intersecting curves, lunettes, etc., bristled with difficulties for the painter. The magic wand of the artist filled the whole of this space with figures (343) in every imaginable position, attitude, and form of foreshortening, some 12 feet high, the Prophets and Sybils nearly 18 feet, and all carefully and conscientiously finished.* All the details, the hairs of the head and beard, the finger nails, the creases in the soles of the feet are painted with the marvellous truth to nature of the 15th Century, while the whole is steeped in the large and restful spirit of consummate art."†

The most important portion of these paintings was completed just at the most critical moment in the whole Pontificate of Julius II. The States of the Church were lying defenceless at the mercy of the victorious army of the King of France, while at the same time the same foe was attacking the spiritual authority of the Pope with the threat of a Council. In a powerless, but with a still unbroken spirit, the Pope had returned to his Palace on the 27th June, 1511.‡ On the eve of the Feast of the Assumption, the patronal festival of the Sistine Chapel, he attended Vespers there and saw the frescoes unveiled at last, that is all those of the central vaults ; the architectural framework, historical groups and single figures forming a complete whole in itself.§

* SYMONDS, I., 205. Goethe says that no one who has not seen the Sistine Chapel can have a complete conception of what a single man can accomplish.

† LÜBKE, II., 117, who calls attention also to the admirable finish of the sculptures in the Pantheon.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 362.

§ FREY, Studien, 100. The passage in PARIS DE GRASSIS on the sight of the *picturas novas ibidem noviter detectas* is wanting in Döllinger's edition ; he seems to have no understanding of the historical

In the middle of August, 1511, Michael Angelo began the cartoons for the paintings in the remaining interspaces and lunettes. At the end of September he had two audiences from the Pope, after the last of which he received 400 ducats.* In May 1512, he was again in distress for money, which was not surprising, considering the political situation at that time. Michael Angelo told Cardinal Bibbiena that he would throw up his work and go, on which the Cardinal managed to procure 2000 ducats for him.† In July he was again so diligent that he only wrote letters at night. On the 24th of July, 1512, he wrote: "I am working harder than any man has ever worked before, and I am not well, but I am resolved to have patience, and toil on to the end." Shortly before this, he had shewn his work from the scaffolding to Duke Alfonso of Ferrara and been cheered by his hearty appreciation of it; the Duke had also given him a commission for a picture.‡ In October, he was able at last to announce to his father that all the paintings were completed, and that the Pope was extremely pleased with them.§ With characteristic piety Michael Angelo substituted for the usual artists' signature an inscription close to the prophet Jeremias, ascribing the honour of the completion of his work to God, the Alpha and Omega, through whose assistance it had been begun and ended.‖

value of notices of this description. MÜNTZ published it in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 période, XXV. (1882), 386.

* FREY, Studien, 101.

† Lettere di Michelangelo, 428.

‡ *Cf.* Grossino's undated Report in LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 37, which has been overlooked by Frey. This Report must have been written between the 5th and 18th of July.

§ Lettere di Michelangelo, 104, 23; and also FREY, Studien, 102.

‖ STEINMANN has been the first to notice this inscription in the Repertorium f. Kunstwissensch., XVII., 178.

On All Hallow's Eve (October 31st), "the most sublime creation that colours and brush have ever produced," was unveiled.* The work called forth a perfect furore of enthusiastic admiration. Its nobility of thought and the skilfulness of the composition were praised to the skies, and still more the perfection of the drawing and of the plastic effects.† The Pope, then rapidly nearing his end, had the satisfaction of celebrating High Mass in the Chapel, which through him had become a shrine of noble art; thus fittingly closing a Pontificate which throughout had been devoted to lofty aims.

Nearly four centuries have elapsed since the unveiling of the roof of the Sistine. The smoke of candles has blackened it, time has seamed it with cracks, the colours have faded more or less, but still the effect is overpowering. "No doubt from the beginning colour was never the main consideration in this work, the drawing was the effective element, and continues to this day to impress on

* See WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 580. *Cf.* STOLBERG, Reise in Deutschland der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien, I., 434 *seq.* (Mayence, 1877), and Goethe's well-known saying that Nature herself was eclipsed by Michael Angelo, because no one but he could see her with such eyes. "One may read any number of treatises on the sublime," writes CASTELAR (Errinerungen an Italien, 77), "without finding oneself able to get a clear grip of what is meant. But raise your eyes to the vault of the Sistina, and here you will find what you seek, the sublime is that which bewilders, and, as it were, annihilates us with the sense of the inadequacy of the relation between our weak nature and the infinite greatness of an idea, filling the soul with fear and with joy." Braun's splendid photographs make it possible to study all the details of the great work. Excellent copies of the creation, of Adam, of Eve, the Fall, Isaias, Jeremias, the Delphic and Lybian Sybils, by C. Schwarzer, are to be seen in the Schack Gallery at Munich. The Report of PARIS DE GRASSIS over the unveiling, which is likewise wanting in Döllinger's edition, is printed in the Gaz. des Beaux Arts, 2 période, XXV., 387.

† GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 152, ed. 3.

the mind such a sense of its intense power and truthfulness that for the time the beholder forgets that there can be anything else in the world worth looking at."*

The idea of framing his pictures in a painted architectural design, subdividing the plain surface of the roof, was a bold and novel thought, and might have seemed fanciful, but for the purpose it was meant to serve, the effect was perfect. "The stone vaulting disappears, the fairy architecture resting on the real, flings its arches across the intervening space, sometimes with hangings stretched between them, and sometimes open to the sky in which the figures seem to float."†

In regard to the subjects of his paintings Michael Angelo simply carried out his scheme begun in the frescoes on the walls, which had been painted under Sixtus IV., in accordance with the triple division of the Plan of Salvation in use in the Middle Ages. This was divided into the period preceding the giving of the Law; that of the Law, and that of Grace in the Kingdom founded by Christ.‡ The frescoes on the left side represented the life of Moses, the period of the Law; those on the right the life of Christ, the Reign of Grace.§

* WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 586; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 666, and SZÉCSEN, Rafael, 559.

† See G. WARNECKE'S striking article on Michael Angelo's roof-paintings in Lützow's Zeitschrift (1891), N. F. II., 301. Warnecke is right in saying that Michael Angelo's painted architecture is in itself fanciful and unreal, but admirably effective for its purpose. Lübke had already expressed a similar opinion. The artist worked out his architectural divisions in the roof on ordinary constructive lines, but he had no intention of representing a real roof, and made no attempt to do so. Unlike some of the *baroque* artists, and the panoramists of the present day, his object was not to simulate a roof, but only to create an ideal framework by architectural divisions.

‡ LÜBKE, II., 92, was the first to point this out correctly. WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 582, agrees with him.

§ *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 468 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

Thus the period before the Law from the Creation to the Deluge was still wanting, and its principal events, as narrated in Genesis, were taken by Michael Angelo as the subjects for his pictures. He depicted them in four large and five smaller rectangular compartments on the flat space in the middle of the roof running from end to end. His treatment of the idea of the Creation which is described in revelation as the immediate act of the Divine Will through the efficient Word, saying, "Be it thus, and it was," is absolutely unique in its genius and power. We see and feel the rushing sweep of the breath of the Eternal through those days in which His Word called forth the heavens and the earth, the spiritual and the corporeal worlds into existence, out of the void. "Michael Angelo was the first of all artists to grasp the idea of Creation not as a mere word with the sign of Benediction, but as motion. Thus with him each separate creative act can have a characteristic form of its own." *

God, appearing at first quite alone, calls heaven and earth, the world of spirits, and the world of matter into existence. He divides light from darkness, which flies away at His word. Then, with angels now clustering round him, and sheltering under his mantle, the Father, sweeping through space, creates the earth and all the life that springs from her.† "On this follows the climax of creation in the bestowal of life upon Adam, and with it that of the genius of Michael Angelo." Surrounded by a host of heavenly spirits, "the Almighty approaches the earth, and touching with His finger the outstretched finger

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 643.

† The interpretation of the first three pictures here given, differs of course from the one hitherto most usually received; but it seems to me the most probable, both as adhering more closely to the words of Genesis, and also corresponding better with the paintings themselves.

of the first man, in whom the approaching gift is already foreshadowed, communicates the vital spark. In the whole realm of art this master-stroke of genius, in thus giving a clear sensuous expression to a spiritual conception, stands unrivalled, and the progenitor of the human race is worthily represented in the noble figure of Adam."* The creation of Eve is an equally perfect conception in its masterly purity and solemnity. Adam lies in a deep sleep; God stands before him; Eve is rising; she has just gained her feet, but one knee is still bent. She appears at the bidding of her Creator, with clasped hands stretching towards Him, thanking Him for the gift of life.† In all these pictures nothing is introduced but what is absolutely necessary to make the situation clear. All accessories that might distract the attention from the main subject are excluded.

The scenes which follow, taken from the early history of mankind,—especially that of the fall and the expulsion from Paradise,—the sin and its punishment, both portrayed in the same picture, are equally powerful, simple,

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 643. *Cf.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 261 *seq.*; LÜBKE, II., 102 *seq.*; GRIMM, I., 341 *seq.*, ed. 5; SCHADEN, 125–126, 229, 230 *seq.*; RIO, Michel-Ange, 31 *seq.*; OLLIVIER, 64 *seq.*; and GOYAU-PÉRATÉ, 547 *seq.*; BÜTTNER, Adam und Eva, 61 *seq.* WARNECKE in Lützow's Zeitschrift, N. F., II., 303, says, "As far as Art is concerned, the only adequate representation of the, to human reason, ever insoluble mystery of creation, is that conceived by Michael Angelo." In all later artists beginning with Raphael we can trace the influence of Michael Angelo's majestic conception of the Creator as the "primal Fount of elementary force." Cornelius truly says that since the time of Phidias nothing like this had been produced.

† STOLBERG, Reise, etc., I., 436. *Cf.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 264, and SYMONDS, I., 267. On the creation of Eve, see also RIO, Michel-Ange, 29; OLLIVIER, 70 *seq.*; KLACZKO in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, CXIV., 882 (1892, Nov. to Dec.); BÜTTNER, 62 *seq.*; and KEKULÉ in Jahrb. d. Deutschen Archäol. Instituts, V., 193.

and striking. In the picture of the fall the tree of knowledge occupies the centre, the serpent (the upper half a female form) hands the forbidden fruit to Eve. Immediately behind the tempter a startling effect is produced by the instantaneous apparition of the avenging angel driving the culprits out of Paradise; while Eve, holding back her golden hair, casts one despairing, longing look behind her.* The deluge, in one of the large compartments, also presents many striking scenes; in the whole composition the horror of the catastrophe is most powerfully rendered.† The next picture, probably representing the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, contains an

* See KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 531 ; GRIMM, I., 345–346, ed. 5 ; BÜTTNER, 64 *seq.* ; and MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 479.

† *Cf.* LÜBKE, II., 105–107. The seventh picture represents a sacrifice, according to Condivi and Vasari, with whom GRIMM, I., 346, ed. 5, and OLLIVIER, 75, agree, that of Cain and Abel. PLATTNER, II., 1, 265 *seq.*, sees in it Noe's thank-offering. SPRINGER, 122, and LÜBKE, II., 104, follow him. The three last pictures (the Sacrifice, the Deluge, and Noe's drunkenness) were the earliest painted ; the figures in them are more numerous, and consequently smaller, than in the others. After they were finished, Michael Angelo began to feel that the distance from the eye required a larger scale. WÖLFFLIN in Janitschek's Repert., XIII., 265 *seq.* (1890), points out that in the succeeding pictures the figures go on increasing in size. "Compare the figure of God the Father creating the sun and moon with the Divine form imparting life to Adam. This crescendo in the scale of the figures is the consequence of a change in the artist's feeling for space." The same writer, one of those who understand Michael Angelo best, remarks a similar increase in the dimensions of the captive forms ; those which surround the last picture, the division of light from darkness, are the largest, and the same holds good with regard to the Prophets and Sybils. The style becomes gradually bolder and more pictorial, the figures grow. Even the little decorative figures, which are so profusely scattered about, are carried along in the same stream of development with the coupled slaves, and the stone-coloured children standing by the walls of the prophets' thrones, follow suit with the others."

unusually large number of figures. The series is closed by the picture of Noe and his sons.

The nine central paintings have the effect of hangings stretched across the simulated architectural supports of the roof; they form the principal and most prominent part of its decoration. Next in importance come the series of Prophets and Sybils painted on the descending curve of the vaulting between the arches. There are twelve in all, five on each of the long sides and one at each end, all of colossal size: the giant-spirit needs a giant-form to express it. The effect of these figures, with their majestic draperies, is intensely spiritual,* and yet the outlines are so strong and firm that they look as if they were carved in stone.† The sides of the marble seats in which they are enthroned form the main support of the imaginary roof. Attendant genii accompany the Prophets of the Messias for the two worlds of Judaism and heathenism; some sit absorbed in thought or vision, poring over their books or scrolls, while others again with impassioned gestures proclaim what they have seen. The manner of life of those to whom the Lord God "revealed His secrets" (Amos, iii. 7), wholly immersed in the study, and contemplation, and announcement of the coming Salvation, is here expressed with a perfection which classical art could not conceive and which modern art can never hope to equal.‡ We need only here mention the most celebrated. The Delphic Sybil, a singularly powerful and yet attractive figure, seems gazing with enraptured eyes on the actual fulfilment of her prophecies. Isaias is reading the book of the world's destiny. The curve of his brow suggests that of a heavenly sphere, a source of thought like the crystal reservoirs on the

* "Like moulded thoughts," LÜBKE says, Geschichte der Plastik, 720.

† SCHADEN, 230.

‡ MOLITOR, 255.

mountain tops from which the great rivers are fed. The angel is calling him and he gently raises his head without lifting his eyes from the book, as though balancing between two infinities. Jeremias is shrouded in sackcloth and ashes, as befits the prophet who dwells under the shadow of desolate Jerusalem. His lips seem to vibrate to the sound of the conqueror's trumpet. His beard is tangled and matted, his bowed head looks like the crown of a cedar that has been shattered by lightning, his half-closed eyes are hidden wells of tears. His hands look strong, but they are swollen, for they have been bearing up the tottering walls of the temple. We see that the groans of the captive sons of Israel from the banks of the alien river and the wailings of the Queen of the nations, now widowed and deserted, are ever sounding in his ears. Ezechias is in a divine ecstasy, interrogating his visions, stirred by the spirit which possesses him to the very depths of his being. Daniel is busily writing; his mission was to proclaim the day of deliverance for the good, and judgments on tyrants to future generations. The most admirable thing about these majestic figures, on which one could gaze for ever with unwearied interest, is, that they are not mere decorations of a hall or chapel, but men, real men, who have felt the grief that we know, and been wounded by the thorns which grow on our earth; their brows are furrowed with human thought; their hearts have felt the chill of deceptions; they have seen conflicts in which whole generations have perished; they have felt the shadow of death in the air above them, and they have striven with their own hands to prepare the way for a new order of things; their eyes have grown worn and dim through their too fixed gaze on the ever-changing kaleidoscope of the ages; their flesh has been consumed by the fire of burning

thoughts.* The attitudes of some of these figures, such as the Lybian Sybil and the Prophets Daniel and Jonas, may be to a certain extent violent and exaggerated, but as a rule massive form and ecstatic emotion are admirably restrained within the limits of harmony and beauty.† Those who are inclined to find fault with the master in this regard should consider the extreme difficulty of the task he proposed to himself, which was to create twelve figures, each of which should impress on the mind the idea of a being raised by divine inspiration into the superhuman sphere. For this, mere majesty of form was not enough; a variety of separate situations had to be imagined, each denoting inspiration, represented in a form that could be apprehended by the senses. Perhaps

* *Cf.* this eloquent description of CASTELAR, Errinnerungen an Italien, 70 *seq.*, with Taine in MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 483. See also GOYAU-PÉRATÉ, Le Vatican, 548 *seq.*; HOFFMANN, 88-89; RIO, Michel-Ange, 27 *seq.*; OLLIVIER, 87 *seq.*, 118; and STEINMANN in the Repertorium f. Kunstwissensch., XVII., 175 *seq.*

† See WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 585. Condivi considered the Jonas the finest of all the figures on account of its masterly foreshortening. But BURCKHARDT also, Cicerone, 644, thinks Jonas as well as Jeremias and Joel, "wonderfully majestic." Opinions will always differ in regard to such details; in mine the Delphic Sybil and Jeremias bear away the palm. Of the first, PLATTNER, II., 1, 269, says that she is not only the most beautiful of all Michael Angelo's prophetesses, but also one of the most perfect female forms in modern art. SPRINGER, 130, considers the Jeremias the most typical of all Michael Angelo's creations; he says: "This figure took possession, as it were, of Michael Angelo's imagination, and from this time forth it was always more or less present in his mind. In all his creative moods the form of the prophet hovered in the background, and suggested reminiscences of the spirit in which it had been conceived. The germs of the Moses for the tomb of Julius II. and of the chief figures in the Medicean mausoleum are contained in the Jeremias." It seems extremely probable that Michael Angelo's Jeremias was his own portrait; see STEINMANN in the Rep. f. Kunstwissensch. (1894), Vol. XVII., 177 *seq.*

complete success in such an undertaking was beyond the powers of Art itself."*

A third series of pictures, closely connected with the majestic form of the Prophets and Sybils, occupy the arches of the wall and the triangular spaces between them and the pendentives, and represent "the ancestors of Christ in simple scenes of family life." The tone of feeling in all these figures is that of patient resignation, waiting for the promise of the nations. Here, as in the Prophets and Sybils, Michael Angelo in the plan of his composition follows the received mediæval conception.†

The fourth series consists of the large pictures in the four corners of the vaulting. These represent some of the miraculous deliverances of Israel as types of the future Redemption. The subjects are the slaying of Goliath, Judith going forth to the camp of Holofernes, the punishment of Haman, and the Brazen Serpent. The latter, with its startling contrasts of death and deliverance, is the finest of the whole set of pictures. "The clear division between the two concentrated groups, with the symbol of Salvation separating them locally as well as spiritually, the one turning away in devil-ridden despair, the other pressing forward with eager confidence, makes this picture perhaps one of the most marvellous productions of Michael Angelo's genius, especially when we consider the difficulties presented by the form of the surface on which it is painted."‡

To these four cycles of paintings the master's prolific

* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, *loc. cit.*

† *Cf.* LÜBKE, II., 101, 107–108. As this is not meant to be a complete description, these pictures, beautiful as they are, cannot be analysed in detail. *Cf.*, besides LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, 113 *seq.*, KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, 532 *seq.*, and OLLIVIER, 102 *seq.*

‡ LÜTZOW, Künstschätze, 439. GRIMM, I., 353 *seq.*, ed. 5, minutely describes the Goliath and the Judith in order to shew how admirably Michael Angelo could also deal with historical subjects.

imagination added "a whole world of purely ideal figures simply as a harmonious living and breathing incarnation of the ornamental roof which he had devised." * Michael Angelo evidently intended this roof to represent one of those festal artistic decorations so commonly employed in the Renaissance age even for religious solemnities. The innumerable ornamental figures employed, some in holding the tablets with the names of the Prophets, some, in every variety of posture, to fill up the spaces between the arches, others again in supporting or crowning the cornices, correspond with the living personifications so frequently perched on various portions of these festive erections. All these nude figures, the sturdy children and strong-limbed youths, are in a sense members of the architectural scheme, supporting cornices, carrying inscription tablets or shields, or holding up hangings or garlands. Hardly any of them are at rest, almost all are at work or in motion in some way, but none have any relation to the subjects of the pictures, they belong entirely to the decoration.† However

* LÜBKE, II., 101. *Cf.* LÜTZOW, *loc. cit.*, 440, and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 642 *seq.*, on these "impersonations of the dynamics of Architecture."

† I prefer this interpretation, resting on the views of Lübke and Burckhardt, to the many forced and far-fetched ones which have recently been attempted. That of L. v. SCHEFFLER (Michelangelo, Eine Renaissance Studie. Altenburg, 1892), which ascribes the "ideal system of the Sistine Chapel" to Michael Angelo's Platonism, has been shewn by W. HENKE in the Allg. Zeit. (1892), N. 77, Suppl., to be quite beside the mark. This, however, has not prevented the last-named writer in his "Empirischen Betrachtungen über die Malereien von Michelangelo an der Decke der Sixtinischen Kapelle," in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., VII. (1886), 3 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, from falling into the same mistake in putting things into the frescoes which are not there. His singular interpretation of the Caryatides at the sides of the seats of the Prophets and Sybils is especially baseless and mistaken. In my opinion, the inscription mentioned, p. 744, explicitly excludes it. Burckhardt, with whom I dis-

one may admire these undraped figures from the point of view of the artist, many will feel them incongruous for the decoration of a chapel.*

cussed this question in March, 1895, also thinks that both Scheffler and Henke are mistaken. WÖLFFLIN in Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., XIII., 181, conjectures that the slaves in the medallions were an afterthought, the medallions having been painted first without them, and this seems very probable.

* They afford no justification, however, for characterising the work as unchristian, as Michael Angelo's painting of the nude is never sensual (*cf.* Hist. Polit. Bl., XCI., 755, and JANSSEN, Soddoma [Stuttgart, 1870], 110); and also these nude figures are purely accessory : see RIO, Michel-Ange, 30. It is quite incomprehensible to me how PÉRATÉ, 550, can say, writing of the roof of the Sistine Chapel, "Est ce une œuvre chrétienne ? Non ; c'est une œuvre biblique, la bible même," etc. I may be permitted here to note an appreciation written by Overbeck of the roof of the Sistine Chapel in 1810, which is but little known. I found it in a letter printed in the Allg. Cons. Monatschrift, I. (1888), 40. He writes . "In truth it is the grandest and noblest work in existence. Where can we find anything more marvellously complete than this roof, which portrays the history of creation and the last judgment, surrounded by the stern and solemn forms of the Prophets ? They seem like colossal spirits, appearing now, at the end of the ages, to confirm those who have believed them, and strike terror into the hearts of the scoffers ; living witnesses of the obstinacy with which they refused to hear their warnings, or turn away from the vanities of the world ; now, like damning spectres, pointing the way to hell ! A Frenchman is painting there just now with an enormous scaffolding which enables one to get quite close to the roof. As he does not work on Sundays, we were able, to our great delight, to take advantage of this, and get a near view of these magnificent works, especially of the creation of Adam. Good heavens ! what lies are spread abroad about Michael Angelo. One is warned against him as a mannerist, a caricaturist ! How is it possible to be so blind ? One must have dazed one's eyes with looking at Maratti or Battoni, or God knows what, one must have murdered all one's feeling for nature, if one cannot recognise here the highest and purest art, the simple reflection of nature glorified in the pure, great soul of the artist. No one who knows nature at all can fail at the first glance to perceive her impress, to feel with an electric thrill the truthfulness of these thoughts, these forms, these characters !

Considered as a spiritual conception, Michael Angelo's Sistine paintings are fully on a level with their artistic presentation. They are a mighty poem in colour, having for its theme the whole course of the human race from the heights of creation down to the need of salvation and upwards again to the dawning of the day of deliverance. In their silence they speak with an eloquence that can never be surpassed. Nowhere has the office of the Old Testament as the preparation for the new and abiding covenant been set forth with such convincing truth and beauty.* First we have the creation of nature, the standing ground for the spiritual life of the human race, then the making of man, his fall into sin, in which the family (Cain and Abel), society (the Deluge), finally, even the best of the race (drunkenness of Noe), become involved. Under the old law, all humanity is yearning for deliverance from the burden of guilt. From the midst of the people God raises

Again, on the other hand, any one who can say that these paintings have been dashed off with a clever, hasty brush must either not have given himself time to look at them, or must purposely give a false account, for the exact contrary is the case, and they are marked by such delicacy of detail and characterisation, and such a perfection of finish, that these qualities alone would make them superior to all other work of the kind. No doubt they are not polished up like Van der Werff's ; but if a smooth surface is all that is meant by finish, then our modern finnikins are the only perfect painters. In this respect, Michael Angelo is a model for us all. What science he unites to his Divine gifts ! What knowledge of the human body, of perspective and of optics ! How wonderfully he paints ! so that no touch can be discerned, nor can one think of the brush, one sees the thing itself. In short, in all ways he is perfect ; everywhere he has gone down into the depths, and plays with things that to others will always remain a mystery. He can truly say : Art is my spouse."

* " It would be impossible," says MOLITOR, 255, " to approach in the language of Art more nearly to the force of Holy Scripture itself than the great master has succeeded in doing."

up the Prophets for the Jews, and the Sybils for the heathen, as inspired seers, beholding the future salvation, but at the same time bearing in their souls the sorrows of their brethren. Four visible types of this salvation appear in the corner pictures, drawn from the history of Israel: the enemy who desires to destroy the people of God is vanquished in Goliath, Haman, Holofernes, and the Serpent, all only types of the victory wrought by the eternal sacrifice of the Son of God unceasingly celebrated by the Church on the Altar.

On the completion of the roof paintings in the Sistina, Michael Angelo turned again to the tomb of Julius II., apparently by the Pope's orders. Ever since the Summer of 1512, Julius II. had not disguised from himself the fact that his days were drawing to their close.* The great difficulty about the tomb consisted in the uncertainty as to where it was to be placed. As the Choir of S. Peter's, which had just been erected by Bramante, was only temporary, it could not be put there. In consequence of this uncertainty Michael Angelo had to make several sketches for his new design, some complete on all sides, others intended to stand against a wall.†

According to Condivi and Vasari, Michael Angelo's biographers, the isolated plan was as follows. The Chapel containing the Pope's sarcophagus was to be enclosed in a marble shell, measuring about 54 feet by 36. The pediment was to be covered with symbolical single figures and groups. The arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were to be represented by captive figures in order to indicate, so Condivi tells us, that they were now, together with the Pope, prisoners of death, since they would never again find another Pope to encourage and promote them as he had

* *Cf. supra*, p. 431.

† SPRINGER, 236.

done. Statues of Victory, with the conquered provinces at their feet, were to represent Julius II.'s successes in regaining the lost possessions of the States of the Church. The pediment was to be surmounted by a cornice, above which was to rise a second storey, bearing four typical figures, two of them being Moses and S. Paul. Above these again was to be the figure of the Pope sleeping, and borne by two angels. The whole work was to measure about 30 feet in height, and to contain more than 40 statues, not counting the bas-reliefs on which the principal events in the life of Julius II. were to be portrayed.*

While Michael Angelo was employed on this work, the Pope died. Shortly before his death, on the 19th February, 1513, Julius had given orders that his tomb should be erected in the Sistine Chapel of S. Peter's, where his uncle

* CONDIVI, 35–36. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 231 *seq.*, 236 *seq.* On both historical and artistic grounds Springer assigns the date of this design to the years 1512–1513. He admits (235) that the original plan is unknown; he pronounces (II., 15, ed. 2) the drawing in the Uffizzi at Florence, Shelf 187, N. 608 (BRAUN, 181; ALINARI, 3688) to be unauthentic. On the other hand, SCHMARSOW in the Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamml., V., 63 *seq.*, endeavours to prove that this drawing is by the master's own hand, and Burckhardt, Grimm, and Bode have accepted it as such. Schmarsow has also published and explained another drawing of the Tomb of Julius II., which is in the possession of H. A. von Beckerath of Berlin. He thinks that this sketch is the only authentic representation of Michael Angelo's design for the Tomb of Julius II.; possibly not of the original one, but at any rate of the not less magnificent edifice contemplated in 1513. This is the only plan which furnishes an adequate support for the majestic captives and the colossal Moses. GRIMM, in Geiger's Quarterly, I. (1886), 49, announces that he agrees in most points with Schmarsow's views. PORTHEIN, on the other hand, in his contributions to the Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XII. (1889), 149, on Michael Angelo's works, holds with Springer that the Florentine sketch cannot be from the hand of Michael Angelo, and pronounces that belonging to H. von Beckerath to be "an old copy of the smaller design."

Sixtus IV. lay.* He left 10,000 ducats in his will for the monument. On the 6th May, 1513, Michael Angelo concluded a very detailed agreement with the executors, Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere, and the Protonotary, Lorenzo Pucci, which is still extant.† The monument was to have three faces, the fourth side was to be against the wall. Each face was to contain two tabernacles (niches with side pilasters and a cornice) resting on a high basement. In each niche there were to be two statues somewhat larger than life. Against the twelve pillars dividing the niches there were to be statues of the same size, so that twenty-four statues would be required for the substructure alone. Above this was to be the sarcophagus with the Pope's statue surrounded by four other figures all double life-size, and in addition to these, on the same level, six colossal statues seated. Where the structure joined the wall, there was to be a Chapel containing five figures which, being further from the eye, were to be still larger than any of the others. The spaces between the niches were to be filled with reliefs in bronze or marble.

As this plan considerably exceeded the former one, both in size and in importance, the artist was to receive 16,500 ducats, but the 3500 ducats already paid were to be deducted from the sum ; he bound himself to undertake no other large work until this was finished.

During the years from 1513–16 Michael Angelo devoted all his powers to this gigantic undertaking. Sculpture was his favourite art; he used to say he had imbibed it with his mother's milk, because his grandmother was the wife of

* Bull. Vatic., II., 349. This authentic document shews that MÜNTZ is in error in stating, Hist. de l'Art, III., 392, that Julius II. had desired that his tomb should be placed in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

† Printed in Lettere di Michelangelo, ed. Milanesi, 635 *seq.* *Cf.* SPRINGER, 237 *seq.*

a stone mason ; and, indeed, as we have seen in the roof of the Sistine Chapel, even in painting he always thought as a sculptor.

The masterly statues of the dying youth and the youth in fetters (the slaves) which are now in the Louvre, were executed during this period.* Four other statues intended for the base of the monuments, gigantic figures of captives or conquered warriors, crouching and writhing, and only roughly carved, are preserved in the Giardino Boboli at Florence (on the left of the entrance). In the National Museum in that city, there is also the statue of a victorious and triumphant warrior ; and that of a vanquished one in St. Petersburg.†

The only one of the statues designed for the upper storey that still exists, is the Moses begun in the years 1513–1516, while the artist's mind was still possessed and dominated by the forms of the Prophets of the Sistine Chapel.‡ This world-famed statue, "the triumph of modern sculpture," §

* The dying youth is a singularly noble work. One can well understand Vasari's calling it "cosa divina." From the moment that the two statues were rescued from their concealment in the French Castle they were universally recognised as masterpieces of Michael Angelo's genius. *Cf.* SPRINGER, 240 *seq.* ; LÜBKE, Plastik, 728 ; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, 388 *seq.* ; KLACZKO, in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, CXIV. (1892), 891, and especially GRIMM, I., 420 *seq.*, ed. 5. The latter says that the tender beauty of the dying youth is perhaps more striking than the power of the Moses. "When I ask myself which of the sculptor's works would you mention first if you were asked to name his list, I should say at once—the dying youth. This figure will bear to be compared to the very best Greek work in its faultless truth to nature." LÜBKE, *loc. cit.*, thinks that both the captives of the Louvre were finished during the life-time of Julius II.

† SPRINGER, 241 *seq.* ; MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, III., 390. See also KLACZKO, Florentiner Plaudereien, 42 *seq*

‡ SPRINGER, 243.

§ GRIMM, I., 419, ed. 5.

now adorns the monument of Julius II. in S. Pietro in Vincoli, where at last the tomb was erected, though greatly reduced from the dimensions originally contemplated.

The gradual curtailment of this noble design in which Michael Angelo had hoped to have realised all his loftiest and grandest conceptions, and the money disputes with the Duke of Urbino connected with this, were the occasion of such prolonged misery, and such paroxysms of anger and disappointment to the artist as to make this tomb the tragedy of his whole life. The monument as completed corresponds with its original plan as little as it does with the first conception approved by Julius II. But the magnificent effect of the statue of Moses compensates for all its short-comings.* The aspect in which Moses is here presented is that of the fiery and resolute ruler of Israel, who led the stiff-necked nation for forty years through the wilderness, who dared the wrath of God for their sakes, and in his fury at their idolatry, dashed the Tables of the Law to pieces and commanded 3000 of the rebels to be slain. The wise law-giver, the servant of Jehovah, the humble penitent confessing himself unworthy to enter the promised land, are entirely ignored in this essentially one-sided representation.† The artist conceives the teacher and captain of the

* This statue alone, Card. Gonzaga is said to have declared, would have been in itself a worthy monument to the great Pope.

† MOLITOR, 215, rightly dwells strongly on this. If, as SPRINGER, 244, justly remarks, we accept the statue as it was to have been placed in Michael Angelo's original plan, all the common strictures on what may seem a certain uncouthness and exaggeration in the Moses, are seen to be unfounded. "Moses was meant to look down upon the spectator from above; he was to have been surrounded by other figures on the same scale and of similar character, also seated on square blocks, and in their various forms and postures calculated to balance each other. Lastly, the right-side was intended to be almost entirely withdrawn from sight, the attention was to be attracted to the view of the figure as seen

chosen people exclusively as a man of action like Julius II. The head is raised, the brow deeply furrowed, the angry eyes are turned sideways towards the left, the whole frame almost writhes under the shock of conflicting emotions. The very hairs of the long thick beard, in which the finger tips of the right hand, resting on the despised law, are half-concealed, seem to quiver. The strong pressure of the left hand against the breast seems striving to keep down the rising storm. But the forward movement of the right foot and the tension of the left leg drawn backward, are too significant; in another moment the giant will have sprung from his seat to wreak his wrath on the backsliders.*

"Any one who has once seen this statue will never lose the impression. The effect is as of one conscious that he holds in his hands the thunderbolts of Omnipotence, and waiting to see whether the foes whom he means to destroy will venture to attack him."† In fact, Michael Angelo's Moses is the embodiment of the Pope-king who humbled Venice, reconquered the States of the Church, and drove the French out of Italy. The masterful vehemence and almost superhuman energy of Julius II. are admirably represented in this Titanic figure; but none the less is it also a no less faithful transcript of the sculptor's own proud

from the left." Although this is perfectly true, still it cannot be denied that Michael Angelo in the Moses goes to the extreme limits of intensity in expression that nature permits. GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 148, ed. 3, says, "He is not far from the edge of the abyss of monstrosity and pseudo-Titanism, in which the followers of the Master so soon became engulfed." No one but Michael Angelo could safely dare as he dared, no one but he could move freely on the edge of the precipice. *Cf.* PORTHEIN in the Repert. f. Kunstwissensch., XII., 154. On the pilgrimage of the Roman Jews to Moses, see BERLINER, Gesch. d. Juden, II., 1., 103.

* *Cf.* HOFFMANN, Italien, 60–61; and LÜBKE, Plastik, 727.

† GRIMM, I., 418, ed. 5.; *Cf.* also RIO, Michel-Ange, 19 *seq.*

and unbending character, and impetuous, passionate temperament.

Julius II.'s colossal monument was never completed, his bronze statue was destroyed; but the indomitable spirit of the mighty Pope and the equally kingly soul of the great sculptor have been carved into the Moses of Michael Angelo. As we gaze upon it we understand the words of Ariosto, "Michel più che terreno, angel divino." *

* *Cf.* PÉRATÉ, 544; BROSCH, 276, writes, "Michael Angelo the greatest of modern artists and the noblest character of this Renaissance period, has carved the name of Julius II. in imperishable characters on his marble, and made it immortal."

CHAPTER X.

Raphael in the Service of Julius II.—The Camera della Segnatura and the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

In Michael Angelo's creations nature found herself outdone by art. When she gave Raphael to the world she saw herself eclipsed, not only in the artist but also in the man; for he combined with the highest intellectual gifts the most winning grace, industry, beauty, modesty, and a perfect life.* With these words Vasari, the father of modern historians of art, begins his description of the life of one who will ever live in the memory of the world as at once the greatest master of Christian Art and a genius of first-rate creative power.

Raphael was endowed by nature with the sweetest of dispositions and great personal beauty. Constitutionally, he was a true Umbrian, and his early works are pervaded by the dreamy calm of the school in which he was reared, but unlike Michael Angelo he possessed a singular power of absorbing and assimilating the most various external impressions. His genius did not expand much until he came to Florence, where Leonardi da Vinci and Fra Bartolomeo exercised a strong influence over him. He arrived in Florence in 1504, and the April of 1508 found him still working there. In the Autumn of that year, the twenty-sixth of his life, he appears in Rome. On the 8th September, 1508, he writes to his friend the painter, Francesco Francia, to excuse his tardiness in sending him his promised

* Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 315–316.

likeness. "On account of my many and important occupations," he says, "I was not able sooner to paint it myself, in accordance with our agreement. I could, indeed, have got one of my assistants to do it, and sent it off thus; but that would not have been becoming, or rather, perhaps, it would have been becoming, in order to shew that I do not paint as well as you do. I beg you not to be hard upon me, for you, yourself, must have experienced what it is to have lost one's freedom, and have to serve a master."*

The many and important occupations here mentioned were the great works in the Vatican with which he had been charged by Julius II.†

The Pope had left the Appartamento Borgia, in which he had spent the first four years of his reign, on the 26th November, 1507, in order "not to be pestered with reminiscences of Alexander VI.,‡" and established himself in

* MALVASIA, Felsina pittrice, II., 48 (Bologna, 1678). GÜHL, 91-92; CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 5 *seq.*, dispute the correctness of this date, but their arguments are not convincing. See FRANTZ, II., 725; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 271, ed. 2, and JANITSCHEK in the Lit. Centralblatt (1887), p. 682.

† VASARI says that Bramante had advised that Raphael should be called to Rome. But REUMONT, III., 2, 388 (LÜTZOW in Graph. Künste, XIII. [1890] 16, is mistaken in ascribing the hypothesis to Minghetti), justly observes that probably the Pope's relations at Urbino had quite as much to do with determining him to employ the young artist as Bramante's recommendation. MÜNTZ, Raphael, 317, thinks this is certain. KNACKFUSS, 22, conjectures that Julius II. may have made acquaintance with Raphael during his three days' visit to Urbino in 1506 (see *supra*, p. 273). See also FRANTZ, II., 724

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 217, PARIS DE GRASSIS. From this it is clear that before the 26th Nov., 1507, Julius II. had, at any rate for a time, inhabited Alexander's apartments. It is therefore quite incorrect to say, as GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 157, ed. 3, does, that he "had never set foot in the Appartamento Borgia." GRIMM, Fünfzehn Essays, IV., 275, is equally in error. CROWE, II., 7, writes: "Julius II. established himself in the upper storey of the Vatican Palace on the day of his Coronation,

another part of the Vatican Palace. He had chosen for his future residence a suite of rooms looking out on the Cortile di Belvedere, which had been built by Nicholas V. These were situated in the vicinity of the same Pope's study, which was adorned with Fra Angelico's wonderful frescoes.* Perhaps this may have led Julius II. to wish to have the adjoining chambers decorated in the same manner. These rooms the famous "Stanze" (living rooms) are the continuation of a spacious hall, the Sala di Costantino, which is only lighted from one side. The Stanze, on the contrary, have two large windows in each room facing each other with marble seats in their bays. In the two first rooms these windows are opposite each other in the East (Stanza dell' Incendio), one is in the corner; thus, the bad light, coupled with the intricacies of perspective created by the irregular spaces, make the task of the painter an extremely difficult one.† The only really suitable surfaces for painting are the plain cross vaultings on the ceiling. The shape of the rooms is oblong; their proportions are simple but dignified. The doors by which the rooms communicate with each other are in the corner at the end of the long walls, and are not large, so that on these sides there is a long free space, semi-circular at the top, well fitted for large historical compositions, while on the short side, cut up by the windows, there is little room for anything.

26th Nov., 1507," and thus seems to believe that the Pope was not crowned till 1507. KRAUS falls into the same error, Camera, 4: "Dopo la sua incoronazione (26th Nov., 1507), Giulio, pur esso, scelse a sua dimora queste stanze superiori inveci dell' Appartamento Borgia al primo piano dove il ricordo di Alessandro VI. l'avrebbe perseguitato." BOLE (68) ignores P. de Grassis' Report, and says that Julius II. chose the Stanze for his residence in 1503.

* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 187 *seq.* (Engl. trans.).

† MÜNTZ, Raphael, 330, ed. 2.

These rooms during the Autumn of 1508 presented a busy scene. In the Stanza dell' Incendio, Perugino was painting the four round divisions of the ceiling, filling up the interspaces with decorative designs.* In the adjoining Camera della Segnatura, Raphael and Sodoma were at work together, the latter having undertaken the ornamental work on the ceiling.† In addition to these artists the impatient Pope had got Luca Signorelli, Bramantino, Bernardino Pinturicchio, Suardi, Lorenzo Lotto, and the Fleming, Johann Ruysch, all variously occupied in the upper storey.‡ But this did not last long. In a very short time the Pope perceived how completely the works of the other artists were eclipsed by Raphael's magnificent paintings in the Camera della Segnatura, and took his measures accordingly. The slight mythological pictures with which Sodoma had begun to adorn the ceiling were countermanded, and his work confined to the purely decorative parts; all the serious pictures were given to Raphael, and before long Perugino and Pinturicchio were

* MÜNTZ, Hist. de l'Art, II., 722.

† *Ibid.*, Raphael, 359, ed. 2, severely and justly criticises these paintings of Sodoma's. WICKHOFF, 55, has clearly shewn from the Report of Paris de Grassis that Vasari's often repeated story that Julius II. had destroyed other frescoes on the walls, in order to clear them for Raphael's paintings, is a fable. DE GRASSIS (ed. Döllinger, 383, expressly says that Julius refused to allow the portrait of Alexander VI. to be destroyed. Wickhoff justly argues that if the Pope would not permit the destruction of a fresco containing the portrait of his deadliest enemy, he could certainly not have sanctioned that of less obnoxious pictures. Nevertheless, KNACKFUSS, 40, repeats this invention of Vasari. On the payments of Sodoma, see Arch. St. de Soc. Rom., II., 486. On his paintings, see also JANSSEN, 76 *seq.* 486; *cf.* CROWE, II., 9–10.

‡ *Cf.* CROWE, II., 9 *seq.*; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 325, ed. 2. Particulars about Signorelli's stay in Rome at the close of 1508 are in VISCHER, Signorelli, 357, 358.

also dismissed. The former returned to Perugio; Pinturicchio went to Siena, and never came back to Rome. "Hard as this must have been for them they could not dispute the justice of the Pope's verdict, who had, indeed, fully appreciated the worth of what they had accomplished in their best days."*

Raphael's paintings in the Camera della Segnatura, which the world owes to the appreciative insight of Julius II., are the most famous and the most interesting of all his creations. Though faded, and in many ways damaged by the ravages of time, they are still the joy of all artists and art-lovers.† As long as ever a trace of them still remains, they will draw pilgrims of every nationality to visit this shrine of Art.

The importance of these frescoes is evinced by the amount of literature to which they have given rise,‡ and which will continue to increase, for they are as inexhaustible as the heavens, in which new stars are being perpetually discovered.

* SCHMARSOW, Pinturicchio in Rome, 85-86, further remarks: "The decision of Julius II. corresponded with the law of historical development and the subsequent verdict of history." On the relations between Julius II. and Raphael, PÉRATÉ, 552, justly says: Il le conquit à son œuvre, il l'inspira et l'on peut même dire qu'il le transforma, le grandissant et l'échauffant à la flamme de son propre génie.

† On this damaged condition, see PLATTNER, II., 1, 318 *seq.* TAINE, Voyage en Italie, I., 170 *seq.*, speaks in the strongest terms of the disappointment with which he beheld the frescoes when he saw them for the first time in their present state. On the other hand, SZÉCSEN, Raffael, 557, says: Their sad condition leads one doubly to appreciate the intellectual grandeur of Raphael's Vatican frescoes.

‡ On the explanatory literature, see *infra.* My description, for which I have consulted especially PLATTNER, II., 1, 222 *seq.*; PASSAVANT, I., 139 *seq.*; LÜBKE, Ital. Malerei, II., 260 *seq.*; SPRINGER, 150 *seq.*, and BOLE'S Studies, was drawn up before the pictures themselves, and again compared with them in the Spring of 1893.

In the four principal divisions of the stuccoed ceiling, which is decorated in the classical style, Raphael painted four female allegorical figures in large circular frames, with descriptive inscriptions, supplying the clue to the meaning of the series of pictures below. These majestic forms, enthroned on clouds, are painted in vivid colours, toned down by a background of shimmering gold, representing mosaic work.

The science of faith, Theology, comprehends the knowledge of divine things (divinarum rerum notitia), as the inscription, borne by angels, announces. The figure of Theology seems to have been suggested by Dante's Beatrice,* the expression of the face is sweetly serious, gentle, and yet full of dignity. The olive crown on the head denotes divine wisdom, the floating veil is white, the mantle green, the robe red — the colours of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. The two principal sources of the science of Theology are Tradition and Holy Scripture. She holds the sacred volume in her left hand, and points with the other to the large picture on the wall in which those to whom Tradition and knowledge have been committed are represented assembled round the Supreme Mystery and Centre of Christian worship.

The representation of Poetry is even finer. Sweetness, sensibility, and enthusiasm are exquisitely combined in the expression of the whole figure. In her right hand she holds a book, in her left a lyre; her laurel crown indicates the fame that waits upon art; her strong wings, her scarf strewn with stars, her azure drapery, the thrill of emotion which pervades her whole form, denote the imaginative faculty. The inspired eyes baffle description; altogether

* DANTE, Purgatorio, XXX., 31 *seq.*, 67 *seq.*; *cf.* PLATTNER, II., 1, 323.

as the scroll carried by the cherubs who attend upon her declares, the divine afflatus is the breath of her being.*

The next figure, Philosophy, is treated classically and with a good deal of symbolism. The side of the marble seat on which she is enthroned bears a relief of Diana of Ephesus, copied from an antique model. Her robes represent the four elements, Air in the upper garment, which is blue and sown with stars, the drapery, symbolising Fire, is red and embroidered with salamanders, while Water and Earth are represented, respectively, by fishes and plants on a sea-green and an ochre-brown background. The clasp of the diadem which encircles her brow is a carbuncle. She holds two large books in her hands, the one entitled "Moralis," the other "Naturalis," moral and natural science, while the winged genii on either side carry tablets with the inscription, "causarum cognitio," "knowledge of causes."

The fourth figure wears a crown: her sword and scales and the winged boy holding a scroll with the inscription "Jus suum unicuique tribuit," giving to each his due, leave no doubt as to whom she is intended to represent. She has four attendants, two of whom are angels.

In the long pendentives of the vaulting, Raphael painted four smaller pictures encircled, like the large ones, with richly decorated ornamental frames. In the one adjoining Theology, the Fall is represented; it is perhaps the most beautiful of all existing presentations of this scene.† Next to Poesy is the crowning of Apollo and the flaying of Marsyas; the judgment of Solomon illustrates Justice. In these three pictures narrative takes the place of symbolism, but in the one which accompanies Philosophy, Raphael reverts to allegory. It is a female figure waited on by two

* Afflata est numine. Æneid, VI., 50.

† KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 580. *Cf.* also BÜTTNER, Adam und Eva in der bildenden Kunst, 60.

genii carrying books; she is bending over a globe poised in the midst of a starry sphere, to which she points with one hand.*

The paintings on the ceilings, being more out of reach of injury than the wall frescoes, are in better preservation; the two series are closely connected with each other; those on the walls representing the four great intellectual powers as they act upon human life. Theology, unveiling the mysteries of revelation, and interpreting the miracles of faith; Philosophy, searching out the causes and natures of things by the light of reason; Poesy, decking life with grace and beauty; Jurisprudence, maintaining social order and security. Nothing can be more perfect than is the artistic presentation of this majestic cycle of the intellectual forces in their graduated order, with Theology at the head.

For the picture in illustration of Justice, Raphael chose one of the smaller wall spaces, cut up and curtailed by the large window in the middle of it; it is the simplest of all. In the semi-circle over the window the three cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance, the inseparable companions of Justice, are allegorically represented by a charming group of three female figures. "The skilful arrangement of the lines in this composition, the variety in the forms, the unconstrained grace of the attitudes,

* The Dusseldorf Professor Mosler (see PASSAVANT, I., 139 *seq.*) considers that these pictures have a double connection with the allegorical figures, and refer to those on both sides of them. The face, placed between Theology and Jurisprudence, denotes both Redemption and Judgment. The punishment of Marsyas is at once the triumph of Art, and, with an allusion to DANTE (Parad., I., 19), a symbol of regeneration. The figure contemplating the globe is suggestive of Poetry, as well as of Philosophy; the judgment of Solomon displays Wisdom as well as Justice. KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 580 *seq.*, also adopt this interpretation, but it appears somewhat far-fetched. *Cf.* FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 288.

are an inexhaustible source of delight."* The pictures on the two sides of the window portray the institution of Law in the State and in the Church, respectively. On the smaller left side, the Emperor Justinian, seated on an antique chair, hands his Pandects to Trebonius, who is humbly kneeling before him. On the right of the window, Gregory IX., whose features are those of Julius II., gives the Decretals to the Advocate of the Consistory, who also kneels to receive them.† No doubt the giving of the Decretals was intentionally placed in the ample space and treated with greater fulness to shew that the law of the Church ranks higher than secular laws. These compositions contain a number of admirably characteristic heads.‡

The glories of Poesy are depicted on the opposite wall, also broken by a window looking into the Cortile di Belvedere.§ Raphael here decided on painting a continuous

* LÜBKE, II., 274.

† WICKHOFF, 50, points out that Raphael takes pains to make his meaning clear by representing both ceremonies exactly as they were usually described in the introductions to the law books in general use.

‡ In the Cardinals surrounding Julius II., VASARI, IV., 337, sees Giovanni de' Medici, A. Farnese, and Antonio di Monte ; but the truth of this is very doubtful. The fact that the two first-named became Popes makes it much more likely that it was an after-thought.

§ In spite of its great beauty (*cf.* GRUYER, Chambres, 125 *seq.*), this fresco in recent times has been much less spoken of than the School of Athens or the Disputa. Thus J. SCHROTT has supplied a real want in devoting a separate article in the Allg. Zeit. (1884), N. 10, Suppl., to its description, of which I have availed myself in the text. He defends Raphael's representation of Apollo against "one-sided art critics," and in common with PASSAVANT, I., 146 ; III., 13 ; and FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 290 *seq.*, endeavours to explain all the twenty-eight figures in the picture ; but still remains uncertain in regard to twelve of them. WICKHOFF, 51 *seq.*, has excellently pointed out the objections to these attempts to explain all Raphael's figures. On the figure of Dante, see RIO, IV., 468.

picture, and ingeniously overcame the difficulty presented by the window, by making its circular top support the summit of Parnassus from which the sides of the mountain naturally sloped downwards. On the height, the youthful Apollo sits enthroned in a bower of laurels, surrounded with flowers, while the Hippocrene fountain wells up from beneath his feet.

A mere copyist of the antique would have put a lyre into Apollo's hands. But this was not Raphael's mind, and he has chosen the instrument most in use in his day, the viola di braccio (alto), which allows a freer motion to the hand, and, at the same time, was better understood by his contemporaries.* The muses which are grouped around Apollo also depart in many ways from strictly classical models, though they are singularly charming and graceful. Immediately below them come the great poets crowned with laurel; on the left of the God, Homer, "the king of noble singers, soaring like an eagle above all his compeers," stands in a blue mantle, his head a little thrown back after the manner of blind people, his face glowing with poetic inspiration, as he dictates his verses, which a youth at his side is transcribing. Behind him is Dante, absorbed in introspective thought, while Virgil is trying to draw his attention to Apollo's playing. The poetess Sappho designated by an inscription on the half-open roll which she holds is also in a prominent place on the left. An aged

* Raphael has often been blamed for this as an ignorant anachronism. They have not observed that the figure of Poesy on the ceiling, the Muses in Parnassus, finally Apollo himself in the School of Athens, and the punishment of Marsyas, are all represented with the lyre. Other painters of the same period, *e.g.*, Pinturicchio and Spagna, introduced the violin instead of the lyre. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 353-54, ed. 2. It is therefore quite unnecessary to suppose with Plattner and Passavant that Raphael wished to pay a compliment to the celebrated violinist, Giacomo Sansecondo (*cf.* CIAN, Cortegiano, 138, 181).

poet on the other side, opposite to her, to whom three others are listening admiringly, is supposed to be Pindar. The two sitting figures in the foreground are "admirably arranged in connection with the architectural lines, so as to make these latter appear rather to sustain and give effect to the fresco than to cramp it. On the other side the painted setting of the window is utilised as a support for Sappho's arm, who leans against it." *

This fresco has been called the most perfect specimen of a *genre* painting that has ever been produced.† The spirit of music pervades the whole composition; one seems actually to hear the music of Apollo and the song of Homer, and to share with the delighted listeners the spell of sound which unites them all in one common sense of perfect content.

The next subject, which fills one of the long side-walls under the name of the School of Athens, is of quite a different character from that of the blissful company of poets assembled on Mount Parnassus.‡ The predominant tone of feeling which reigns throughout this imposing gathering of so many various schools and masters is that of deep seriousness, laborious and indefatigable research. The scene also is very different; instead of the laurel-shaded flowery mount of the gods, we have a majestic fane, with a nave and transept surmounted by a cupola and approached by a broad flight of steps. This temple is dedicated to

* SPRINGER, I., 232, ed. 2.

† SCHROTT, see the Essay quoted, *supra*, p. 548, note §.

‡ On this contrast, *cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 351 *seq.*, ed. 2. The name, School of Athens, was first applied to this picture by the Marquis de Seignelay, in his account of his travels in the year 1671: see Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XIII., 365. *Cf.* SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, V., 80. I have used this treatise together with Müllner's for the description given in the text; it is the best of everything that has been written on this celebrated fresco. For further literature, see *infra*.

Minerva and Apollo, whose statues adorn the façade, in front of which a raised platform in the middle distance runs slantwise across the whole picture.

In the conception of this building, and also in the arrangement of some of the groups, we seem to trace a reminiscence of one of Ghiberti's reliefs in the Baptistery at Florence.* Down the long nave attended by a double band of disciples, the two princes of the philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, are slowly moving towards the top of the steps, on one of which the cynic Diogenes lazily reclines by himself. Aristotle is represented as a man in the prime of life. He wears an olive-green robe and grey-blue mantle and holds his *Ethics* in his hand. Plato is a venerable old man with a large and lofty brow and ample white beard; his robe is of a greyish-violet and his mantle red; he holds a book in his hand on the back of which *Timeo* is written. They are occupied in expounding their respective philosophies; Aristotle is pointing to the earth, Plato to the heavens.† On the right of these two prominent central groups are several singularly beautiful isolated figures; one a youth writing diligently, another an older scholar deep in thought, again close to the edge of the picture an old man leaning on a staff, just entering, with a youth hurrying after him.

On the left of the centre Socrates stands with a knot of listeners surrounding him (Dialecticians). He is numbering his propositions on his fingers and developing the consequences. Opposite to him is a handsome youth in full armour with a golden helmet, supposed to be Alcibiades.‡

* Ghiberti's relief represents the Queen of Saba's visit to Solomon. WICKHOFF, 52, was the first to call attention to its influence on this composition of Raphael.

† SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 98.

‡ In opposition to the prevalent view, MÜLLNER, 168, considers the

His features are copied from an antique gem still to be seen in Florence. A man by his side is eagerly beckoning to three others to join him. The foremost of these seems explaining why he is not so eager as his companions to obey the call; in front of him a youth with an armful of books rushes by in such haste that his golden-brown mantle is slipping from his shoulders: the connection between the group and the foreground is sustained by a number of persons assembled round the base of a pillar against which a youth is leaning turning over the leaves of a book. In the foreground to the right, not far from the grammarians, is an admirably composed group representing the arithmeticians and musicians. An old man (Pythagoras), supporting himself on one knee, is writing diligently, while on his left a boy is holding a tablet on which the numbers and symbols of the Pythagorean doctrine of harmonies are inscribed.* An Asiatic and an aged man with an inkstand and pen are standing† behind and at the side of the philosopher, looking into his book over his shoulder. To the right of this concentrated circle stands a young man in a long white garment embroidered with gold, identified, by a not very trustworthy tradition, as Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere of Urbino. Before him appears a man in the prime of life, one of the most striking personalities ever painted by Raphael, eagerly expounding his discoveries and views out of a book.‡ The last figure on this side is in

figure to represent Xenophon, an opinion which Scherer had already held in his essay, quoted in the following note.

* *Cf.* SCHEREK in the Oesterreich., Wochenschrift, II. (1872), 37; HETTNER, 198 *seq.*

† Perhaps Boethius. MÜLLNER, 164, thinks the Asiatic philosopher to be Averroës, who was considered by the Christian votaries of the Renaissance to be an "unbeliever." This view adds an ideal contrast to the artistic one.

‡ SPRINGER I, 247, ed. 2. The name of this philosopher has been

strong contrast with him, a philosopher sitting motionless on the lowest step, absorbed in thought, with pen in hand preparing to write.*

The group of geometricians and astrologers in the foreground on the right side is perhaps as perfect a representation of the processes of thought and research, reading and learning, listening and apprehending, as Raphael has ever produced. The mathematician (at one time thought to be Archimedes, but now rightly held to be Euclid)† is a portrait of Bramante; he is bending low with a circle in his hand, over a mathematical figure which he is explaining. There is hardly any group in the whole fresco which is more dramatic and artistic than that of the four fair-haired youths who surround this teacher. The foremost kneels, and with the fingers of one hand follows the lines of the drawing which he is trying to understand. The second youth shews in his eyes and by the movement of his hand that light is beginning to dawn on him. The third has mastered the problem so that he can now interpret it to the fourth, whose face beams with the joy of apprehension. "The psychological process by which the mind passes from the external sign to its meaning and thence to the internal cognition of the object, has never elsewhere been so truthfully and vividly portrayed."‡

the subject of much controversy. Recently MÜLLNER, 165 *seq.*, has endeavoured to prove that this figure is Parmenides.

* The original cartoon for the School of Athens in the Ambrosian Library at Milan shews that the figure was put in later to fill up the too large space on the step. PASSAVANT, LÜBKE, BOLE, 13, and MÜLLNER, 166, believe this thinker to be Heraclitus the Obscure.

† PASSAVANT, I., 159, conjectures that the tradition that Archimedes is represented here, which is not mentioned by Vasari, first arose in the time of Paul III. from Perino del Vaga's painting of the murder of Archimedes, then executed on the frieze.

‡ SPRINGER, I., 245, ed. 2. *Cf.* FÖRSTER, I., 305. Vasari says that

Adjoining this group is a King (Ptolemy) with a terrestrial globe in his hands and another figure (Zoroaster) with his head encircled by a gold band and carrying a celestial globe.* At the edge of the fresco, by the side of the votaries of the sciences of the earth and heavens, Raphael has introduced a likeness of himself, and one of his fellow-artist, Sodoma.†

A connecting link between all these groups and the central one is formed by two men, the older of whom is coming down from the platform, while the younger is mounting the steps towards the two greatest teachers.

Beautiful and interesting as each one of the numerous separate groups which make up the picture is in itself, none can withdraw our attention for any length of time from the splendid figures of Plato and Aristotle which dominate the whole composition. The eye involuntarily and constantly turns back again to gaze on the two great masters, the undisputed princes of the whole Academy. A flood of light from the dome above bathes them in its radiance, a symbol of the heavenly illumination which was the object of all their toil and its well-merited reward.‡

the second youth is Federigo Gonzaga, whose portrait Raphael had also painted by itself for Isabella d'Este. See LUZIO, F. Gonzaga, 43 *seq.*

* According to VASARI, Zoroaster is a portrait of Bald. Castiglione.

† The earlier explanation of this man as Perugino is certainly incorrect, as a glance at Perugino's likeness painted by himself in the Cambio in Perugia is enough to prove. LERMOLIEFF, Die Werke Italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden, und Berlin (1880), p. 472, thinks Sodoma more likely. This interpretation is not without its difficulties also (see SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 97), but it seems the most probable. *Cf.* K. BRUN, in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1882), I., 542 *seq.*

‡ MÜLLNER, 176. Here also is an excellent appreciation of Louis Jacoby's admirable engraving, the appearance of which in 1883 constitutes an era in the history of copper-plate printing in modern times.

Perhaps no other work of art in existence has called forth so many various and conflicting interpretations as has the School of Athens. There are almost as many opinions as there are figures in the picture in which the artist strove to depict both the loftiest aspirations and the multiform vagaries of the human mind. Critics tried to put a name to each, and lost themselves in futile individualisations. The only way to arrive at a satisfactory solution is to look at the composition as a whole, and in the light of the general point of view of the time. If this is done the fundamental idea becomes clear at once. Raphael intended to portray the efforts of the human mind to discover and scientifically apprehend its own highest object and final cause by the light of reason.* The

Cf. Graphische Künste, V., 104 *seq.* The fresco itself has been so much damaged that Jacoby had to go back to the original sketches.

* See MÜLLNER, 158, and BOLE, Rafael's Wandgemälde die Philosophie, 2, and VON LILIENCRON in the Allg. Zeit. (1883), N. 309-310, Suppl., who in the main agree with Müllner. The engraving of G. Ghisi, executed in 1550, had spread abroad the mistaken notion that the fresco represented the preaching of S. Paul at Athens. As early as the year 1695 this interpretation which fell in with the tendency of the Catholic restoration of that day, and had been hinted by Vasari, was proved by Bellori to be untenable. Nevertheless H. GRIMM, in 1864, took it up and defended it strenuously in his Fünfzehn Essays, 3 Folge, p. 61 *seq.* (Berlin, 1882), and in his Leben Raphaels, 287 *seq.*, ed. 2 (Berlin, 1886); but he has found very few supporters (as far as I know WOLZOGEN, 59 *seq.*, is the only one). The best scholars have all pronounced against this view. See WOLTMANN, II., 643, 794; MINGHETTI, Raffaello, 114: also, more recently, KOOPMAN in Lützow's Zeitschrift, XXI., 266 *seq.*, and especially KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 25 *seq.* Kraus has so completely refuted Grimm that his hypothesis may be considered dead. Up to the present day competent critics continue completely at variance with each other, both as to the identification of many of the figures, and the sources from which Raphael derived his knowledge of ancient philosophies. For a long time the names given by Vasari and Bellori were

purpose of the painter in this monumental work was to celebrate the praise of Philosophy in the language of Art

not disputed. Passavant started the hypothesis that the matter for the School of Athens was taken from Diogenes of Laertes, and that the fresco represented the historical development of Greek philosophy. He found names for all the figures, fifty in number. See PASSAVANT, I., 148 *seq.*; II., 102 *seq.*; III., 13 *seq.*; TRENDELENBURG, Die Schule von Athen (Berlin, 1843), has corrected some of these names, and rejects the chronology. The doubtfulness of the nomenclature is shewn by the fact that WATKISS LLOYD, Fine Arts Quarterly Review, II., 42 *seq.* (London, 1864), though thinking with Passavant that the main idea of the picture is derived from Diogenes, substitutes quite different names for the various persons. FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 290, thinks the treatment of the subject was suggested by Petrarch's Triumph of Fame. GRIMM and SCHERER (see *supra*, p. 554) trace the influence of Sidonius Apollinaris, and the latter in 1872 also mentioned Marsilio Ficino. Ficino is also frequently referred to by HETTNER, 195 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, Schule von Athen, 94 *seq.* Hettner's observations are so full of theological and philosophical blunders that they have done little towards elucidating the subject. On the other hand, Springer's explanation contains a good résumé of older opinions (KRAUS, *loc. cit.*, 12 *seq.*), and is worth noticing, though he has not got hold of the kernel of the matter. He has rendered specially good service by the long list of contradictory names which he gives to shew the absurdity of the attempts at identifying each figure. (GRUYER, 86, had already protested against that.) He observes, p. 88, "It is quite clear that all these names have been read into the picture, and not gathered from it. For the identification of most of the figures the artist gives no clue whatever. Where he intends to represent any particular person he makes his meaning quite clear; thus, besides the two principal figures, Socrates and Diogenes are quite unmistakeable. He intended to indicate some of the Sages of Antiquity, and there is no doubt about them; but an unbiassed eye can detect no trace of anything like a connected representation of the course of Greek philosophy." Springer points out that all modern interpretations are unsatisfactory, because they proceed on the assumption that the picture, which really is a monumental creation, is an illustration of a theme only known in all its detail to the author, and to every one else a riddle capable of only partial solution. Springer's view is that Raphael aimed at giving expression to the general ideas and feelings prevailing among

and from the points of view of his own age. It is possible, and most probable, that he discussed the subject with his

his contemporaries in regard to the value and significance of science and learning. The best account of them is, he thinks, to be found in the works of Marsilio Ficino and Sadolet, and he looks upon the composition as an embodiment of their views. "With them Raphael looked upon the place in which the sages of the world assembled as a sacred edifice ; for him, as for them, all philosophical knowledge was built up from the foundation of the seven liberal arts, and Plato and Aristotle were the two princes of the whole company of the wise. In the School of Athens the representation of the liberal arts is the warp, and the idealisation of the Greek philosophers the woof of the composition" (p. 98). RICHTER (Schule von Athen. Heidelberg, 1882), had already shewn that the scheme of the School of Athens was founded on the seven liberal arts, and Liliencron, Bole, and Müllner supported this view. Bole and Müllner think that the picture is also meant to be a historical representation of ancient philosophy, and they renew the attempt to find suitable names for the separate figures. Müllner holds out hopes of a forthcoming treatise further developing his views and the arguments on which they are founded, which would be very welcome. Crowe-Cavalcaselle have contributed nothing new. Müntz agrees in the main with Springer, as also Kraus in many points. According to the latter, the connecting link between the School of Athens and the other frescoes is to be found in the words of Pico della Mirandola : Philosophia veritatem quaerit, theologia invenit, religio possidet. Kraus lays great stress on the influence of Marsilio Ficino. He goes so far as to say : È forse ancora più preciso il dire che l' intero concetto, l' intera Camera della Segnatura si trova già in Marsilio. Wickhoff, on the other hand, sharply contests this. "The history of Greek philosophy is supposed to be represented by the position and grouping of the figures ; but who at that time cared for the history of Greek philosophy? The temple and the steps leading up to it are said to have been suggested by an obscure passage in Marsilio Ficino, a philosophist of the earlier humanistic period. But in those days who read Marsilio? At all times nothing is so antipathetic to the taste of any period as the fashionable writings of the beaux esprits of the preceding generation. In the architectural framework of the picture there is a reminiscence of Florentine art." (See *supra*, p. 551.) Out of all the suggested names WICKHOFF only accepts those of Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Socrates, Boethius, Euclid, and

learned friends, especially with Sadolet, and that he was influenced by the works of Marsilio Ficino, and also by Dante and Petrarch. But, essentially, there can be little doubt that his ideas of the significance and development of ancient philosophy came from Urbino. In some particulars, as in giving the highest place to Plato, he adopted the point of view of the Renaissance, but in the main he retained the mediæval conception. In this, all knowledge that can possibly be attained by the human intellect through the experience of the senses and the laws of thought, is comprised in the seven liberal arts (*artes liberales*), Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic (Dialectics) the so-called *Trivium*; and Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy — the *Quadrivium*. Raphael's composition is entirely founded on the idea of Philosophy * as the sum of the seven liberal arts.

Plato and Aristotle represent the highest achievements of the human intellect in its efforts to understand and know the substance of all things; truth came to them in flashes like lightning at night; but although these intellectual athletes accomplished as much as it is given to the natural powers of man to work out, they could not obtain to the full possession of the highest truth. On one point all the great thinkers of antiquity, and even Plato, the philosopher of immortality, were at fault; they had no true conception of sin, of the nature and origin of evil. Thus, Greek philosophy was powerless to heal the deadly

Diogenes. "The others, what Dante calls the philosophic family, either have no names or are exquisitely artistic personifications of the various processes of teaching, apprehending, imparting, etc." (p. 52). The writer then goes on to expound his new view of the purpose for which the Camera della Segnatura was destined, which we shall have to mention later, connecting it with these remarks.

* See Richter, Springer, Liliencron and Müllner, *supra*, p. 555, note * as quoted.

wound of the ancient world.* "Philosophy," says Vincent de Beauvais in his great Encyclopædia, "can work the way up to a natural theology, but not to the true science of theology. That could only come from revelation in the Bible and, through its interpreters, the great theological teachers."† This distinction between the realms of natural and supernatural theology is to be found in all the great Catholic thinkers. Thus Dante makes Beatrice say that the difference between human knowledge and Divine faith is as great as the distance between heaven and earth.‡

Therefore, Raphael chose the highest object of supernatural lore for the subject of his fresco on the opposite wall to the School of Athens, which represents the triumphs of human reason. But it must not be supposed that either the immortal masters of mediæval theology, or Dante, the greatest of Christian poets, or Raphael, the most gifted of Christian artists, were conscious of any opposition between Theology and Philosophy.§ As the Church grew to realise her plenary and imperishable possession of revealed truth through Christianity, her early Fathers and Doctors quickly understood that the wisdom of the Greeks was far more her heritage than that of the heathen, and was to be employed in the service and thus became itself purified and elevated to a far higher dignity. The scholastics continued to build in the same spirit on the foundations laid by the Fathers, and thus that system of Christian and Catholic science grew up, of which S. Thomas Aquinas and

* This is admirably demonstrated in DÖLLINGER'S classical work, Heidenthum und Judenthum, 266 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 601 *seq.*, 730 *seq.* Regensburg, 1857.

† Speculum doctrinale, II., c. XIX., quoted by LILIENCRON, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* S. THOMAS AQUINAS, Summa, p. 1, q. 1, art. 2.

‡ DANTE, Purgat., XXXIII., 87.

§ In regard to Dante, see HETTINGER, Die Göttliche Komödie, 100, ed. 2. Freiburg, 1889.

S. Bonaventure are the noblest representatives. "This science was Catholic in the fullest sense of the word, not only because it was moulded on, and guided by Divine truth, infallibly preserved and interpreted by the Church, but because it gathered to itself the legitimate and stable conquests of research in all ages, because it was common to all nations in communion with the Church, and because it aimed at the union of all truth, natural and supernatural, in one perfect science."*

In the fourth great fresco, Raphael wisely abstained from attempting to depict all or even the principal mysteries and miracles unveiled by revelation and confined himself to one, the mystery of mysteries and supreme miracle of all.

The name "Disputa del Sacramento" given to this picture, "which affects the spectator almost like a heavenly vision,"† and was Raphael's first great work in Rome, has been rather an obstacle than a help to the understanding of its purport.‡ There is no strife or disputation here; on the contrary heaven and earth unite together in adoring and

* I have taken the passage from the admirable address on the past achievements and present task of Catholic Science delivered by my friend, Domdekan HEINRICH, on Whit Tuesday, 1876, at Frankfort a. M., at the first general meeting of the Görres Society. It is printed in the Annual Report of the Association for 1876, p. 12. Köln, 1877.

† CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, II., 29.

‡ MÜNTZ, Raphael, 330, rightly observes: En Italien le mot *Disputa* a le sens de discussion aussi bien que celui de contestation; we may add that the original sense of *disputatio* in ecclesiastical terminology is also *discursus*. Nevertheless, the name is unfortunate, because it at once suggests the idea of dispute or strife to any non-Italian. HAGEN, 140 *seq.*, has some very good remarks on this name. From a technical point of view, the School of Athens is a better picture than the Disputa, which was painted earlier. *Cf.* PASSAVANT, I., 163; II., 96; see also RIO, IV., 463-464, 466. In his work, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 133, RIO agrees with F. Schlegel, in considering the Disputa as the greatest of Raphael's works.

praising the miracle of miracles, the supreme pledge of His love bestowed on man by the Saviour of the World. The spectator seems to hear the solemn strains of the *Tantum ergo* breathing as it were out of the picture itself.*

* The picture has nothing whatever to do with any sort of controversy in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, and it is therefore really deplorable to find the engraving of the Disputa in REBER-BAYERDORFFER'S "Classischer Bilderschatz" entitled: "Der Wortwechsel—La Disputa." It cannot be determined with certainty when the name Disputa first came into use. I find it employed in an old guide of the year 1739. (Descrizione di Roma, 60 [Roma, 1739].) The word is to be found in Vasari, but not exactly in the description of the picture. He says: "Fece in un' altra parete un cielo con Cristo e la Nostra Donna, S. Giovanni Battista, gli Apostoli e gli Evangelisti e Martiri sulle nuvole con Dio Padre che sopra tutti manda lo Spirito Santo, e massimamente sopra un numero infinito di Santi che sotto scrivono la messa e sopra l'ostia, che è sull' altare, disputano." The rest of the description is uninteresting, like all Vasari's it is taken from a print. In the passage quoted, the chief emphasis is laid on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the band of Saints. What was said about the writing of the mass was overlooked; attention was concentrated on the "disputano" which gradually lost its original sense of "interchange of opinions" (demonstrating, drawing inferences), and came to be translated as "contention." The change in the prevailing taste in Art which soon diverted general interest from this picture is probably the cause which led to its true meaning being so quickly forgotten. It is significant of this change that the Parnassus should be the only picture mentioned by JOVIUS in his Life of Raphael, when speaking of the Camera della Segnatura. Later travellers (Aldroandi, 1562; Schrader, 1592) ignore Raphael entirely. (MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 26.) M. DE MONTAIGNE, who visited Rome in the reign of Gregory XIII., equally does not mention him in his Journal de Voyage, nor yet ZEILLER, in his well-known Travels in the year 1640. SCHOTT, Itiner. Italiae (Antwerpiae, 1600), mentions only the Sala di Costantino. It was not till the end of the 17th Century that Bellori (*cf.* MÜNTZ, *loc. cit.*, 26, 77) made an attempt, though not a very intelligent one, to give a detailed description of Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican. VENUTI again, Descrizione di Roma Moderna, IV., 1191 (Roma, 1767), only speaks of the Parnassus and the School of Athens, and says not a word of the Disputa. J. G. KEYSSLER, Neueste Reisen (new ed. by G. Schutze,

Tantum ergo Sacramentum
Veneremur cernui ;
Et antiquum documentum
Novo cedat ritui
Præstet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui.

Hannover, 1751), is a little more communicative : he enumerates the four pictures in the Camera della Segnatura as follows : (1) The chief doctrines of the Faith, namely, the Trinity, mediation of Christ, transubstantiation, eternal life, etc. (2) The achievements and powers of the human mind in regard to philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, which piece is usually called the School of Athens. (3) Poesy and the hill of Parnassus. (4) Justice, Prudence, and other moral virtues. VOLKMANN'S Reisehandbuch (Hist.-Kritische Nachrichten von Italien, ed. 2. Leipzig, 1777), of which Goethe made use, gives a full description of the School of Athens, but dismisses the Disputa with a remark that it is painted in "the dry style of Perugino's pupils." He translates the word "Disputa" as "The debate of the doctors of the Church about the Lord's Supper" (II., 128). W. HEINSE, who came to Rome late in the autumn of 1781, and published his "Ardinghello" in 1787, drops the name Disputa altogether, and only speaks of the Theology, of which he says, "The whole represents the coming into existence of the Christian Church." Goethe, in speaking of the Stanza, does not mention the Disputa at all. The German Christian artists, more especially OVERBECK, were the first to rediscover the full beauty of this wonderful picture (*cf. infra*, p. 565, n.). PLATTNER, II., 1, 325 *seq.*, gave a detailed description of it, drawn a good deal from Bellori ; he rejects the "mistaken notion" of a controversy about the Blessed Sacrament, and calls it "a dramatic representation of theology in its action and effects." Passavant makes some mistakes in details, but gives a much better general interpretation than any of his predecessors. He says : "In its essential meaning it is a representation of the agreement between the Saints of the old and new covenants in Heaven, celebrating the work of Salvation there, and the theologians on earth contemplating the mysterious Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and both feeling themselves united with each other in Him." KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, II., 581, are quite beside the mark in blaming the picture because neither of the two halves predominate. The remarks in Cicerone, 663, are more to the point, though here too the theological meaning is not appreciated. The appearance of Joseph

Genitori genitoque
Laus et jubilatio
Salus, honor, virtus quoque
Sit et benedictio;

von Keller's admirable engraving of the Disputa in 1857 led to a revival of interest in the picture. (Frederick William IV. bought the drawing; the plate with all the copies still remaining, partly the property of Keller, was destroyed when the Academy in Düsseldorf was burnt down in the year 1872. When Keller saw the plate, "the fruit of ten years of toil," as it was recovered from the mass of rubbish, curled up and perfectly useless, this, "the saddest moment of his life," shewed how deeply imbued he was with Christian feeling; he merely exclaimed, "may the will of God be praised.") Inspired by this engraving, the somewhat mercurial theologian, J. W. J. BRAUN, wrote an original dissertation on the Disputa (Düsseldorf, 1859), in which he gave free vent to his love of conjecture. (*Cf.* Kathol. Literaturzeitung, VI., 59 *seq.*) This roused SPRINGER to publish, first in a brochure (Bonn, 1860) and then in his larger work on Raphael and Michael Angelo, an excellent historical treatise on the whole subject. In this work he rejects the theological interpretation. HAGEN in 1860 wrote a remarkable essay primarily directed against Braun, but also controverting Springer's views (p. 125 *seq.*). In it he justly points out (pp. 127, 139) that Raphael had the prayers of the mass in his mind, in which he is in accordance with Monsignor Schneider, who will be cited further on. HAGEN, 128, declares the main idea in the picture to be "the communion between earth and heaven established by the revelation of the Sacrament of the Altar." F. X. KRAUS was the first to state the theological interpretation from a Catholic point of view in his able, but unfortunately too little known, treatise, La Camera della Segnatura, where, p. 41, the sacrificial element is explained. BOLE in his Meisterwerke, 67–81, has also, more recently, dealt with the subject from the point of view of a Catholic theologian. G. COZZA-LUZI'S paper, Il Duomo di Orvieto e Raffaelo Sanzio nel Trionfo Eucharistico. Lettura inaugurale all' Accademia Orvietana, "La Nuova Fenice" (Milano, 1890), is rather rhetorical. G. GRIMM in his Leben Raphaels, 315, gives the following explanation. "From the moment we understand that the picture represents not a dispute, but the cessation of all disputes on the subject of the picture by the revelation which silences controversy, we see that all the many meanings introduced into it are quite superfluous. It is a moment of overpowering amazement," etc. I consider this interpretation, which is

Procedenti ab utroque
Compar sit laudatio.*

The representation of the Holy Trinity, conceived in the old mediæval reverent manner, occupies the centre of the upper part of the fresco. God the Father is seen in the highest heaven in a sea of golden rays thronged with floating angels,† as if the painter's imagination revelled in the thought of the multitudes of happy spirits in that realm of peace and bliss. On each side, on the edges of the clouds which encircle this region of light, three angels soar in flowing drapery. As Creator and Preserver, the Father holds the globe in His left hand, while the right hand is raised in blessing. Immediately

accepted by WOLZOGEN, 56, to be mistaken, because it starts from the false notion that there had been a dispute amongst those who are assembled in presence of the Blessed Sacrament. The deeper theological meaning of the fresco, as I have endeavoured to explain it further on, p. 575, is thus entirely lost. Finally as a curiosity it may be worth mentioning that PORTIG in the Hist.-polit. Bl., XCVII., 403 *seq.*, is of opinion that the Disputa is an expression of the Protestant doctrine of salvation by faith! On that of a Protestant pastor who declares that Raphael was not a Catholic, see MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 68.

* Down in adoration falling,
Lo! the Sacred Host we hail;
Lo! o'er ancient forms departing,
Newer rites of grace prevail;
Faith for all defects supplying,
Where the feeble senses fail.

To the everlasting Father
And the Son who reigns on high,
With the Holy Ghost, proceeding
Forth from each eternally,
Be salvation, honour, blessing,
Might and endless majesty. Amen.

† *Cf.* DANTE'S description of the Empyrean, Parad., XXXI., 4 *seq.* Raphael indicates the starry heavens by a number of little golden dots.

below Him, in the actual centre of the heavens, is the glorified form of the only begotten Son (*Rex gloriae*).* Perhaps this is the most beautiful representation of the Saviour that has ever been created. He is enthroned on clouds filled with angel-faces. His divinity beams forth in a golden halo melting into a semi-circle of blue sky out of which cherubs are looking down. His head is slightly bent and the wounded hands are stretched forth graciously and lovingly, inviting all men to His banquet.† His shining garment leaves the wound in His side uncovered. On His left hand, S. John the Baptist sits pointing to the "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world," on the right, His Blessed Mother bends adoringly towards him with folded hands pressed to her bosom.

The "patricians of this most just and pious empire," as Dante calls them, are ranged in a semi-circle spread underneath and stretching upwards to embrace the two sides of the central group. They, too, are enthroned on a cloud from which angel faces look out. "For the grouping of the Divine Persons, Raphael went back to the traditional type, but the arrangement of these figures is all his own and is admirable for its perfect proportions

* *Cf.* KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 37.

† *Cf.* OVERBECK'S Leben von Binder, I., 145 *seq.*, and BOLE, Meisterwerke der Malerei, 69. In a letter, which has only come to light quite recently, from Overbeck to his father, written in 1810, he says of the Disputa: "What a heaven opens upon one the moment one enters. The first thing that strikes the eye is the Majesty of God and His only begotten Son, full of grace and truth; it is really impossible to conceive anything more sublime than the glory in the Disputa. With Stephen one sees Heaven opened, and falls into a trance. Below are all the Saints so full of love and faith; in short, this picture is the reflection of Raphael's beautiful saintly soul; one must indeed be a saint oneself to be able to paint sanctity like that." Allg. Conservative Monatschrift (1887), II., 1283.

and its clearness. He mixes the representatives of the old covenant with the heroes of the new, and places these latter in a certain way in accordance with their rank in the hierarchy of the Saints: Apostles with sacred writers, ancestors of Christ together with martyrs, the former in a chronological sequence according to the age in which they lived. Those who sit on the same level on opposite sides are always in some way connected with each other."* In his selection of the Saints and their juxtaposition, Raphael was guided partly by the prayer in the mass and partly by Dante.†

The series of the elect begins on the left side with S. Peter. The teacher and guardian of the Faith appears as a venerable old man holding in one hand a book and in the other the keys; his eyes are fixed upon his Master and God, who has appointed him to be His Vicar on earth, with an expression of unbounded trustfulness. Adam is next him, turning a thoughtful gaze towards him as though musing on the story of sin and redemption.

Que' due, che seggon lassù più felici,
Per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
Son d'esta rosa quasi due radici.

* SPRINGER, I., 223, ed. 2. BOLE, Meisterwerke der Malerei, 69, remarks on the twelve figures which are nearest to Christ: "The order observed in the placing of these persons according to a twofold principle of juxtaposition and opposition is very striking. Old and New Testament Saints are arranged side by side in pairs, for in heaven there is no distinction between the two covenants, since all alike have attained to glory through Christ the Alpha and Omega (Apoc., 1, 8). There is a connection also between those who sit opposite to each, either in regard to God's providential dealings with them, or the special virtues by which they had merited heaven." The author goes on to exemplify this in detail, but perhaps puts a little more into the painter's mind than was really there.

† HAGEN, 127 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*, 139 *seq.*, was, as far as I know, the first to point this out.

Colui, che da sinistra le s'aggiusta,
È 'l Padre, per lo cui ardito gusto,
L'umana specie tanto amaro gusta.
Dal destro vedi quel Padre vetusto
Di Santa Chiesa, a cui Cristo le chiavi
Raccomandò di questo fior venusto.*

Close to, and strongly contrasting with the mighty ancestor of the human race, is the gentle and youthful form of S. John, who is writing his Gospel. David by his side, with crown and harp, is reading in the book the history which fulfilled his Old Testament prophecies. Next comes S. Lawrence, the joyous and heroic martyr-deacon; he wears a golden star on his breast and points to the theologians assembled below, round the Blessed Sacrament.† Turning towards him is a figure, probably Jeremias, which is almost hidden by the central group and thus indicates that the circle behind it is unbroken.‡

On the right side, the series begins with the other

* Those highest in bliss,
The twain, on each hand next our Empress throned,
Are as it were two roots unto this rose.
He to the left, the parent, whose rash taste
Proves bitter to his seed; and on the right,
That ancient father of the Holy Church,
Into whose keeping Christ did give the keys
Of this sweet flower.
—DANTE, Parad., XXXII., 118–126.

† HAGEN, 139, and others look upon this figure pointing downwards as S. Stephen, and place S. Lawrence on the opposite side. I think them wrong, as it seems to me that the palm in the hand of the figure on the right side clearly indicates the first martyr.

‡ SPRINGER, Raffaels Disputa (1860), was the first to suggest this name, and nearly all modern writers down to BOLE, 71, have accepted it. PALIARD thinks it is meant for S. Martin of Tours. See Chron. des Arts (1876), 328–329.

pillar of the Church, S. Paul. The energetic pose of the figure and the strength and size of the sword on which it leans suggest both his martyrdom and the characteristic power of his doctrine. "The word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two-edged sword" (Heb., iv. 12). Next to him sits Abraham with the knife in his hand preparing to sacrifice Isaac. After him comes S. James the less, absorbed in thought, holding a book,* then Moses with the tables of the Law, and next to him S. Stephen. The first martyr holds a palm in his hand; he rests his arm on the Book of the Faith which he confessed, and gazing upwards seems to repeat the words which he uttered as he stood before the Council, filled with the Holy Ghost: "Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God." Again, on this side, half-lost behind the group of the Saviour and next to the martyr, stands one of the

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 327, conjectures that S. James is placed here as the third witness, together with SS. Peter and John, of the Transfiguration and the symbol of Hope, as they are of Faith and Love. But it was S. James *the greater* who was present at the Transfiguration, and he is generally represented as an old man with a pilgrim's staff and hat (MENZEL, Symbolik, I., 75, 430). Nevertheless GRUYER, 62, and HAGEN, 139, hold to S. James *the less*, and the fact that in the Middle Ages the inscription: "Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis" (see MENZEL, I., 77), often accompanies representations of him seems to me to favour this view. BOLE, in his very able "Studie," connects S. James with the corresponding Saint on the opposite side, S. John: "Both," he says, "lay great stress on the necessity of good works, and above all things of the love of our neighbour: S. John from the point of view of the love of God which is manifested in the love of the neighbour, and S. James from that of faith, which shews it is alive by good works." "If any man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar" (1 S. John, iv. 20). "Faith also if it have not works is dead in itself" (S. James, ii. 17). KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 37, makes it S. Mathew instead of S. John.

heroes of the old Covenant in the dress of a warrior, probably Judas Machabæus.*

The relation between the Heavenly Paradise and the Church on earth is symbolised by the descending Dove, the Holy Ghost, attended by four cherubs, each of whom carries an open Gospel in his hands. The divinity of the Holy Ghost is indicated by the halo which surrounds the Dove; the graces He bestows by the golden beams which radiate from its body. The undermost rays are prolonged to lead the eye to the monstrance with the Sacred Host, Christ in the Eucharist, the end and crown of all theological science.

A wide stretch of open country forms the background of the lower part of the picture. To the right in the plain are the massive remains of an ancient building. On an eminence to the left somewhat further off, workmen are busy on an extensive edifice which is in course of construction.†

In the foreground of the picture a balustrade on each side corresponds with the two buildings which flank the landscape in the background. The middle is left free so as to concentrate the attention on the central point, towards which all the figures below turn, and on which the golden rays from the symbolical Dove descend.

* The earlier interpretation which made the figure S. George the patron Saint of Liguria, has been given up by almost every one since Springer suggested Judas Machabæus, except PLATTNER, II., 1, 327, who still holds to it. FÖRSTER, Raphael, I., 279, calls it Josue.

† The meaning of this building has been much disputed. It is very generally supposed to represent the new S. Peter's. See GRIMM, Raphael, 318 *seq.*, and Fünfzehn Essays, IV., 278 *seq.*; CROWE, II., 22 *seq.*, 31; KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 41; and FRANTZ, II., 727. BOLE, Meisterwerke, 72, following MOLITOR, Rom, 261, thinks the ruin on the right is meant as a symbol of heathenism, and the new building on the left, of Christian Theology, which will for ever be receiving new additions. HAGEN, 142, gives yet another interpretation.

Neither the altar nor the monstrance are allowed to appeal in any way to the eye. The monstrance is of the simplest character, the altar is almost without ornament, there are not even candles on the super-altar; on the altar-cloth is the monogram of Julius II. But there is the Blessed Sacrament; the smallest thing in the whole picture, yet under the form of bread the Godhead lies hidden, the one thing which, next to the Christ in heaven, draws our gaze to Itself, and rivets it there. The Holy Trinity rests immediately above the Sacred Host in which it is contained. All the saints in heaven and the legions of angels seem only to become visible for the one purpose of honouring the supreme mystery of earth; the "Bread of Life," appears as the meeting-point in which the two spheres are united. On both sides, as though taking the place of the altar lights, stand the Doctors and Saints of the Church, Popes and Cardinals, secular and regular Priests, Scholars and Artists. "All are occupied with the miracle on the altar; some are lost in adoring wonder, some in deep thought, others absorbed in earnest conversation. This is the human part of the picture; here we find the most animated groups, figures full of emotion in the intense efforts of the mind to grasp and understand. Nevertheless, all these various expressions and characters are blended into a whole of perfect harmony and beauty. The scope of the picture stretches out far beyond its immediate subject; we see the long ages of humanity straining after knowledge, embodied in these venerable fathers striving through the abysses of religious thought to attain to clear insight. And yet over all broods the spirit of heavenly calm, the peace of the sanctuary."*

* THIERSCH, Schaden, 132. The whole description of the Disputa is so beautiful that it is with great regret that I confine myself to this extract.

On three sides broad steps lead up to the altar, and thus facilitate a natural and varied arrangement of the groups and figures comprised in this happy company, to whom it has been granted to draw near to the Holiest, the source of all enlightenment and knowledge. On the two sides of the altar are stationed the four greatest Fathers of the Western Church; on the left, S. Jerome and S. Gregory I.; on the right, S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. They are seated to denote their office as teachers, while all the other saints are standing.* S. Jerome is in the dress of a Cardinal, the lion is at his feet, by his side his letters and translation of the Bible, on his knee a book in which he is reading with an expression of strenuous attention on his face. An aged Bishop, standing close against the altar in a green cope embroidered with gold, is turning towards him, and with a countenance beaming with trust and faith, stretches out both hands towards the monstrance.† Next to S. Jerome, S. Gregory the Great, in full pontificals, is seated on an antique Roman episcopal chair; he appears to have been reading, but now turns from his book to gaze with a wistful expression on the symbol of the Holy Ghost, which Paul the Deacon once saw floating over this saint's head.

On the right side, close to the altar, an old man, in a

* BOLE, Meisterwerke, 74.

† According to WICKHOFF, 51–52, the artist intentionally abstained from individualising this and many of the other figures. "He does not wish to distract the attention of the spectator by any biographical associations. The office of the chorus is to illustrate the thoughts and feelings of the principal personages. They contemplate them, they address them, they converse upon what they have heard, they impersonate intelligent sympathy in all its forms." BOLE, Meisterwerke, 73 *seq.*, takes the opposite view and looks for names; he thinks the two figures standing immediately next the altar, are S. Ignatius of Antioch and S. Justin. BRAUN, Raffaels Disputa (1859), had already proposed these names.

philosopher's robe of a blue colour, not specially designated in any way, stands turning towards S. Ambrose and pointing with his right hand to heaven. The Saint is looking upwards, his hands raised in adoring wonder, and his lips parted as though just beginning to intone his hymn of praise. Next to him is the noble figure of S. Augustine, the favourite author of the Christian humanists, dictating his confessions to a kneeling youth ;* his best-known work, "the City of God," lies at his feet.

To the right of SS. Ambrose and Augustine, both in episcopal dress, stand S. Thomas Aquinas and two prominent figures, one a Pope, the other a Cardinal. The first of these is probably Innocent III., the author of the well-known works on the Holy Mass ;† while the Cardinal, who wears the Franciscan habit, is undoubtedly S. Bonaventure the Seraphic Doctor. Another Pope, in a robe of gold brocade, stands at the foot of the altar-step. His features are those of Sixtus IV., Julius II.'s uncle. The books in his hand and at his feet shew that he was a voluminous writer.‡ Behind Sixtus IV. the head of Dante appears crowned with a wreath of laurels.§

* *Cf.* PASTOR, Hist. Popes, II., 24 (Engl. trans.).

† KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 40.

‡ BOLE, Meisterwerke, 76, still holds to the earlier view which made this figure Innocent III., but this is certainly incorrect. WICKHOFF, 51, has no doubt that it is meant for Sixtus IV. In another place, 64, he remarks : "There is a very human touch of nature in Julius II.'s commemoration of his uncle in the Stanza della Segnatura, but it is also characteristic of his lofty aims that he puts forward the intellectual services of his family as their title to distinction." It was a happy thought to place Sixtus IV. close to the Dominican S. Thomas and the Franciscan S. Bonaventure, when we recall that one of his works was a treatise in which he strove to appease the controversy between the two orders. See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 209 (Engl. trans.).

§ Some think that the head which is visible just behind Dante's is meant for Savonarola. I cannot, however, see any resemblance to the

On the extreme right side of the fresco there are a considerable number of figures, the foremost of whom is leaning over the balustrade with eyes fixed on the altar. Another man with a beard, in a yellow tunic and blue mantle, evidently a philosopher, points to Sixtus IV., as to an accredited exponent of the mystery.

Adoro te devote, latens Deitas
Quæ sub his figuris vere latitas,
Tibi se cor meum totum subjicit,
Quia te contemplans totum deficit.

Visus, tactus, gustus, in te fallitur,
Sed auditu solo tuto creditur ;
Credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius :
Nil hoc veritatis verbo verius.

Plagas, sicut Thomas, non intueor.
Deum tamen meum te confiteor.
Fac me tibi semper magis credere
In te spem habere, te diligere.

Jesu, quem velatum nunc adspicio,
Oro, fiat illud, quod tam sitio,
Ut, te revelata cernens facie,
Visu sim beatus tuae gloriæ.* Amen.

well-known portraits of the great preacher, whose features were, of course, quite familiar to Raphael.

* O Godhead hid, devoutly I adore Thee
Who truly art within the forms before me ;
To Thee my heart I bow with bended knee,
As failing quite in contemplating Thee.

Sight, touch, and taste in Thee are each deceived ;
The ear alone most safely is believed :
I believe all the Son of God has spoken,
Than truth's own word there is no truer token.

Thy wounds, as Thomas saw, I do not see ;
Yet Thee confess my Lord and God to be,
Make me believe Thee ever more and more ;
In Thee my hope, in Thee my love to store.

A similar order is observed on the left side. Next to S. Gregory the Great is a beautiful group of three youths kneeling in adoration, while a man in a yellow mantle points to the writings of the Fathers of the Church lying on the ground beside them. Behind this group are two very striking heads of Bishops, and beyond them four religious, a Benedictine Abbot, an Augustinian, a Franciscan, and a Dominican, conversing together. This group, no doubt, is intended to indicate the large share which the religious orders have had in the building up of the scholastic theology. The corresponding figure on the opposite side to that of Sixtus IV. is a noble youth with flowing golden hair, he is gently, but very earnestly trying to persuade three men to follow the example of the kneeling youths. The leader of these less advanced believers is an older man, who is supporting himself against the balustrade, and seems appealing to some sentence in an open book which he holds in his hand.* The background is filled with other heads, all more or less interesting, amongst them that of Fra Angelico in blissful contemplation; the theological painter on this side answers to the theological poet on the other. The mystery of the Holy Eucharist is not only

> Jesu! whom for the present veil'd I see
> What I so thirst for, oh, vouchsafe to me;
> That I may see thy countenance unfolding,
> And may be blest Thy glory in beholding.

* PLATTNER, II., 1, 330, contests Montagnani's interpretation of this man whom he supposes to be a theologian. The figure is clearly marked as that of a philosopher. FÖRSTER, I., 279 *seq.*, and others who make him out to be a sectary or heretic are, of course, still more at fault. BOLE, Meisterwerke, 78, explains him as a philosopher who has not yet succeeded in completely reconciling Theology with Philosophy, because he is too full of his own system, and neglects Holy Scripture. LÜBKE II., 262, agrees with this interpretation.

the highest study of doctors and theologians, it is also the inspiration of poets and artists; it is the focus of Christian life, the food and the strength of all Christian souls.

"Here we have not a commemoration of Christ, we have Christ Himself. What we are here adoring is not one of the mysteries of His life, it is the sum of all these mysteries, the God-man Himself, the crown, the consummation and the corner stone of all his illuminating, grace-bestowing and redemptive work; it is the source of all graces, a sea of graces, the way to glory, and glory itself. All the treasures of nature and creation, all the miracles of grace and redemption, all the glories of heaven meet in this Sacrament, the centre of the universe." "It is from here that those streams of grace flow East, West, North and South, which fertilise the whole realm of the Church; this is the source from which beams the sevenfold radiance of the Sacraments. All the virtues blossom around this spring of grace, all creatures draw the waters of salvation from this well. This is the living heart whose pulsations give life to the Church, here heaven touches earth which has become the dwelling place of God."*

But the Holy Eucharist is also a Sacrifice;† the artist has marked this aspect of it by shewing the glorified Saviour with His wounds in heaven immediately above the Sacred Host. Without both the Sacrament and the Sacrifice the life of the Church would perish; without the mysteries of Faith, theology would lose all its

* HETTINGER, Apologie, II., 2, 235, 191.

† *Ibid.*, 237 *seq.*, and RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 132; DANDOLO Secolo di Leone X., I., 210 (Milano, 1861); CERROTI, Le pitture delle Stanze Vaticane, 59 (Roma, 1869), and VITET, Étude sur l'Histoire de l'Art, 3e partie, p. 51.

efficacy. Thus, all the votaries of Christian science gather round this most precious jewel, the supreme token of God's infinite power and mercy, in glad and grateful adoration. Again the Holy Eucharist is the bond of union between the militant and the triumphant Church. "It is the mysterious chain reaching from God in heaven down to the dust of the earth"; it brings heaven down to earth, and raises earth to heaven.* The Master has symbolically expressed this in two ways, by raising the Sacred Host above the heads of all the assembly of the faithful who surround It, and by the descending rays of the Holy Ghost which come down from heaven to rest upon It. As the Spirit of Charity He descends from the empyrean heaven of calm and bliss into the world to bring it the sacrament of love; as the spirit of truth, in the same act, He brings the highest enlightenment and knowledge of God. Thus He appears as the intermediary between the glorified humanity of Christ in heaven and Christ in the Holy Eucharist under the form of bread. The artist secures the connection between the upper and lower halves of the picture by a symbolism in which he also expresses the doctrines of the Catholic Faith.

"The glorified humanity of Christ under the form of bread constitutes the bond of union between the world below and the blessed above, whose joy and blessedness consist in the contemplation of the same glorified humanity unveiled in heaven. Christ here, hidden under the form of bread; Christ there, "fairest amongst the sons of men, seen as He is, one and the same Christ yesterday and to-day. The identity of the glorified body of the Lord on earth and in heaven is the link which joins the two

* HETTINGER, *loc. cit.*, II., 2, 236, 271.

parts of the picture into one whole."* Below we have faith, above, sight.

* For the remarks quoted in the text, I am indebted to my friend Monsignor Schneider, Canon of the Cathedral of Mayence. He writes to me as follows: "The idea of a close connection between this world and that beyond the veil was by no means peculiar to Raphael and those who inspired him. It belongs to the iconology of the later mediæval times, and on the other side of the Alps asserts itself strongly in Flemish Art as, for example, in the altar-pieces in Ghent of the brothers Van Eyck. This feature is most prominent in the picture in the museum at Madrid generally called "The Fountain of Life," but better, perhaps, "The Mystic Spring," and is not obscured by the division between believers and unbelievers. This altar-piece belongs to the school of Van Eyck; *cf.* SCHNEIDER, Alte und neue Welt (1877), No. 31, p. 488. The division of Flemish altar-pieces into an ascending series of stages forming one whole, corresponds with the plan of the mediæval popular drama and the great later mediæval festal mysteries. This has been clearly proved by Dr. P. WEBER, Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst, 143 (Stuttgart, 1894). Raphael's arrangement in the Disputa is obviously on the same lines; the only question is, whether he was following the traditions of Italian Art on the stage and in representation, or was influenced by northern ideas, especially by Flemish and Burgundian Art. There was no lack of personal intercourse between the Netherlands and the Roman Court, and there are plenty of instances to shew that Flemish and Burgundian Art exercised considerable influence in artistic circles in Italy. It is quite possible that pictures of the Blessed Sacrament of the school of Van Eyck were known and admired in the Vatican, and may have suggested the arrangement of the Disputa to Raphael. At any rate from the point of view of Art, it clearly belongs to the mystical and symbolical school of the Middle Ages, and this corroborates the view that its meaning is to be sought in the mystical theology of the scholastics. Fra Bartolomeo's masterly picture in the Uffizi at Florence, is painted on the same lines as the Disputa, though in a more concise form. He represents the symbol of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the Chalice and Paten over the world, and at the feet of the glorified figure of Christ as He rises from the grave." *Cf.* FRANTZ, Fra Bartolomeo, 186, though the Disputa is not referred to.

O gioia ! O ineffabile allegrezza !
O vita intera d' amore e di pace !
O, senza brama, sicura richezza.*

This magnificent creation can only be rightly understood from the point of view of the Catholic faith, and those to whom this is a sealed book must necessarily go astray in their attempts to decipher its meaning. This consideration alone explains the fault found by some able art-critics with the composition of the picture, because neither of the two halves preponderates in mass or importance over the other.† From the point of view from which the fresco is conceived this very fact is one of its chief merits, for it is intended to represent the truth so strongly emphasised by all the great theologians, and especially by S. Thomas Aquinas, that the Sacred Host is essentially the Sacrament of Union.‡

The same Christ appears in heaven above and in the Blessed Sacrament on earth below. The whole court of heaven is gathered round the Incarnate Son of God in his character of Victim. In the picture, even God the Father and the Holy Ghost are only there, so to speak, on account of Him. What is seen below is the same as that which appears above; the only difference is that on earth the great mystery is an object of Faith, hidden under a visible symbol. But in the symbol, the Incarnate Son of God is contained, and, consequently, in virtue of the

* Joy past compare, gladness unutterable,
Imperishable life of peace and love,
Exhaustless riches and unmeasured bliss.
—DANTE, Parad., XXVII., 79.

† KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, Gesch. der Malerei, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Cf.* passages on the Eucharist in the Index, Opp. S. Thomae, XXV., 197–203. Parmæ, 1873.

unity of the Godhead, the Father also and the Holy Ghost, and with them the whole company of angels and saints.

Thus the Disputa represents the supreme, the absolutely perfect unity; above, the apotheosis of all the love and life of the old and new covenants in the vision of Him who is the Triune God; below, the glorification of all human knowledge and art is the faith in the real presence of the Redeemer in the Most Holy Sacrament. This is the central force which impels and harmonises all the powers of heaven and earth; all the waters of life above as well as below the firmament well up from this source, and pulsate "as in a spherical vessel from centre to circle, and so back from circle to centre."*

There is no other work of Raphael's for which so many preparatory studies and outlines seem to have been made by the artist as for this one; the well-known sketches at Windsor, Oxford, the Louvre, Frankfort and Vienna, bear witness to the conscientious industry which he bestowed on this great composition, refusing to be content with anything short of his very best.†

These preliminary studies are the only materials that we have for the history of the production of the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura; Jovius merely mentions that

* DANTE, Parad., XIV., 1–2.

† The essential plan of the picture remained unaltered from the beginning. See SPRINGER, I., 215 *seq.*, ed. 2, in his admirable treatise on the sketches and studies for all Raphael's frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura. *Cf.* also MÜNTZ, Raphael, 335 *seq.*, ed. 2, where a number of copies are given, and GRIMM, Raphael, 304 *seq.* The fullest enumeration of the sketches is to be found in RULAND'S Windsor Catalogue. For Raphael's love-sonnets written on the papers on which some of the studies are drawn, see MÜNTZ, Raphael, 366 *seq.*, ed. 2; and FAGAN, Raffaele S., his Sonnet in the Brit. Museum. London, 1884.

Raphael painted this Stanza by order of Julius II.,* and an inscription states that they were finished in the year 1511. A marvellously short space of time when we consider that the artist could not have begun his work till the late Autumn of 1508, and had besides to master the technique of fresco painting.† The subjects of the pictures were selected by Julius II., but for the details of their treatment no doubt the young artist consulted many of the learned men then in Rome; and it is a mistake to exaggerate their influence to such an extent as to make it appear that in his frescoes he merely carried out the programme traced for him by a committee of scholars.‡

In the Parnassus, humanistic conceptions are clearly traceable. It is thought by some that the influence of Christian humanism is perceptible in the Disputa,§ but it is more probable that all the most useful suggestions for this picture would have come to Raphael from the official theologians of the Papal Court, the Dominicans. Though Humanists were by no means excluded from the Vatican circle the old mystical and scholastic theology of the Dominicans as formulated in the Summa of S. Thomas still held its place there as the recognised system.‖ Raphael represents the teaching of S. Thomas Aquinas idealised by his art.

The wide-spread acquaintance with mystical theology in those days, in artistic circles quite as much as elsewhere,

* Pinxit in Vaticano nec adhuc stabili autoritate cubicula duo ad praescriptum Julii Pontificis. Jovius, Raphaelis Urbinatis vita.

† *Cf.* MÜNTZ, Raphael, 364 *seq.*

‡ Nevertheless I do not agree with WICKHOFF, 64, in denying or reducing to a minimum the assistance obtained by Raphael from conversations with scholars and poets.

§ KRAUS, Camera della Segnatura, 29 *seq.*

‖ I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Mgr. Schneider for these observations and the following paragraph.

is an element in the Art of the time which has not been at all sufficiently appreciated or understood, nor yet another point connected with this, namely, the almost universal familiarity with the Liturgy of the Church. We find the proof of this amongst the Latin races of the present day, where the common people know and readily follow the Liturgical offices of the Church. In his picture of the Transfiguration, Raphael exactly follows the Office for the Feast (6th August). It is not too much to say that he was already perfectly acquainted with the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, as compiled by S. Thomas Aquinas, and that in any consultations with Dominican theologians, the knowledge which he already possessed made it easy for him at once to grasp and follow whatever thoughts they suggested. A letter of his of the year 1514 shews that he was acquainted with Dominicans, and had received assistance from them. He was then employed in building S. Peter's, and in his letter he says that the Pope had given him the learned Dominican, Fra Giocondo da Verona to help him, and impart to him any secrets of architecture that were known to him, "in order," Raphael adds, "that I may perfect myself in the Art." The Pope sends for us every day to talk for a while about the building.* This shews the way in which artists worked together in the Vatican; and we may well assume that the same sort of thing went on in regard to the series of pictures in the Camera della Segnatura.†

Now we come to the question of the use to which this

* *Cf.* SPRINGER, Raphael und Michelangelo, II., 102, ed. 2. KNACKFUSS, Raphael, 73. This letter shews that it is a mistake to say that Raphael consulted no one. We gather also from CERROTI, Le pitture delle Stanze Vaticane, 13 (Roma, 1869), that he had learned friends with whom he discussed his work.

† *Cf.* HAGEN, 127 *seq.*, 136 *seq.*

room, by the Pope's command, so magnificently and at the same time so seriously and thoughtfully decorated, was to be put ? Here, too, we can only guess. A recent historian* has put forward the following hypothesis, which seems a highly probable one. It is certain that the division of all the activities of the human mind into the four branches of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry and Jurisprudence was the Pope's idea. He was not a learned man, and would have proposed nothing but what was simple and obvious. Now this division exactly corresponds with the plan proposed by Nicholas V., the first of the papal Mæcenas, for the arrangement of his library, and which was in vogue at that time for libraries generally throughout Italy. Pietro Bembo, in a letter written in February, 1513, mentions the private library of Julius II., which, though containing fewer volumes than the large Vatican library, was superior to it both in the value of the books, and in its fittings; he especially praises its convenient situation, its splendid marble friezes, its paintings, and the seats in the windows.† From a contemporaneous work by Albertini on the objects of interest in Rome, and from a payment, connected with it, we gather that this library was in an upper storey of the Vatican, and was richly decorated.‡

* WICKHOFF, Die Bibliothek Julius II., 49 *seq.*, whose extremely interesting remarks, developing a hint thrown out some time ago by SPRINGER, Raphael und Michelangelo, II., 102, ed. 2, I reproduce in the text. KLACZKO'S objections (in the Rev. des Deux Mondes, 1894, Vol. 124, 243 *seq.*) to Wickhoff's view do not seem to me convincing. It will be interesting to see what Fabre, in his long-promised work on the Vatican Library, has to say about Wickhoff's hypothesis.

† BEMBUS, Epist. famil., lib. V., c. 8. See ROSCOE, II., 47 ; WICKHOFF, 55.

‡ ALBERTINI, ed Schmarsow, 34, 35 (Est praeterea bibliotheca nova secreta perpulchra, ut ita dicam, Pensilis Julia, quam tua beatitudo construxit signisque planetarum et coelorum exornavit). The bill is in

When we remember that in those days books were not kept in book-shelves fixed against the wall, but in detached presses (as in the Laurentian library in Florence), there would be no difficulty in supposing that the Camera della Segnatura was intended to receive the private library of Julius II. The number of books represented in the various frescoes also makes for this hypothesis. "All the allegorical figures on the ceiling hold books in their hands, except Justice, who carries the sword and scales. Angels float down from heaven, bringing the Gospels, the most venerated books of the Christians, to the faithful. The four Fathers of the Church on either side of the Blessed Sacrament are all either reading or writing books. Books lie about on the ground, and nearly all the figures, both lay and clerical, to whom names can be assigned, are identified by means of books. All the votaries of the Muses in Parnassus hold rolls or writings in their hands; and in the School of Athens there is hardly a figure that is not provided with a book or tablets. All are composing, writing, reading, expounding, so that nothing that has to do with the processes and products of authorship is left without sensible representation in some form. Even the two great philosophers are only designated by their most famous books. The Pope holds a book containing the laws of the Church, and Justinian is represented with his celebrated Pandects. In the monochromes under the Parnassus, on one side books are being discovered in a marble sarcophagus, and on the other books are being burnt. There is

CROWE-CAVALCASELLE, Raphael, II., p. 9, note; WICKHOFF, 56, note 1, is of opinion that Albertini's signa planetarum et coelorum were not paintings of the stars, but Astrological tables. The *Reports of F. Brognolo, printed in the Appendix, N. 43 and 44, and which I found in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua seem to indicate that Albertini meant globes with stars painted on them.

no other series of paintings in the world in which literature takes so prominent a place ; almost everything in some way refers to it." *

It seems as if in the supposition that this room was intended to contain the Pope's private library, we ought also to include a further one, namely, that Julius II. meant besides that, to make it his study and business chamber, which the name Camera della Segnatura (chamber for signatures)† seems to imply. "These paintings were to form the adornment of the room in which the Head of the Church was to sign the papers and provisions drawn up for the good of the Church. Theology and Philosophy, Poetry and Law, representing revealed truth, human reason, beauty and Christian order, were to preside from the walls over his decisions and their final sanction."‡

But whatever view may be adopted as to the distinction of the Camera della Segnatura, there should not be any doubt as to the meaning and connection of the frescoes in it. An utterly unfounded theory has been recently put forward, and stoutly defended, that these frescoes represent "the humanistic ideal of free thought, and were intended as a monumental expression of the achievements of the unaided human intellect." Far from doing homage to the Church and the Papacy, their purpose is declared to be "to exhibit the superiority of free thought and investigation apart from revelation in matters of religion to the ecclesiasticism of the time."§

* WICKHOFF, 54.

† *Cf.* the passage from Paris de Grassis in MÜNTZ, Les Historiens, 132.

‡ GSELL-FELS, Rom, II., 611, ed. 2. Similar passages in KUHN, Roma, 264 *seq.* (Einsiedeln, 1878), and others.

§ See HETTNER, 190–191 (1879). It is unnecessary for me to undertake the refutation of Hettner's theological and philosophical errors, as that has been already admirably done by Wickhoff. I find that the

In all these suppositions modern ideas are imported into the age of Raphael, and a single glance at the frescoes

notion of its being the intention of Raphael and Julius II. to reduce Theology to the same level with Philosophy, was first started by RANKE, in his Essays "Zur Geschichte Italienischer Kunst" in the German periodical, "Nord und Süd," of April and May, 1878. Here he says: "That Julius II. should not only have permitted, but actually ordered the representation in the Stanze of secular as well as religious knowledge, was the outcome of the spirit of secularisation, and sympathy with the higher aims of mere humanity, which had taken hold of the Papacy" (RANKE, Werke, LI. and LII., 280). VILLARI, in his equally wrong-headed remarks, Machiavelli, II., 22 *seq.*, and partly also WOLTMANN-WOERMANN, II., 642, and PÉRATÉ, 550, 553, take very much the same line as Hettner, and the explanation given by GREGOROVIUS, VIII., 159-160, ed. 3, is entirely mistaken. The premises from which he draws his conclusions are false to begin with. He writes: "The narrow conceptions of the Mediæval Church had by that time been broken through. A Pope was bold enough to reject the teaching of the Fathers, which consigned all heathens, whatever their virtues, or their reputation in the world, to damnation. In contemplating the picture on the walls of his room, Julius II. must undoubtedly have taken much more pleasure in resting his eyes on Apollo and the Muses, on Socrates and Archimedes, than on the uninteresting figures of the Patriarchs and Saints. The pictures in the Pope's chamber already expressed what twenty years later one of the most audacious of the reformers ventured to utter in words. In his confession of faith, Zwingli drew a strange picture of the future assembly of all the Saints and heroes and virtuous men. Abel and Henoch, Noe and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were placed side by side with Hercules, Theseus, and Socrates, with Aristides and Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, Cato and Scipio, and not a single good or honest man was excluded from the presence of God." There are, of course, passages in the Fathers in regard to the salvation of the heathen, that lend themselves to misconstruction, but none have ever asserted that all non-Christians are inevitably lost. S. Augustine expressly says that all heathens, even those who lived before Christ came, are not condemned. The Fathers of the Church looked upon Pagan philosophy and science as coming from God, and said that theologians ought to avail themselves of it. See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, I., 7 *seq.* (Engl. trans.). As to the opinions of the Fathers in regard to heathen philosophy, see KLEUTGEN, Theologie der Vorzeit, IV.,

ought to shew how untenable they are. But it may be asked whether the devotion of an equal space to the glorification of Philosophy with that which is given to Theology does not indicate an approach to the anti-ecclesiastical spirit of the heathen Renaissance? The answer is that this view is excluded by Raphael himself in the manner in which he treats the two subjects. In the first place, there is a tone of solemnity in the Disputa which distinguishes it from all the other frescoes, and its arrangement, being divided into two halves, one heavenly and the other earthly, is quite different from that of any other. Again, in the composition of the School of Athens there is no parallel to that concentration on a single central point, dominating and animating the whole, which we find in the Disputa.* Plato and Aristotle appear as the greatest of the philosophers, each attended by a separate band of disciples; each represent a different point of view. The various philosophical schools are all more or less distinctly divided from each other, and their independence and exclusiveness is marked on the left side of the picture by the separate stone seats occupied by the different teachers.† Finally, there is a striking difference

143 *seq.*, ed. 2 (Münster, 1873). It is absurd to say that Raphael broke through the "narrow conceptions of the Mediæval Church," by adopting a broader point of view than that of the Fathers. The correspondence which Gregorovius supposes between the Stanze and the passage in Zwingli is purely imaginary.

* JANSSEN in a letter from Rome, written 23rd Feb., 1864, to Frau von Sydow (as yet not printed) remarks: "The so-called Disputa ought really to be named the Concordia, for here all the interest is concentrated in one central point; the School of Athens, where all the elements are scattered, is really the Disputa. The central point in the ancient world was not truth but beauty, and thus Apollo forms the centre of the representation of Poesy."

† PASSAVANT, I., 149; MÜLLNER, 167; GRUYER, 98 *seq.*

also in the scene of the picture. "Here we see no opening heaven shewing a Divine victim, the Redeemer of the world; no supernatural ray descends on earth to enlighten the human intelligence."* Here, as the inscription above denotes, the human intellect wrestles alone with the nature of things, striving after knowledge. Plato, the philosopher of natural theology, signifies its incompetence by pointing upwards. By placing the Disputa opposite, Raphael emphasises the contrast between it and this intellectual laboratory. Here truth is laboriously sought for, there it is seen embodied and perfect,† and in a perfection unlike anything that the ancient world ever dreamed of as possible, a fulness beyond all human thought or imagination, such as could only have been conceived by the boundless love of the Saviour of mankind who chose under the simple form of bread to remain with his own, "even to the consummation of the world."

In another way also the artist marked the relation between the sciences and the Church from his point of view, namely in the *Grisailles* or imitation bas-reliefs painted in monochrome, which fill the space underneath the two sides of the Parnassus. "The two doors at the end of the long sides of the room open immediately against the wall and then these *grisailles* are the first things to catch the eye on entering the room and the last to be looked at on leaving it. This, therefore, was the most suitable place for the prologue and epilogue of the

* KUHN, Roma, 267; FRANTZ, II., 730.

† RANKE, in his Werke, LI.–LII., 280, has well described the contrast between the School of Athens and the Disputa. "There, men learn by research, by observation, and reflection, here, knowledge comes through prayer by revelation and illumination." *Cf.* GRUYER, *loc. cit.*, and HAGEN, 137, 138. "In the Disputa, knowledge is bestowed from above, not discovered, as in the School of Athens."

whole series expressing their general idea and purport." Although these reliefs are some of Raphael's best and most finished work, they remained for a long time little observed or understood. It is only quite recently that the attention they deserve has been bestowed upon them, and that it has been discovered that the painter intended them to illustrate, in the person of Sixtus IV., Julius II.'s uncle, the attitude of the Papacy towards the true and the false learning.* The burning of the books was perfectly intelligible to Raphael's contemporaries, for the censorial edicts of 1491 and 1501† must certainly have been in force in Rome as well as elsewhere.

* The interpretation till then accepted of these reliefs, was that they represented Alexander the Great commanding Homer's works to be placed in the grave of Achilles, and the Emperor Augustus forbidding the burning of the Æneid. See PLATTNER, II., 1, 348. WICKHOFF, 60, however, proves this to be manifestly incorrect. He has the merit of having been the first to discover the true meaning of these reliefs, and their connection with Julius II. Briefly stated, his account of them is as follows: Julius II.'s uncle, Sixtus IV., had a high reputation as a theological writer. Immediately after his election, a Roman printer, Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine, published a work by the new Pope, on the Precious Blood and the Power of God (see Vol. IV. of this work, p. 208). In the dedication in which he praises the services rendered by Sixtus IV. to the Christian Faith by his writings, he says: "Not only the Fathers of the Church, but the heathen also acted as you have done. For when a sarcophagus filled with Greek and Latin books was found in the field of Lucius Petilius, the Consuls, P. Cornelius and Baebius Pamphilus commanded that the Latin books should be carefully preserved, but the Greek, which were thought to contain things contrary to religion, were burnt by order of the Senate. This narrative is to be found in the first book of Valerius Maximus." From this, WICKHOFF, 63, infers, "There can be no doubt that Julius II. desired Raphael to paint the story with which his uncle's name had been thus flatteringly associated. On one side we see the two Consuls examining the sarcophagus and its interesting contents; on the other, the burning of the dangerous philosophical books."

† See Vol. V. of this work, p. 346, and *supra*, p. 155.

Thus it is clear that far from being intended to serve as a glorification of the false humanistic ideal, the purpose of the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura was to illustrate the four great intellectual forces, Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence in their relation to the Church. It was in the alliance with intellectual culture that the Church and the Papacy had won all their beneficent victories and consolidated their power. It was this alliance, the true connection between intellectual culture and Christendom and the Church, which was celebrated in Raphael's picture. The Holy See had always maintained that secular knowledge could only attain its highest perfection under the guidance of the organ of Divine wisdom, the Church, by whose authority alone it could be preserved from errors and distorted growths. Like all the artistic undertakings of Julius II., the frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura are a development, not only of the designs of the great Popes of the early Renaissance, Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV., but also of the ancient traditions of the Papacy itself. The grand and simple fundamental idea in them all belongs to Julius II.; the genius displayed in realising it in Art is Raphael's and has helped to immortalise the painter's name. In this wonderful poem in four cantos, painted on the walls of the Stanze, the artist spreads out before us the whole and vast regions of human knowledge and achievement as seen from the point of view of the Church, and in the light of revelation. "All material things are presented as mirrored in and vivified by a creative spirit which is at once poetical and real," while "the reproduction of the life of the classical world is combined in perfect harmony with the dearest and deepest apprehension of Christian principles. And all the abstract thought is bathed in an atmosphere of beauty and grace which yet never detracts from the grave and intellectual character

of the pictures."* One is glad to think that one of the saddest passages in the Pope's life may have been soothed in a measure by the sight of these frescoes.

On the 27th of June, 1511, he had returned to his capital powerless and ill and harassed with anxieties, both political and ecclesiastical. On the eve of the Feast of the Assumption Michael Angelo's roof-paintings in the Sistine had been unveiled.† The frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura must have been completed very soon after this, as the inscription states that they were finished in the eighth year of Julius II.'s Pontificate, and this closed on the 26th of November, 1511.‡

* REUMONT, III., 2, 390; *cf.* COUNT A. SZÉCSEN'S appreciative remarks, Raffael, 558 *seq.*, and BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 701, ed. 6, who justly commends the "admirable harmony between form and thought" in the frescoes of the Camera della Segnature. "Even the best of the Quattrocento masters allowed themselves to be led astray by their too great love of accessories (superfluous figures and draperies, too much ornament in backgrounds, etc.), the number of details neutralised each other, over-characterisation everywhere spread the accent over the whole picture. Fra Bartolomeo, the best master of composition, next to Leonardo, moved in too wide a circle, and his feeling for life outstripped his grasp of form. In Raphael the forms are always beautiful, noble and animated, and yet subordinate to the effect of the whole. No details obtrude themselves; the artist knows how fragile is the life of his great symbolical subjects, and how easily the whole can be killed by a too prominent detached figure. And yet his single figures are studied with a care that no other painter had ever bestowed upon them. The management of the draperies, their movement, the sequence of colours and lights, are a never-ending source of enjoyment."

† See *supra*, pp. 362, 519.

‡ *Cf.* CROWE, Raphael, II., 77 *seq.*, who thinks that the Sistine and the Camera della Segnatura were uncovered at the same time; but we have no certainty that this was the case. See *supra*, p. 520. As the years of a Pontificate are reckoned from the Pope's coronation that is the date of their conclusion. (Crowe mistakenly supposes that they are counted from the election.)

The surpassingly admirable manner in which Raphael had executed the Pope's first commission,* determined Julius to entrust the painting of the next room, called from the subject of its chief fresco the Stanza d'Eliodoro, to him also.† While these large works were in progress Raphael also executed several smaller commissions for easel-pictures, amongst others some for Julius II., one of which was a Madonna for S^ta^ Maria del Popolo, the favourite church of the Rovere.‡ Unfortunately, this picture has disappeared since the year 1615. From copies of it we see that it represents the waking from sleep of the Divine child. The Madonna is holding up the veil which had covered him, and looks thoughtfully down at her son while he stretches his little arms towards her. S. Joseph is in the background leaning on a staff.§ He also ordered a portrait of himself for the same church. Vasari praises this picture as being such an excellent likeness that it inspires as much awe as if the Pope himself were present, and it still gives one the impression of being a characteristic portrait. The Pope is sitting in an armchair, his smooth, almost white, beard falls over a red velvet cape which he wears over his shoulders, and the expression of his face is thoughtful and care-worn.

* We have no information as to the payment received by Raphael for these frescoes, but as we know that later he had 1200 gold ducats for each picture in the Stanza dell' Incendio, we may suppose that the same sum would have been that paid for those in the Camera della Segnatura. In that case it would amount to rather over £200 for each Stanza. See KRAUS, 4; MÜNTZ, Raphael, 326, ed. 2.

† Apparently this was decided before the Camera della Segnatura was finished. This seems probable, because in the sketch of the subject from the Apocalypse, for which the Mass of Bolsena was afterwards substituted, the Pope is represented without a beard. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 374, and Chronique des Arts (1883), p. 277.

‡ See PASTOR, Hist. Popes, IV., 456 (Engl. trans.).

§ See SPRINGER, 191; CROWE, Raphael, II., 84 *seq*, and VÖGELIN Die Madonna von Loreto. Zürich, 1870.

Many copies of this picture were taken almost immediately. Florence possesses two, one in the Uffizi and the other in the Palazzo Pitti, but critics are not agreed as to which is the original.*

Raphael also executed a likeness of the Pope's favourite, Cardinal Alidosi.†

It is difficult to understand how the artist could have found time to paint so many other pictures in addition to all his work for the Pope. There is quite a long list of exquisite Madonnas, all bearing dates falling within the reign of Julius II. The markedly religious tone in all the pictures of this period is noteworthy.‡

This is specially the case in the two wonderfully beautiful Madonnas painted by him in the last year of the Pontiff's life; the Madonna di Foligno, now in the Vatican gallery, and the Madonna del Pesce. Like the Stanza d'Eliodoro both these pictures bear marks of the influence of Sebastiano del Piombo: Raphael made no secret of his admiration for the style of this master.§ The Madonna di Foligno was a votive picture ordered by Julius II.'s secretary and friend, Sigismondo de' Conti, who is represented in it kneeling with

* PASSAVANT, II., 14, and LÜBKE, Raffaelwerk, Text, 57, are in favour of the one in the Pitti Palace. WOLTMANN, II., 648; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 659, ed. 4, and THAUSING in Sybels Hist. Zeitschr. (N. F.), IX., 365, prefer that in the Uffizi. LÜBKE, Malerei, II., 289, and MÜNTZ, 502, are uncertain. SPRINGER, 191, says: "Probably those who disbelieve either to be originals will turn out right in the end." The one in the Uffizi has been damaged, that in the Pitti Palace, though perhaps a Venetian copy, is a very good one and gives the best idea of the original. Julius II., in December, 1511, also put up a portrait of himself in the Church of S. Marcello; See SANUTO, XIII., 350.

† See Arch. St. dell' Arte, IV., 328 *seq.*

‡ KNACKFUSS, 58.

§ SPRINGER, 211.

folded hands before the Queen of Heaven. "She is enthroned on a cloud encircled with a golden glory and attended by angels." It is the ideal of what a Christian Altar-piece should be, and is in perfect preservation, its colours as brilliant as when it was first painted.*

The Madonna del Pesce, now in the Museum at Madrid, is also a perfect gem of religious art. It was a thank-offering for the cure of an affection of the eyes. In depth of expression it is rightly judged to be one of Raphael's masterpieces, if, indeed, it is not in this respect, and also in the harmony of its colouring, the most beautiful of all his works. "The brilliant red of S. Jerome's robe is enhanced in its effect by the brownish yellow of the lion at the feet and the more orange tint of Tobias' tunic, and these two shades combine harmoniously with the subdued ruby tones of the Angel's dress. These warm colours are tempered by the blue of the Virgin's mantle, while this again is relieved by the tender carnations of the infant Christ; and the sage green curtain in the background makes all the figures stand out as in a brilliant light. The Madonna del Pesce might be designated as a chord of the three primary colours."†

The colossal Isaias, attended by two angels, which is now in the church of S. Agostino in Rome was painted by Raphael for another member of the Papal Court, the German Prelate, John Goritz.‡

* See KEPPLER in Hist. Polit. Bl., 96, 38 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, 212 *seq.*; *cf.* KNACKFUSS, 65, and RIO, Michel-Ange et Raphael, 150.

† SPRINGER, 214-215.

‡ This fresco is now in a sadly decayed state. See SPRINGER, 256 *seq.*, on Michael Angelo's influence which is unmistakeable in this work. See also KNACKFUSS, 65. The fragment of a replica of the boy on the left side of the painting, now in the Accademia di S. Luca, in Rome, was originally part of the decoration of an escutcheon of Julius II. in the Vatican. G. Dehio considers this fresco older than the Isaias, and

Raphael also executed some paintings in the corridors leading from the Vatican to the Belvedere, but they have all perished, and there is no record of their subjects. All we know of them is from an account which shews that he received a payment for work done there.*

All this time his work in the Stanza d'Eliodoro was never interrupted, but he was obliged to avail himself largely of the assistance of his pupil Giulio Romano.

Baldassare Peruzzi had already finished the decoration of the ceiling of this room and painted scenes from the Old Testament in the four divisions of the vaulting.† Raphael retained these decorations without any alteration, and set to work at once on the walls. The Pope died before this Stanza was completed, and it is not recorded whether the selection of the subjects in the frescoes was his. It seems, however, extremely probable that this was the case, as the first of the series and the one that is most carefully finished, is the so-called Mass of Bolsena, and Julius and his family had shewn a special interest in the incident which it commemorates.

It represents a miracle which occurred at Bolsena in the year 1263, and created an immense impression at the time.

thinks that the latter was not Raphael's work, but that of one of his pupils, perhaps Giulio Romano.

* See this account, dated Dec. 1513, MÜNTZ, Gaz. des Beaux Arts, XX. (1879), 183, n. 4. See also MÜNTZ, Raphael, 387.

† L. GRUNER, Raffael's Deckengemälde der Stanza dell' Eliodoro, (Dresden, 1875). Crowe-Cavalcaselle have shewn that the decorative framework which encloses the pictures in the triangular spaces of the vaulting is by Peruzzi. Wickhoff was the first to deny that Raphael or his pupils had any hand in the painting of the frescoes themselves, and to ascribe the whole ceiling to Peruzzi. The influence of Michael Angelo can be traced in the exaggerated style of these compositions. DOLLMAYER, in Lützow's Zeitschrift (1890), N. F. I., 292-299, confirms Wickhoff's opinion that they are entirely by Peruzzi.

A German priest had been greatly tormented with doubts as to the truth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and had earnestly prayed for a sign that should dispel them. His prayer was granted in the church of S^ta^ Cristina at Bolsena, where he had stopped in the course of a pilgrimage to Rome. While he was saying Mass there, at the moment of consecration, drops of Blood oozed from the Sacred Host in sufficient quantity to stain the Corporal.* This

* HETTNER, 222–223, writes as follows on the "Mass of Bolsena": "Raphael grounded his picture on the legend which had been the cause of the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi, but he idealised it and gave it a deeper significance. The original story is to be found in RAYNALDUS, ad an. 1264, n. 26. When in 1264 Pope Urban IV. was residing at Orvieto, a priest of Bolsena had allowed a drop from the chalice, after consecration, to fall upon the Corporal. In order to conceal his carelessness he folded the Corporal so as to cover the stain, but it penetrated through all the folds, and on each one left an impression of the Sacred Host. The account adds that the Pope had instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi in honour of this miracle with the special object of reviving the Faith in those who had grown lukewarm, and to confound the ungodly and confirm the piety of the good. Raphael shews the thoughtful character of his genius by the alteration which he makes in the legend, making the priest himself, a sceptic, now convinced by the miracle, and representing the whole occurrence as taking place in the presence, and through the intercession of the Head of the Church. He thus obtains a clear and well-marked incident as his subject, and a splendid dramatic contrast between the startled and ashamed expression of the young priest and the trustful composure of the Pope, which is not to be found in the original legend. And as usual, in order to connect his picture with present events, he has given the Pontiff the features of Julius II. S. Kinkel has written a very valuable article (MOSAIK, 161 *seq.*), in which he has collected together a number of legends which have been founded on works of art. That of the Mass of Bolsena may be added to these; its original form is now quite forgotten, and it is only known as idealised by Raphael." On closer examination the whole of this account turns out to be imaginary. Raynaldus, of course, does give the story as Hettner tells it, quoting it from S. Antoninus, who died in 1459; but there is a long inscription still preserved in the church of

miracle constituted one of the motives which had determined Urban IV. to institute the Feast of Corpus Christi. By his orders the relic was brought to Orvieto, and the splendid Cathedral there was built mainly for it. The Bishop of Orvieto gave a magnificent silver tabernacle, ornamented with twelve pictures in enamel, representing the history of the miracle, to contain the relic.* In 1477 Sixtus IV. granted various Indulgences to promote the veneration of the relic and the building of the Cathedral.† Julius II. when staying at Orvieto on his first expedition against Bologna had manifested great reverence for this relic.‡ Probably it was on this occasion that the Pope

S. Cristina in Bolsena, which was first published by PENNAZZI, Istoria dell' Ostia che stillò sanguine in Bolsena (Montefiascone, 1731); then in Italian in 1890 under the title, Istoria del Miracolo Eucaristico di Bolsena (Milano), and again in Latin, compared with the original by Canon Battaglini, in the periodical "Divus Thomas" (Placentiae, 1884), A° V° n. 3. This inscription was written after the canonisation of S. Thomas Aquinas, who is called Beatus, and before the Indulgence Bull of Martin V., and is therefore much earlier than S. Antoninus. It explicitly states that the priest (Quidam sacerdos Theutonicus, therefore not a Bohemian as some later accounts say) had doubts of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Battaglini considers the date to be 1338. The story of the legend in the text follows this inscription, which is in the wall adjoining the Altare del Miracolo. Benedict XIV., who mentions the miracle of Bolsena in his work, De festis Jesu Christi, III., 773 (Wirceb., 1747), does not seem to have known it. The account of this miracle is a notice written in 1466, edited by Francesco di Mauro, Narrazione del Miracolo di Bolsena o Corporale di Orvieto. Estratto dal Propugnatore, Vol. I., corresponds with the inscription.

* See impression in the Nuovo Giornale Arcadico, 3 Serie, Vol. II. Milano, 1890.

† Bull of Sixtus IV., in the Bull. Ord. Praedic., III., 555–556.

‡ PARIS DE GRASSIS, ed. Frati, 35, says 7th Sept., 1506: Vesperis finitis Papa cum alba more solito vestitus et in gestatorio cum cappello ad ecclesiam S. Mariae delatus apud altare benedixit. Primo enim adoravit corporale sanguine Christi aspersum quod super altare maiori

determined to have the miracle represented at some time in the Vatican, and it is not unlikely that he bound himself by a vow to honour the relic in some special manner. Now that all that had then been won seemed lost, he may have remembered this promise.

Raphael's sympathetic grasp of his patron's thought is as striking as the power with which he gives artistic expression to the Pope's indomitable confidence in the Divine assistance, and firm conviction that all pusillanimous doubters will be put to shame. In this picture the difficulties to be overcome in the shape of the space at his disposal were even greater than those which he had to conquer in the Parnassus, and here as there he triumphed over all and turned his limitations into additional beauties. There is no trace of any sort of constraint, and the composition of the picture arranges itself quite naturally, over and on each side of the window which cuts into the wall. Above its arch is the choir of a church with its altar, approached on each side by a broad flight of steps. In this case the window, not being in the middle of the wall,

locatum fuit, tum surgens incensum posuit in thuribulo, quod cum navicula prior diaconorum ministravit, cum illud prior praesbyterorum ministrare debuerit; et deinde rursus genuflexus incensavit; postea conversus ad corporale stans benedixit dicens: Sit nomine Domini benedictum, &c. Hitherto this connection between Sixtus IV. and Julius II., and the "Mass of Bolsena" has not been noticed by any of those who have sought to interpret the picture. It does away with the suppositions put forward by FÖRSTER, I., 317, and PÉRATÉ, 564, and also with HETTNER, 222, and conjecture that it had to do with the Lateran Council, and was meant to represent "this internal conflict and victory within the bosom of the Church." Against Hettner, *cf.* FRANTZ, II., 732 *seq.*, and SPRINGER, I., 264, 339 *seq.*, ed. 2. Springer has shewn very clearly that it is impossible to substantiate any direct connection between these frescoes and the Lateran Council; but as all these writers have overlooked the special relation between Julius II. and the Bolsena relic none of their explanations are satisfactory.

but thrust very much into the left corner, was still more difficult to manage; however, Raphael had met this by broadening the steps on the right side so as to preserve the sense of symmetry.* A balustrade completely encloses the choir, and the spacious aisles of a Renaissance church constitute the background. The priest stands on the left side of the altar holding the Sacred Host in one hand, and in the other the Blood-stained Corporal. In the expression of his face, astonishment, shame, contrition and fear are admirably combined. From the other side of the balustrade two youths gaze intently at the miracle in mute amazement. Three acolytes are kneeling with lighted candles behind the priest, a fourth in a bright coloured cassock raises his hand with an expressive gesture as though to say, "See! it is indeed as the Church teaches!" The emotions of the beholders, which in the nearer figures are those of subdued awe and reverence, become more mingled with excitement in the groups of people who are pressing up the steps on the left side to get a better view. Some are bowing low in adoring prayer, others pointing with outstretched hands to the marvel, others triumphantly thanking God for this confirmation of the faith of the Church. "The perception and apprehension of the miracle seems to flow like a spiritual stream through the throng of worshippers on the left and is just beginning to reach the women and children sitting on the lowest steps."† In marked contrast to all this flutter and stir is the perfect calm of the Pope and those who are with him on the right-hand side. The contrast is further emphasised by the steady flame of the altar lights on this side while on the left they are flickering and bent as though by a strong wind. The Pope, unmistakeably Julius II., kneels on

* LÜBKE, II., 393; BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 668, and SPRINGER, 199.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 668.

a prie-Dieu, exactly opposite the priest, with his face turned towards the altar absorbed in adoration. His whole attitude expresses the assured faith which befits the Head of the Church; there is not a trace of emotion or surprise.* No doubt the master had often seen the old Pope in this attitude during those critical days when the Church was in such jeopardy. Two Cardinals and two other clerics appear on the steps below, in attendance on the Pope, and on the lowest, some soldiers of the Swiss Guard kneel in silent wonder; near them is the Pope's *Sedia gestatoria.* One of the Cardinals, generally thought to be Raffaele Riario, has his hands crossed on his breast and is looking at the priest with a grave and stern expression. The other, with folded hands, adores the miraculous Blood; both heads are most impressive. "For skilful composition, truth and depth of expression, and magnificence in colouring, perhaps the picture is the best of the whole series.†

In its homage to the Blessed Sacrament, towards which Julius II. had a special devotion‡ the Mass of Bolsena is the connecting link between this Stanza and the adjoining one, which contains the Disputa; in representing a miracle it strikes the key-note of the Stanza d'Eliodoro where the fundamental idea is the representation of God's unfailing care for His Church by instances of His direct intervention for her support and protection in the hour of need. The history of the reign of Julius II. was a signal illustration of the truth. In the Summer of 1511, when Italy seemed at the mercy of the French, how wonderfully the storm

* FRANTZ, II., 735, rightly contests Springer's assertion that the absence of all emotion or excitement in the Pope and the group surrounding him, was due only to artistic considerations, and holds that it is essential to the historical meaning of the picture.

† WOLTMANN, II., 647.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 447.

blew over! Again in August when the Pope was to all appearances dying, he seemed to have been miraculously restored in order to negotiate the Holy League by means of which the unity of the Church was saved. Although the battle was not yet wholly won, Julius II.—and Raphael with him—had the fullest confidence that God would not withdraw from his Vicar that protection which as yet had never failed. And they were not mistaken. The schismatic Council melted away, Louis XII. was driven back, and French domination in Italy was annihilated. It was most natural that the artist, even without having received any special orders to this effect should have embodied in his pictures the thoughts which were filling the mind of the Pope and all his surroundings at the time. Thus this series of paintings sprung out of the historical events of the day, and spoke a language that all could understand.

The fresco which occupies one of the longer walls of the Stanza, and gives it its name, portrays the miraculous expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, narrated in the 2nd Book of Machabees.* Heliodorus, the treasurer of the Syrian King, Seleucus Philopater, was sent to carry off the contents of the treasury of the Temple of Jerusalem. When, however, he attempted to execute his commission "the spirit of the Almighty God gave a great evidence of his presence, so that all that had presumed to obey him, falling down by the power of God, were struck with fainting and dread, For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, adorned with a very rich covering, and he ran fiercely and struck Heliodorus with his fore-feet, and he that sat upon him seemed to have armour of gold.

* We gather that the subject was chosen by Julius himself from the fact that while he was still a Cardinal, he had bought a piece of tapestry representing the history of Heliodorus. See MÜNTZ, Raphael, 284-285, ed. 2.

Moreover, there appeared two other young men beautiful and strong, bright and glorious, and in comely apparel, who stood by him on either side and scourged him without ceasing, with many stripes. And Heliodorus suddenly fell to the ground," and they acknowledged "the manifest power of God but the Jews praised the Lord because He had glorified his place." (Machabees, II., 3, 24 *seq.*) Raphael, following the text of Scripture as closely as possible has represented the scene "with marvellous dramatic power."

The spectator looks into the nave of the Temple. At the altar in the background, lighted by the seven-branched candlestick, the High Priest is praying; behind him the other priests and a number of people who display by their gestures their surprise and joy at this manifestation of the mighty hand of God. The centre of the foreground is purposely left empty that nothing may distract the eye from the sudden irresistible inrush of the heavenly emissaries who burst in at the right-hand corner.* The horseman in his golden armour, and the swift youths with their sweeping scourges have just arrived in time. Heliodorus is dashed to the ground, the urn full of coins has slipped from his hands, the fore-feet of the horse are almost upon him, his terrified attendants strive in vain to escape. "The poetic feeling in this group is marvellous, we see as it were the lightning of God's wrath blasting the sinner; opposite, on the other side, there is a charm-

* SPRINGER, I, 272, ed. 2. It has been said by a first-rate judge of art that Raphael "has never produced anything more magnificent than this group of the heavenly rider with the two youths at his sides and the stricken spoiler and his attendants." "The foreshortening of the horseman and Heliodorus has been justly admired, but that is only one detail in the masterly expression of rapid movement in the whole group of figures." BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, 667; *cf.* also RIO, IV., 474 *seq.*; GRUYER, Chambres, 197 *seq.*

ing cluster of women and children in various attitudes of surprise and alarm."* Behind these figures, "reminiscences of which may be traced like echoes in various forms through all later art,"† Julius II. appears, borne in his chair high above the heads of the throng of people into this Old Testament assembly.‡ Calm and dignified, he seems to recognise in God's dealings with His people under the old covenant the same mighty hand which had so unexpectedly discomfited the schismatic Cardinals and brought the Anti-Papal Council to naught: "For he that hath his dwelling in the heavens, is the visitor and protector of that place and he striketh and destroyeth them that come to do evil to it." (Machabees, II., 3, 39.)§

* KUGLER-BURCKHARDT, 590.

† BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, *loc. cit.*

‡ The second bearer of the chair is generally supposed to be Giulio Romano. K. BRUN in the Gött. Gel. Anz. (1882), I., 543, thinks he is B. Peruzzi. The man in a black robe walking beside it is designated in an inscription as Jo. Petro de Foliariis Cremonens. In all the descriptions of the Stanze, he is still spoken of as the "Secretario de' Memoriali," although more than a hundred years ago, VAIRANI, II., 109, had pointed out that under Julius II. this office was filled by Giano Coricio. Whatever authentic information we have about the persons represented by Raphael, which is little enough, is all to be found in Vairani.

§ Bellori, if I am not mistaken, was the first to say that the fresco of Heliodorus referred to the expulsion of the French from Italy, and his view has been adopted by all those who look upon these paintings as intended to illustrate the history of the times (Springer denies this). See GRIMM, Michelangelo, I., 396, ed. 5 ; MÜNTZ, 373, ed. 2, and PÉRATÉ, 564. But if the overthrow of Heliodorus is held to represent the defeat of Louis XII.'s army (and MINGHETTI, 120, has recently declared this to be quite certain) the difficulty arises that the fresco on the opposite wall, the meeting of Attila and Leo I., portrays a precisely similar incident, and there is no doubt that both paintings belong to the time of Julius II. (*cf.* following note). I therefore venture to think that the

Julius II. died before the two succeeding frescoes were finished, but the subjects of them were certainly chosen during his lifetime.*

On the opposite wall to Heliodorus, Raphael painted the meeting of Leo I. with Attila.† This famous interview (at which, according to the mediæval legend, S. Peter appeared in the heavens above the head of his successor) took place on the banks of the Mincio near Mantua ;‡ Raphael transfers it to the vicinity of Rome. To the left, in the distance, we see some ruins, a basilica and the Colosseum, while, on the right, the flames rising from a burning village, denote the approach of the barbarians. Calm and assured in his trust in God the Pope comes forward to meet Attila, attired in full Pontificals and sitting on his white palfrey attended by his peaceful followers. Julius II. being dead by this time, the Pontiff is represented with the features of Leo X. The majestic forms of the Princes of the Apostles appear with drawn swords in the sky over his head. A halo of light pro-

first picture is meant to refer to the internal, and the second to the external enemies who were threatening the Church and the Papacy in the reign of Julius II. Many of the details in the subjects themselves seem to corroborate this view. On Heliodorus as a recognised representative of violators of churches, see C. A. LAPIDE and CALMET.

* The Oxford drawing shews that this was the case with regard to that of Attila. *Cf.* SPRINGER, I., 275, ed. 2 ; MÜNTZ, 377, ed. 2, and ROBINSON, A Critical Account, 225-227 ; see also HETTNER, 218. In regard to the fresco of S. Peter, see next page.

† "Undeniably one of the master-pieces of fresco painting," RUMOHR, III., 122. *Cf.* OVERBECK'S opinion of it in a letter of the year 1810, in the Allg. Conserv. Monatschrift (1887), II., 1283.

‡ GRISAR, in Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, VII., 1751 *seq.*, ed. 2. *Cf.* GREGOROVIUS, Gesch. d. Stadt Rom, I., 187, ed. 3, who remarks that "Leo X. was at that juncture the representative of human culture, which was preserved from destruction in those days by the spiritual power of the Church."

ceeds from them, which sheds a soft radiance over the troop of priests, and fills the barbarian horsemen with terror and dismay. The heavens are darkened, violent gusts of wind sweep back the banners, the startled horses rear and turn. The eyes of the terror-stricken soldiers are fixed on the apparition, while their leader has dropped the reins, and turns his horse to fly, with an involuntary pressure of the knee; even then, in the Summer of 1512, were the "barbarian" hordes of France put to flight, to be again more completely routed and expelled in the following year at Novara.*

The subject on the other wall over the window and opposite to the Mass of Bolsena is the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. XII.) of S. Peter's deliverance from prison. The composition of the picture is perhaps not quite so perfect as that of the other, but nevertheless it is full of beauties. In all the pictures in the Stanza d'Eliodoro Raphael had paid more attention to effects of colour than he did in the Camera della Segnatura. In the splendid colouring of the Mass of Bolsena the influence of the Venetian, Sebastiano del Piombo, can be already traced.† In the fresco of the

* The drawing at Oxford (see *supra*, p. 603, note*) shews that Raphael's first thought was to celebrate the event of 1512; in it, the Pope is Julius II. not Leo X. But when the final rout took place in the Summer of 1513, the fresco was altered to refer to this event instead. The Poet, GYRALDI, in his Hymnus ad divum Leonem Pont. Max. (printed by ROSCOE, III., 606-609), also celebrates the expulsion of the French under Leo X. *Cf.* Attila and Leo I.; in the poem, the scene is correctly laid in the neighbourhood of Mantua. Perhaps we may gather from this that the plan of this fresco dates from the time of Julius II.

† *Cf.* RUMOHR, III., 103 *seq.*; KNACKFUSS, Raphael, 71; LUTZOW, Italiens Kunstschätze, 447, and especially SPRINGER, I., 280 *seq.*, ed. 2, who shews that Michael Angelo had nothing to do with the modifications in Raphael's style, which are to be observed in the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

Deliverance of S. Peter, which emphatically summarises the leading idea of the pictures in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, namely, the futility of all human attacks upon the divinely protected Church and her head, Raphael has to some extent resorted to effects produced by light, but with great sobriety and restraint. To the left of the window, on a flight of steps, we see the terrified guard who have discovered that their prisoner is gone. Moonlight and torchlight are combined in this scene. In the centre there is a grating so cleverly painted that we feel as if we could lay hold of it. Through this the interior of the prison is visible, lighted by the radiant angel who is in the act of waking the Apostle while the soldiers to whom he is chained still sleep. "This scene is marvellously effective in its simplicity and reality and its glamour of supernatural light."* On the right S. Peter appears again, passing out between the sleeping guards and led by the angel, from whom all the light proceeds. This heavenly form and the spiritual radiance which it diffuses are rightly considered to be one of the artist's most divine inspirations.†

This fresco is most commonly thought to be meant as an allusion to the escape of Cardinal de' Medici (afterwards Leo X.) out of the hands of the French after the Battle of Ravenna. As according to the inscription on the window this picture was not finished till 1514, this interpretation

Sebastiano del Piombo was brought to Rome by Agost. Chigi in 1511. See Arch. Stor. d. Soc. Rom., II., 61, 68.

* LÜBKE, II., 297. *Cf.* also GRIMM, in the Preuss. Jahrb., LI., 199, and GRUYER, Chambres, 233 *seq.*

† LÜTZOW, Italien Kunstschätze, 447. JOVIUS in his Life of Raphael most strangely supposes the subjects of this picture to be the Resurrection, and the Guard to be that around the Saviour's tomb. SZÉCSEN, Raffael, 539, thinks this mistake is due to the effects of light, which eclipse the actual subjects of the picture.

may very possibly have been current even at the time; but it seems more probable that the design dates back to Julius II. and really has reference to him.* S. Pietro in Vincoli was the titular church of Julius II. when he was a Cardinal; and on the 23rd June, 1512, he made a special pilgrimage to it to thank God there for his victory over the French. It seems exceedingly probable that the Court painter was commissioned to employ his art in the idealisation of this great triumph which was so gorgeously celebrated at that time.† Thus the Mass of Bolsena would commemorate the prayer of the Pope before the relic at Orvieto in 1506, at the commencement of his great enterprise for the reconstitution of the States of the Church, and the deliverance of S. Peter, his thanksgiving in 1512, at the end of his course for the overthrow of the French before the altar of S. Pietro in Vincoli.‡

The whole fabric of the enchanted realm of Raphael's Vatican pictures rests upon one simple but far-reaching thought. It is that of the greatness and triumph of the Church; her greatness in her wisdom, and her centre, the

* GRIMM, Raffael, 386, is quite certain that this is so. I see also that he has noticed the relation of this subject, and the titular Church of Julius II. At the same time, in his Michelangelo, I., 404, ed. 5, he still adheres to the false interpretation of Card. de' Medici's flight (*cf. supra*, p. 415), and is not aware of the further connection with the rejoicings in June 1512, which I have been the first to point out. HETTNER, 219, had already raised objections to the supposition that Card. Medici was intended, but only on general grounds. My explanation restores the connection between the deliverance of S. Peter and the other frescoes which SPRINGER, I., 264, ed. 2, seeks and cannot find. He thinks it strange that no Pope appears in this picture, but this is quite natural as S. Peter was the first Pope.

† As the celebration was closed by a grand illumination (see *supra*, p. 417), it is not unlikely that this may have suggested the employment of effects of light in one of the frescoes to Raphael.

‡ *Cf. supra*, p. 416.

Papacy; her triumph in the wonderful ways in which God continues to guard and protect the successor of him to whom the promise was given. "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

It seems a remarkable providence of God that Julius II., the founder of the great Cathedral of the world, should have been led to charge the greatest of Christian painters, with the task of illustrating the doctrine of the most Holy Sacrament, which was on the point of being so passionately controverted, and the unfailing Divine protection, which ever preserves the Church and the Head at the very moment when the most terrible storm, which the Papacy in its course of nearly two thousand years has ever had to encounter, was about to burst upon it.

APPENDIX

OF

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

AND

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES.

APPENDIX.

1. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan.*

1498, July 15, Rome.

Questa matina è giunto qui Don Alfonso.† E ben che fino ad Marino habi menato con se circa 50 cavalli nondimeno de Marino in qua è venuto con 6 o 7 cavalli havendo voluto cosi N. S. perch' el venisse secretamente et ha disnato con me in palatio. Hogi poi è stato da S. S^ta^, gia quale lo ha veduto molto volentieri et li ha facto molte careze. The "Secret" of the Duke's presence here is known all over Rome.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

2. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza to his Brother, Lodovico Moro, Duke of Milan. ‡

1498, July 17, Rome.

Don Alfonso has arrived. Heri el rev. card di Valentia lo volse de compagnia alle stantie sue et secondo mi è refferito lo ha acharezato cum tante amorevole dimonstratione et honore quanto si potesse dire. Hogi poi N.S. lo ha havuto a se insieme cum madona Lucretia et avanti S. S^ta^ in presentia de rev^me^ card. de Perosi, de li nuntii regii et mia si sono visitati et acharezati insieme non usando pero altro cha parole generale.

[The original is in the State Archives, Milan.]

* See *supra*, p. 58.

† This confirms the statement of Gregorovius, Lucrezia, 103 (in July).

‡ See *supra*, p. 58.

3. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1498, Aug. 8, Rome.

. . . Tuttavia el Papa inclina a la filia del Re Federico et cum questa speranza ha fatto el parentà del Don Alphonso cum donna Lucretia, quali hanno consumati el matrimonio privatamente, et doppoi un altro dì publico cum multe feste, pasti e galle e fra li soi solamente ne alcuno ambasatore o altra persona publica fo chiamata. La familia de Valentia cum quelli de la principessa sua cugnata hebeno affar scandalo inseme et sfedraron le spade a la presentia del Papa in una de la sale ultra la capella, dove si fece la prima colatione nanti la cena, che fu dominica passata e dui vescovi hebeno de molti pugni; e per lo tumulto tanto la brigata se andorono qua e la che non gera portatori de confetti, in modo che li piu vili bisognorono satisfare; poi andorono a cena de li a un pezo, la qual durò tre hore et fino al dì chiaro; feceno representatione, ne le qual Valentia comparve in forma de Alicorno, che longo seria a scrivere, ma cum più tempo vederò de havere lordine e laparato et lo mandaro, benche non ce sia stato cosa de excellentia maravigliosa; e quella la qual si è al proposito loro è perche donna Lucretia se contenta molto bene de Don Alphonso, el qual per patto ha a star qui un anno per fermo, ne lei, vivendo el Papa, è obligata andar nel Reame; a una taola sola era S. S^ta^, a laltra per opposito era el card^le^ de Monreale et de Perosa, Lucretia, Alphonso, la principessa e la sorella de Borgia

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Extract from the Letter of an Unknown Person.†

1500, Jan. 23, Rome.

Che Valentinoys ha facto gran doglianza a Roma per littera de la morte de Borgia, dicendo che i celi lhan facto solum per guas-

* See *supra*, p. 58, and Gregorovius, L. Borgia 105.

† Probably of an Envoy or Agent from Mantua. See *supra*, pp. 73–4.

tarli di soy desegni, et lui è stato mezo di fare che il fratello habbi el capello, el quale li serà dato gionto che sia Valentinoys a Roma cum pacto che esso fratello paghi li debiti de Borgia, che sono ducati XVIII^m^. Chel papa ha dicto volere subito refare a sue spese le roche de Imola et de Furlì. Chel se prepara de fare card^li^ tutti a beneplacito de Valentinoys, et perhò è ben facto riponere ogin speranza de la practica de mons^re^ ne le sue mane et solicitarlo lui che gli altri favori sono troppo da lontano. Chel papa era per rompersi cum Venetiani, volendo in ogni modo Arimine et Faenza et non gli volendo loro consentire Chel S^r^ Zoanne da Pesaro ha quatro milia boni fanti, monetione et victualie assai, et che delibera fina a morte contrastare. Chel papa mette ne le rocche de la chiesia castellani afetionati a Valentinoys, et in castello Sancto Anzelo novamente ha posto uno arcivescovo alevo desso Valentinoys.

[The Copy is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.*

1500, Aug. 19, Rome.

Ill^mo^ S^r^ mio. Stava don Alphonso ducha de Biselia marito de madonna Lucretia asai bene, pensava el re de Napoli levarlo, ma essendo redutto quando fu ferito in certa torre presso le camare del papa non potea facilmente levarsi; solo el medico mandato da Napoli lo medicava e la molie li faceva lo suo mangiar aciò non fusse atosichato; al fine heri nanti conplecterio morite e sonno sta presi alcuni Neapolitani de li soi e de la molie inputati che volevan amazar lo ducha Valentino in sua casa e camare; el papa ne sta de mala volia si per natura del caso e per lore de Napuli si perche la filiola se despera. Alfine pare una cosa legiera questa, ma parturirà con tempo mal asai verisimilmente. Lambasator de Napoli mandò subito la roba sua qua e la et se redusse in casa del orator Spagnolo, spingendol ad andar del papa per sua cautione perchè staseva per levarse per dubio delli presoni p^ti^, se ben lui non se inpatiaria in tal novelle; el papa le ha fatto dir chel resti securo sopra de lui, tamen lui ha avuto

* See *supra*, p. 78.

levarse per lo melio sina chel se ben inteso il tutto et molta armata sta al pallatio . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

6. Pope Alexander VI. to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.*

1500, Sept. 1, Rome.

Dil. filio Iuliano Episcopo Ostiensi. . . . Attendentes quod dil. filius noster Ascanius Maria S. Viti, etc., diaconus cardinalis, S. R. E. vicecancellarius qui monasterium Clarevallis extra muros Mediolanen. Cisterciensis ordinis ex concessione et dispensatione apostolica obtinet in commendam pro eo quod idem cardinalis in regno Francie pro dicti ducatus Mediolanensis pace, quiete et tranquillitate ad praesens retinetur, regimini et administrationi dicti monasterii . . . intendere non valet nec etiam spes habetur quod brevi tempore intendere possit cum prefatus rex de eo minime confidit. Thus he gives the above-named abbey to Card. Giuliano della Rovere, with the consent, as he has been informed, of the king Louis XII. Dat. Romae, 1500, cal. Sept. A° pontif. nostri nono.

[Conc. Regest. 872, fol. 142. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

7. Giovanni Lucido Cataneo to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1501, Sept. 24, Rome.

Ill^mo S^r mio. Son venuti dui anbasatori de Ferara qua, quali el papa ha posto ad alogiar in la casa de la filiola e stanno in festa e balli e tanto balloe essa una de queste notte che lo dì sequente stete alterata de febre, pur mo sta bene e per executione de le promesse per esserge ordine dal lato de Ferara che prima se ge adimpischa tuto quello li è sta offerto ; vole li denari in Ferara e condutta a le confine de la Romagna a spese del papa, qual prepara mandarla molto honorevolissima e contenta e cum molte matrone de qua et se levarà quando don Ferando venerà . . .

[The original is in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

* See *supra*, p. 75. † See *supra*, p. 108.

8. Report of the Florentine Chronicler, Bartolomeo Cerretani, on the Anti-Pope Pietro Bernardino, a Disciple of Savonarola.*

[1502.]

. . . Venti in circha homini di popolo et di baxa conditione havendo pe' passati tempi seghuito frate Girolamo e vixuti in vita exactissima et santa, come di sopra dicemo, in questi tempi si tirono da parte; et facto insieme molti conventiculi et segrete raunate, creorono, secondo il costume degli Ebrei, un pontefice al quale comissono ogni cura et potestà di loro medesimi, così temporalmente come spiritualmente; vivendo del continuo quasi insieme nella cipta e'n certi luoghi del contado. Questo primo pontefice loro fu Fiorentino di bassa qualità, d' anni XXV., idiota e sanza lettera alcuna; ma per le continue prediche et letione haveva udite dal frate era divenuto di tutta la schrittura sachra et maxime de la Bibia in modo praticho che le sapeva a mente quasi tutte: e predichava et faceva sermoni di tal qualità et così mirabile expositione, che rendeva chascuno meravigliato: et mentre fra' Girolamo vixe, su per le logge et piazze sermoneggava a' fanculli et al popolo di tal qualità che caschuno stupiva, vendendo questa nuova suprestizione [*sic*!] per optima religione. Morto e' frate si tirò da chanto e fatto molti conventiculi comincciò a sua seghuaci a dare nuovi precepti dicendo che la Chiesa s' aveva colla spada a rinovare, e che doppo la morte di frate Girolamo non era rimasto homo gusto in terra; il perchè non era più necessario il confessarsi perchè tutti e' frati e prete della Chiesa d' Iddio erano tepidi; e per questo nessuno, se non facta la renovatione, si confexassi. Haveva certo olio del quale ugneva a' detti sua seghuaci le tempie, afermando essere l' untione dello Spirito Sancto.

Facevano spessissime oratione mentale non udivano messa, vestivano poveramente, la vita quando buona et quando trixta, secondo il caso; nel manggare alcuna volta si fermava dicendo: lo spirito vole che si facci oratione; così in silentio oravano: in un tracto comandava il mangare. Tenevano per certo che questo fussi profeta e se vestiva o parlava o faceva alcuno cenno interpetravano che passerebbe in Italia Francosi o Tedeschi o Turchi, o che la Chiesa era presso a la rovina e simile fantasie. E quali

* See preceding volume, p. 214

conventiculi et raunate sendo notifichate a lo 'nquisitore et arciveschovo, respecto a molte macule de heresie et compagnie sospette, furno per la via degl' Otto interdette, con presure di loro et altre persequtione. Il che gli fe più ristrignere insieme mostrando haverle predette; e per questo d'achordo si partirno et di segreto e itine a la volta di Bologna si trasferirno a la Mirandola, dove si trovava il Sig^re^ Govan Francesco, nipote del Conte Govanni, homo più suprestitioso [*sic*!] che savio, il quale sendo machiato non pocho della dottrina fratescha, liberamente et volentieri gli ricevette et non molto tempo doppo sendo asediato da certi sua congiunti, per torgli lo stato, arditamente si difendeva: ma crescendo l' opugnatione comincciò non pocho a temere. Il perchè sendo da' detti suprestiosi [*sic*!] exortato, lo 'nnanimirono afermando che Iddio voleva che fussi libero da tale opugnatione, e che fussi superiore et vincitore de' sua nimici. La quale cosa quanto più cresceva el pericolo, arditamente credeva, dando più luogho alla suprestione [*sic*!] che alla verità del juditio, in sino a tanto che ne perdà la terra e lo stato. Et quasi ignudo salvo se ne fuggi. Quelli che gli tolsono la terra auti nelle mani e' detti suprestitiosi [*sic*!] chiamati vulgharmente gl' unti, gli messe a' martirii, et maxime Pietro Bernardino, loro capo, et da lui ritratto il modo de loro vita et costumi e loro andamenti lo chondennò con alquanti al fuocho, perchè gli trovò maculatissimi di molte heresie nello intellecto e del corpo spurcissimi et vitiosi. La quale cosa intesa nella ciptà nostra fa causa che respetto a uno chanonicho de' Medici et alcuni fanculli di case nobile, subito si scrisse a la Mirandola e furono ricondotti a Firenze. Pietro Bernardo, homo plebeo, piccolo, di carne gentile, capelli neri, naso lungho, voce rocchissima, churvato, astutissimo fu vivo arso a la Mirandola; e tutti e' sua seghuaci banditi. E quali, tornali nella ciptà nostra, chautamente veghiano, benchè sia quasi spenta tale setta. Furno alcuni che dixono che da lui ne' tormenti non s'ebbe mai nulla, ma tutto si ritrasse dagl' altri. Et così la ciptà, da diversi mali sendo vexata, s' andava alterando et digià e' Faentini, havendo arso e tagliato tutti intorno a la terra, actendevano al ripararsi dalle isfrenate voglie del Valentino. . . .

[Bartolomeo Cerretani, Istoria Fiorent. Cod. II. III., 74, p. 274^b^ *seq.* National Library, Florence.]

9. Beltrando Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara.*

1503, Aug. 18, Rome.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signor mio observandissimo. A ciò vostra illustrissima signoria sia aduisata del successo de la infermitate de Nostro Signore, per questa li significo che essendo heri el bono dì de Sua Santità, me ne andai a palatio et cum quanta instantia io me facesse per ogni via per parlare cum chi me sciapesse dare certa informatione del successo, non poteti mai trovare persona a proposito: restando infino a la sera et retornando el cardinale de Cossentia a la stantia, il quale era stato cum Sua Santità, hebbe da Sua Signoria che la Beatitudine Sua havea pigliato heri matina uno pocho de mana, la quale ge havea facto uno bono servitio et che tutto heri la era stata de bona voglia et quieta et chel se sperava chel parosismo de questa matina on non venisse on havesse ad essere pocho; dixeme etiam chel Duca era stato meglio.

Da diversi homini de palatio se bene non sonno de quelli che penetrano, hebbe chel male de Sua Santità se nomina una tertiana nota et chel se dubita non se converta in una quartana; hebbi etiam che per alcuni de casa de Sua Santità se fa fare instante oratione ad una donna reputata sancta murata in S. Petro: la quale risponde pocho sperare che Sua Santità se habii a liberare de questo male. In questa matina per tempo ho mandato a palatio per intendere el successo et el mio me reporta per rellatione de multi, quali se concordano tutti et spetialmente per el cardinale de Cossentia et del magiordomo de la signora duchessa che la mana pare non facesse giovamento a Nostro Signore et che in questa nocte la Santità Sua è stata multo inquieta et lo parosismo li è venuto a la XIII. hora magiore del precedente questa matina et in questa matina Sua Santità se è confessata et communicata et per el dicto messo mio uno medico, alevo del vescouo de Venosa,† me fa dire che Sua Beatitudine è multo alterata et che la non se monda. In questa nocte da megia hora di nocte è stato serrato el palatio et guardato cum magiore dilligentia del solito et secondo intendo el cardinale de Borgia et li signori picoli hanno

* See *supra*, p. 134. Petrucelli della Gattina, I., 437 *seq.* and Balan V., 424.

† Bernardus Bongiovanni, *see* Gams, 940.

clandestinas et indirectas vias Forlivium ejusque arcem nobis et dicte ecclesie subtrahere parant, quorum conatus et astus nos eludere quibuscumque viis possumus, querimus, nec dispendio ulli parcimus sed nostra auctoritas apud eos non tantum valet, quantum valere debebat, et nisi catholici principes manus apponant, ecclesiam predictam Venetis ipsis prede et ludibrio, quod Deus avertat, fore prospicimus. Quanto igitur res in majore versatur periculo, tanto circumspectio tua pro officio boni cardinalis et sua solita probitate promptior erit ad haec facienda, que opportuna putamus. Dat.*

[Conc. Lib. brev. 29, f. 24. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

24. Pope Julius II. to Florence.†

1504, February 29 [Rome].

They are to support the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo and Petrus Paulus de Callio against Forli.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 23. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

25. Pope Julius II. to Giovanni di Sirolo, Archbishop of Ragusa, and to Petrus Paulus de Callio.‡

1504, March 23 [Rome].

The letters of the above-named, of March 18, 1504, on the conquest of Forlimpopoli, gave him great pleasure. He hopes the castle also will soon be won.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 40. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

26. Pope Julius II. to Forli.§

1504, April 11, Rome.

Antianis et communi civitatis nostre Forlivii. He has been told by the Archbishop of Ragusa, Giovanni di Sirolo, how readily they have returned to obedience. He praises them for this: et eo maiorem commendationem meremini q[uia] causa fuistis deditionis arcis.‖

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 44. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* The date follows from Lib. brev. 22, f. 22b.

† See *supra*, p. 242.

‡ See *supra*, p. 242.

§ See *supra*, p. 244.

‖ This news was soon found to have been false.

27. Pope Julius II. to Philip, Count Palatine on the Rhine.*

1504, April 26, Rome.

Inter cetera que dilecto filio Mariano de Perusia causarum palatii apostolici auditori capellano et cum potestate legati a latere nuntio nostro ad Germaniam destinato, dedimus in mandatis, ea res precipua fuit, ut nobilitatem tuam dilecto filio nobili viro Alberto duci Bavarie sacri Romani imperii electorii consanguinitatis et affinitatis vinculo tibi connexo reconciliare studeret, interpositaque nostra et hujus sanctissime sedis apostolice auctoritate, sublata omnis discordie dissensionisve causa ad mutuam caritatem et concordiam reduceret. Nam cum sitis duo precipua inclyte nationis Germanice lumina et ex tam illustri familia orti, que sacro romano imperio multos laudatissimos cesares dedit, non potestis inter vos dissidere absque magna jactura non solum nationis ipsius et familie vestre, sed etiam totius reipublice christiane. Cum preterea sedes ipsa sanctissima vos ut peculiares filios sit complexa magnamque in vobis spem collocaverit, benemerendi de ipsa sedi et christiana republica, eo studiosius finem discordiis vestris debemus querere, quo vos magis florentes et honoratos esse cupimus. Discordie enim ipse non nisi jacturam fame et facultatum vobis possunt afferre. Turpe enim est consanguineum a consanguineo, quos ipsa natura educatioque maximo vinculo caritatis duplicique necessitudinis glutino connexit, dissidere. Nam quem alienum fidum sibi sperare potest, qui suis fuerit hostis? His rebus consideratis pro singulari et paterna qua utrumque vestrum prosequimur charitate, nobilitatem tuam hortamur, obsecramus et obtestamur in Domino ac per viscera Salvatoris Domini nostri rogamus, ut animum tuum ad concordiam cum Alberto ipso consanguineo tuo faciendam, quam etiam a carissimo in Christo filio nostro Maximiliano Romanorum rege illustri queri summo studio scimus, inducere velis, et nuntio ipso nostro cooperante, cui auctorizandi concordiam ipsam etiam facultatem dedimus, ad eas conditiones venire, per quas finis omnibus vestris dissensionibus imponatur, charitasque fraterna, sanguinisque necessitudo, que in tot discordiis vires suas habere non potuit, redeat inter vos atque

* See *supra*, p. 255.

ut restitutioni hujusmodi opportune importuneque instent. Nos ad eos scribimus, prout suades, litterarum exemplum presentibus introclusum mittimus, easque sibi tradi mandavimus. Tabellarii error fuit, ut superiores littere nostre tibi priusquam illis nono fuerint reddite.

Datum Rome, apud S. Petrum die XVII. Octobris, 1504, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 193. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

38 & 39. Pope Julius II. to the German Electors.*

1504, Oct. 28, Rome.

Venerabilibus fratribus nostris et dilectis filiis nobilibus viris sacri Romani imperii principibus electoribus. Venerabiles fratres nostri et dilecti filii nobiles viri salutem, etc. Carissimus in Christo filius noster Maximilianus rex Romanorum illustris, qui S.R.E. est advocatus, ut est observantissimus S. Apostolice sedis animique celsi atque invicti, misit nuper legatos suos ad Venetos pro restitutione civitatum, arcium et locorum ejusdem S.R.E. quas ipsi Veneti, ceca relique Italie dominande libidine ducti, facta pace cum Turcis contra Deum atque omnem justitiam in provincia nostra Romandiole occuparunt et occupant. Multum quidem legati ipsi apud ipsos Venetos deberent valere, utpote a rege Romanorum et advocato S.R.E. missi, cui in omnibus rebus presertim tam justis obsequi eos par est. Verumtamen nos considerantes, quod si vos quoque, qui praecipua membra sacri Romani imperii estis, et ejusdem sancte sedis semper observantissimi fuistis, vestrum nomen vestramque auctoritatem huic legationi addideritis, ut consensu totius inclyte nationis Germaniae defensio S.R.E. videatur suscepta, plurimum huic restitutioni accelerandae conducere poterit; vos, qui supra ceteros principes et nationes insigni prerogativa ac dignitate decorati estis, in Domino quanto possumus studio et affectu rogamus, ut ad venerabilem fratrem episcopum Acquensem ejusdem regis oratorem nunc Venetiis existentem velitis scribere et injungere, ut causam restitutionis hujusmodi etiam vestro nomine prosequatur omni studio; quod si feceritis, ut speramus, erit immortali laude dignum

* See *supra*, p. 255.

et nobis supra quam dici possit gratum, prout dilectus filius magister Marianus de Bartolinis* causarum palatii apostolici auditor, orator noster, latius explicabit cui fidem indubiam prebere velitis. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XXVIII. Octobris, 1504. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 201. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

40. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.†

1504, Nov. 17, Rome.

The Pope has received his news of the 11th inst. with joy, and is pleased to hear that the Bishop of Acqui will come to Rome.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 230. Secret Archives of the Vatican. Unprinted documents and communications from the Archives, 1504–1505.]

41. Pope Julius II. to Cosimo de' Pazzi, Bishop of Arezzo.‡

1504, Nov. 29 [Rome].

Cosimo episcopo Aretino, prelato, nostro domestico, nuntio et oratori nostro. Ne diutius responsum ex Hispania de tua admissione cum honoris nostri diminuitione expectes et tempus incassum teras—he commands him to return at once.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 22, f. 210b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

42. Pope Julius II. to Angelo Leonini, Bishop of Tivoli, Nuncio at Venice.§

1504, Dec. 17 [Rome].

Venerabili fratri episcopo Tiburtino Venetiis nostro cum potestate legati de latere. Ex tuis litteris novissime intelleximus, quod licet dilecto filio Petro Berislao preposito S. Laurentii carissimi in Christo filii nostri Wladislai, Hungarie et Bohemie regis illustris, oratori nec fides nec diligentia nec dexteritas ingenii defuerit in repetendis terris et locis S. R. E., nullum tamen saltem

* See *supra*, p. 255.
† See *supra*, No. 36.
‡ See *supra*, p. 256.
§ See *supra*, p. 257.

55. Pope Julius II. to Cesena.*

1506, Dec. 10, Bologna.

Conservatoribus, Antianis et civitati Cesenae. They are to have the right of deputing three of their citizens to control the accounts of the Papal Treasurer. The fourth part of the fines for criminal offences is to be expended in accordance with the provisions of the Bull dealing with these matters. The surplus is to be spent on repairs of the portus Cesenatii and of the Palace.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 59. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

56. Julius II. to Ferdinand the Catholic.†

1506, Dec. 11, Bologna.

He has fulfilled Ferdinand's request to reinstate the Observantines who had been driven out of their convents, and to punish the Conventuals; but he says that the General of the Order had asked to have a convent in Aragon assigned to the Conventuals; he is now sending Fr. Julian de Mugla, Master and Professor of Theology, to the King, to explain the matter. He also admonishes him to assist the Nuncio to obtain the moneys which Fr. Cherubin is collecting there for the General Chapter which took place in Rome. The Pope destined these offerings for the restoration of the Church of the Twelve Apostles, where the Chapter was held. Erit hoc Deo acceptum et nobis gratissimum.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 16^{b}. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

57. Pope Julius II. to Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice.‡

1506, Dec. 16, Bologna.

Leonardo Lancedano [*sic*!] duci Venetiarum. He is again admonished to put Cardinal Farnese in possession of the Priory of

* See *supra*, p. 229.

† See *supra*, p. 496. "Mugla" in the MS. should perhaps be read "Mugia."

‡ See *supra*, p. 301.

S. Perpetuae to which the Pope had appointed him, qui nobis carissimus est et honoris ac amplitudinis tuae studiosissimus. Dat. Bononiae, 1507 [*sic*!] Dec. 16. Pontif. nostri anno 4°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 19. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

58. Pope Julius II. to Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice.*

1506, Dec. 18, Bologna.

Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum. Card. S. Mar. Transtib. Senogalliensis † is to be put in possession of the Eccles. Tranensis which has been given to him. Why delay? Pressing admonition.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 37. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

59. Pope Julius II. to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.‡

1507, Jan. 1, Bologna.

Alexandro S. Eustachii Card. diac. de Farnesio, Administrator of the Marches. The inhabitants of those provinces complain of the exactions of the local Administrator, Salariae Berengar de Armellinis. Card. Farnese is to oppose these, and to protect the inhabitants, who are devoted to the Holy See. Dat. Bononiae 1506 [*sic*!] Jan. 1. Pontif. nostri A° 4°.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 71b. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

60. Pope Julius II. to Ferdinand the Catholic.§

1507, Jan. 5, Bologna.

Regi Catholico. The Nuncio Gabr. Merino is to request him to take up the cause of Joh. Jord. de Ursinis with the French King.

[Conc. Lib. brev. 25, f. 110. Secret Archives of the Vatican.]

* See *supra*, p. 301.

† M. Vigerio.

‡ See *supra*, p. 229.

§ See *supra*, p. 260. On Gabriel Merino compare Pieper, Nuntiaturen, 63.

beamus. Tam bonam enim opinionem de Celsitudinis tue erga nos et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam singulari devotione et pietate concepimus, ut nihil a te cogitari dici aut fieri posse credamus, quod in diminutionem honoris et dignitatis apostolice sedis cedat. Quod vero rem armis agendam putes, non possumus non vehementer dolere, quamquam speremus, inter te et christianissimum Francorum regem pacem aliquo bono modo fieri posse, presertim cum aput [*sic*] te sit venerabilis frater B. episcopus Tusculanus, cardinalis s. crucis, noster et dicte sedis legatus de latere, singulari prudentia, fide et probitate preditus, a nobis hujus pacis causa missus, ad quam etiam nos Francorum regem non desinimus exhortari. Celsitudinem igitur tuam per omnia nostre religionis misteria obsecramus et obtestamur, ut ab ipsa pace animum non auertas. Pace enim facta magis securus magisque honoratus Romam venire poteris ac nobiscum deliberare (nam et tu in temporalibus caput fidelium es) de expeditione contra perfidos Turcas sumenda, cujus expeditionis maximam occasionem Deus Salvatorque noster nunc obtulit. Baxetus enim illorum tirannus gravi bello (ut magnus Rhodi magister nobis significavit) a rege Persarum premitur et tanto in metu versatur, ut omnia maritima loca (quo omnes copias regi Persarum opponat) immunita reliquerit ac propterea facilem sit Cristi fidelibus victoriam concessurus. Si armis in Italiam prorumpere velles, plerique quod bellorum exitus sunt incerti, Italie ipsius vastitas sequeretur cum magna tui nota et nostra. Turcis quoque nunc perculsis et trementibus tempus daretur se colligendi viresque confirmandi. Cogita igitur, ut pacificus in Italiam tuus sit aduentus, proponimusque tibi ante oculos optimum et clarissimum genitorem tuum Fridericum, qui omnibus Italis gaudentibus semel et iterum Romam venit. Tibi quoque curandum puta, ut cum omni gratulatione venire possis. A nobis certe tanta comitate, benignitate et liberalitate excipieris, quanta nullus unquam predecessorum tuorum a pontifice Romano exceptus fuerit. Hec, fili charissime, pro zelo reipublicae christiane proque singulari, qua celsitudinem tuam prosequimur caritate paterne tibi scribenda duximus. Que si in eam partem, qua debes, acceperis, desiderium tuum sine cede et periculo consequeris. Dat. Rome aput [*sic*] s. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XII. Februarii, MCVIII., Pontif. nostri anno quinto.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Maximiliano electo Romanorum imperatori semper augusto.

On the cover is a note in L. Fries' handwriting : Imperial Acts, Breve Julii II. Pontificis, to the effect that King Maximilian, Emperor-Elect, may come in peace to receive the Crown.

There is a copy made about the same time on a loose sheet of paper * in the Kreisarchiv, Würzburg.

77. Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga to the Marquess of Mantua.†

1508, Feb. 12, Rome.

. . . Ho ritenuto el presente cavallaro sin hora, perchè essendo publica fama che a Trento lo Imper^re^ haveva facto bandir la guerra contra el re de Franza, contra Venetiani, contra el duca di Ferrara, contra V. Ex. et contra tulle gli rebelli de lo Imperio, et che N. S. di questo haveva adviso, me ho voluto chiarire de la verità nel consistorio facto questa matina, quale solamente è stato ad instantia de lo Imper^re^, cioè degli oratori suoi, videlicet del r^mo^ card^le^ de Brixina et del S^re^ Costantino, quali presentate lettere credentiale a N. S. et al sacro collegio hanno supplicato a S. S^tà^ et pregato detto sacro collegio, che così come el Re suo è stato electo Imp^re^ a questi proximi di passati in Trento, così sia confirmato de la prefata S^tà^ et sacro collegio, ita che per lo advenire el se possi scrivere Imperatore electo. Poi hanno exposto da parti sua, come lui è a Trento, cum exercito per venire a coronarsi et farsi la via contra gli nemici et rebelli de lo Imperio, quali ge la vorano impedire. Mandati fuori gli ambassatori et factosi consulta sopra la loro proposta fu concluso de respondergli in questo modo, et così gli fu resposto de N. S^re^ : lui cum consenso del collegio essere contento confirmargli il titolo et la inscriptione sua chel se potessi dimandare Imperatore electo, et così lo confirmava et per tale lo haveva. Quanto al venire suo a la coronatione, che a lui seria molto grata la venuta sua quando fusse nel modo che vene el patre, cioè senza arme et cum bona pace de tutti gli principi christiani, a la quale pace, unione et concordia per lo universale bene di tutto el Christianesimo lo exhortava. Questo è quanto ho inteso, ne altrimente ho potuto intendere questo banno‡ de

* See No. 78 as to how this document was discovered.

† See *supra*, p. 297. ‡ Bando.

quoque affectuum expertes immotos perstare, affectu concitos facile se ad templa arasque prosternere; tumuli proinde transferendi sibi curam sumere, nihil motum iri, sed tumulum cum vicina soli parte quo minus quicquam fatiscat integre se convecturum polliceri. Nihilo serius Julius in sententia perstat, nihil ex vetere templi situ inverti, nihil e primi pontificis tumulo attrectari se passurum dicit; quid Cesaris obeliscum deceat, ipse viderit, se sacra prophanis, religionem splendori, pietatem ornamentis esse praepositurum.

[Aegidius Viterb. Historia viginti seculor. Cod. C., 8–19, f. 245, of the Angelica Library, Rome.]

90. Emperor Maximilian to Paul von Lichtenstein.*

"Edler, lieber, getreuer! Uns zweiffelt nicht, du trägst noch in frischer Gedächtnuss unsers anzeigs dir vor verschienener Zeit gethan, aus was grund und Ursachen wir Meinung und Willen hetten nach dem Bapstumb, wo wir anders darzu kommen möchten, zu stellen; darauf wir den bissher für und für unser Bedenken gehabt. Nun finden wir in uns selbst, auch im grund also ist, uns nichts ehrlichers, höhers oder bessers zustehen, als berührt Bapstumb zu überkommen.

"Und dieweil denn jetzo Bapst Julius der jüngst kürtzlich gar tödtlichen krank worden, und als dir durch unsern Hoff und Tyrolischen Cantzler Ciprian von Serentin angezeigt ist, alle Welt zu Rom gemeynt hat, er sey mit Todt vergangen, haben wir demnach in uns selbst entschlossen, vorberürtem unserm Fürnemmen, soviel möglich ist, nachzukommen, und dermassen handeln und procediren zu lassen, damit wir zu dem gedachten Bapstumb kommen mögen; und darauf jetzo den Cardinal Adrianus, so ein zeit lang, wie du weisst, hierauss bey uns in Teutschlanden gewesen, die berürten Sachen vorgeschlagen: der uns denn gäntzlich darzu rathet und vermeynt, es soll Keinen Mangel an den Cardinälen haben und an solchem zu hören, von Frewden geweynet. Und nachdem du aber selbst wohl ermessen und gedenken magst, wo der Bapst also stürb, als sich gantz zu versehen ist (dann er isset wenig, und dass er isset, seynd als nur Früchte, und trinckt so viel mehr, dass dardurch sein Leben kein

* See *supra*, p. 382.

Beständigkeit hat), und so er stürb so ist der von Gurk von uns gefertigt, gen Rom zu postiren, und (uns) hinder das Bapstumb zu helffen. Aber nachdem solchs ohn eine merkliche Summa gelds, die wir darauff legen, uns * gestehen lassen müssen, nicht wohl beschehen mag, haben wir demnach angeschlagen zu notturfft vorberürtes unseres fürnemmen uff zu sagen und versprechen den Cardinälen und etlichen andern Personen in diesen Sachen zu verhelffen biss in die dreymal hundert tausent Ducaten zu gebrauchen, und dass solches allein durch der Fugger Pannelch † daselbst zu Rom entleihen, gehandelt, bestellt und zugesagt werde, und beschehen müsste. Und dieweil du aber weist, wir dieser Zeit mit Geld nit gefasst seyn, auch an unserm Vermögen nicht ist, jetztgedachten Fugger vorbestimpter Summa Gelds halben anderst, als mit unsern Kleinodiern zu vergnügen und dieselben einzusetzen: demnach befehlen wir dir mit allem Ernst und wöllen, dass du von Stund an und auff das allerförderlichst bemeldten Fugger vorberürte Sachen, und was uns daran gelegen ist, mit bestem fugen, wie du wohl zu thun weist, in geheimb und auff die Pflicht, damit er uns als unser Rath verbunden ist, zu erkennen gebest, und darauf mit allem höchsten und besten fleiss, so möglich ist, handelst, uns zu Ehren und gefallen, die vorberürten 300,000 Ducaten zu diesem Handel in sein Pannelch gen Rom eins theils zu erlegen, und durch absprechen gewiss zu machen, in der gestalt, dass seine Faktores da selbst solch Geld denen, so inen durch unsern Fürsten und lieben andechtigen Mattheissen, Bischoffen zu Gurck, und ander unser Oratores, so wir daselbsthin gen Rom verordnen, angezeigt werden, gewisslich zu entrichten und zu bezahlen, und auff redliche Ziel das halb wie gemeldet ist, versprechen und versicher geben, zusagen und versprechen, und inen desshalben Zusagezettel aus der Pannelch, wie Gewohnheit ist, geben.

"Derentwegen wir ime alsdenn die besten vier Truhen mit unsern Kleinodiern, mit sampt unsern Lehengewand, das denn nit dem Reiche, sondern uns dem Hans Oesterreich zugehörig ist, und wir, wo wir das Bapstumb erlangen, nicht mehr bedörffen. Denn wo wir uns von mehrer Ehren wegen zuvor Keyser Krönen lassen, wollten wir uns des heiligen Hertzog ‡ Carls Lehengewand,

* Should probably read *und*. † Bank.

‡ Or Kaiser; *cf.* ULMANN, 54.

das wir mit uns zu nehmen willens sein, betragen, zu Fürpfande einsetzen wollen. Und denn er uns jetzo zu stund in Abschlag obbestimpter Summa, oder auff dein selbst versprechen (darumben wir dich auch vergwissen und versichern wollen) 10 M. Duc. bar in den Wechsel gen Rom zu des obbemeldten von Gurcks Handen mache und was (!) uns solches aus oberzelten Ursachen dem sondern vertrawen nach, so wir zu ihme tragen, Keineswegs abschlage noch verziehe: So wollen wir dir, so bald du ob angezeiget unser begeren von dem Fugger erlangest, dass du uns dann zu stund und förderlichen bei Tag und Nacht zuschreiben sollst, genugsam befehlich, Quittung und andere Brieff, die vorberürt Truhen und Lehengewand zu ueberantworten zu schicken, dieselben furter, wie oben stehet, dem obbenandten Fugger einzusetzen. Und sofern sich derselb Fugger in berürter Handlung merken liess zu wissen, wann wir solch unser Kleinodier und Lehengewand, wo er die in seiner Gewaltsamb hett, von ime widerumb lösen wollten, solstu ihme anzeigen, und zu erkennen geben, dass wir der Meynung seyn, ihn zu Bezahlung vorberürter Summa der 300 M. Duc. unnd darzu umb 100 M. Duc. die wir ihme um seyne drei Kleinodier, so wir auch von im zu nemmen, wiewohl der berürten Summa nicht würdig seyn, aber jedoch in geheimb zu einem Interesse vorberührts seines Darleihens zu geben willens seyn dass denn in einer gantzen Summa 533 M. fl. Rheinisch bringen würdet, uff des Reichs Hülff-geldt, so wir jetzo uff nechst künfftigen Reichstag von den Ständen desselben Reichs erlangen werden: dess gleichen unser erblichen Fürstenthumben Landkünfftiges (!) Hülffs- und Stewren und darzu das Geld, so uns von unserm lieben Brudern, dem König von Hispanien, Ordinari jährlich gereichet würdet, verweisen unnd solches alles zur Erledigung unser Kleinoter verfolgen lassen. Wo aber das alles angezeigte Summa nicht erreichet dass wir ihme alsdann umb die Uebermass den dritten Theil alles unsers Einkommens obgedachts Bapstumbs bis zu volliger Bezahlung zustellen wollen. Desshalben er denn einen aus seinen Freunden, der ihme gefällig ist, zu uns an unssern Hoffe verordnen mag, den wollen wir zu unserm Schatz-oder Kammermeister vorberürt unsers Einkommens zu handeln, auch sein dritten Theil zu empfahen und einzunehmen machen, auch denselben in andern unsern Sachen zu gebrauchen.

"In diesen obangezeigten Sachen allen dein besten und möglichen Fleiss nicht sparest, oder underlassest, solches alles also gewisslichen zu erlangen. Und ob dir schon berürt unser begern einmal oder mehr von demselben Fugger abgeschlagen würde, nichts desto minder wiederumb anhaltest und dermassen handelst, damit uns obangezeiget unser begeren verfolge. Unnd biss darin nit seumig oder lässig, sondern brauch also fleiss, wie wir unser vertrawen zu dir setzen, und auch die eyl und Notturft dieser Zeit erfordert. Und was dir in dem allen begegnet, uns solches förderlichen zuschreibest, uns darnach haben zu richten. Daran thustu uns sonder gnädiges Gefallen, und wir wollen gegen dir und den deinigen erkennen und zu Gutem nicht vergessen.

"Wir fügen dir auch zu wissen, dass uns unser Secretari Johann Colla uff heut geschrieben hat, bey einer eigen Post, dass die Ursiner, Colonenser und das populus Romanus gänzlich beschlossen sein, und fürgenommen haben, keinen Bapst, der Frantzössisch oder Hispanisch sey, oder durch diss gemacht werde, zu haben oder anzunehmen. Und schicken darauff ihre Pottschaft in geheimb zu uns, im schein zu begehren, dass wir und der Frantzos nicht Kriegen sollen, dafür zu bitten, als die so Neutral seyn am Bapstumb. Geben Brixen den 16. Septemb. Anno 1511."

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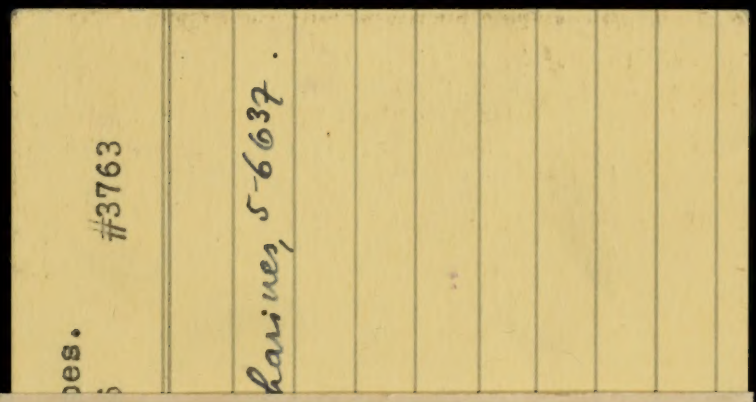
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